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THE  
HISTORY OF PAINTING  
IN  
ITALY,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE REVIVAL OF THE FINE ARTS TO THE END  
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: TRANSLATED FROM  
THE ITALIAN OF THE

ABATE LUIGI LANZI.

BY THOMAS ROSCOE.

VOLUME I.

CONTAINING THE FLORENTINE, SIENESE, AND ROMAN SCHOOLS.

New Edition, revised.

LONDON:  
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.  
1847.

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THE

# HISTORY OF PAINTING



ITALY.

ADAM LUGI LAMM

BY THOMAS ROBERT

LONDON:

JOHN A. BONY, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1847.



## ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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AFTER the very copious and excellent remarks upon the objects of the present history contained in the Author's Preface, the Translator feels that it would be useless on his part to add any further explanation.

It would not be right, however, to close these volumes without some acknowledgment of the valuable assistance he has received. Amongst others, he is particularly indebted to Dr. Traill, of Liverpool,\* who after proceeding to some length with a translation of this work, kindly placed the portion which he had completed in the hands of the Translator, with liberty to make such use of it as might be deemed advantageous to the present undertaking. To Mr. W. Y. Ottley, who also contemplated, and in part executed, a version of the same author, the Translator has to express his obligations for several explanations of terms of art, which the intimacy of that gentleman with the fine arts, in all their branches, peculiarly qualified him to impart. Similar acknowledgments are due to the enlightened and learned Mr. Panizzi,† for his able explanation of various phrases and doubtful passages.

THOMAS ROSCOE.

\* Now Professor Traill, of Edinburgh.

† Since raised to the responsible office of head librarian to the British Museum.

ADDENDUM TO THE FIRST EDITION.

Biographical notices of the authors and excellent remarks upon the  
contents of the present library contained in the Author's  
and the Translator's preface it would be useless to repeat on this  
page, and not further explanation.

**HISTORICAL**  
It is not to be right, however, to allow these changes  
without some acknowledgment of the valuable assistance he  
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the Earl of Liverpool, who has been so good as to send him  
from the edition of this work, kindly placed the portion  
which he had consulted in the hands of the Translator, with  
liberty to add or subtract as he might see fit, and he has  
graciously consented to the Translator's undertaking. To Mr. W. M. Gifford,  
who has been so good as to send him the edition of the  
work, and to the Translator, has to express his obligations for  
several explanations of terms of art, which the Translator of that  
work has been so good as to send him, in all their branches, particularly  
in the history of the art. Singular acknowledgments are due  
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planation of various phrases and doubtful passages.

From III.—The name of the Translator.  
From IV.—The name of the Translator.  
From V.—The name of the Translator.  
From VI.—The name of the Translator.



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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR.

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LUIGI LANZI was born in the year 1732, at Monte dell' Olmo, in the diocese of Fermo, of an ancient family, which is said to have enjoyed some of the chief honours of the municipality to which it belonged. His father was a physician, and also a man of letters: his mother, a truly excellent and pious woman, was allied to the family of the Firmani. How deeply sensible the subject of this memoir was of the advantages he derived, in common with many illustrious characters, from early maternal precepts and direction, he has shewn in a beautiful Latin elegy to her memory, which appeared in his work entitled "*Inscription. et Carmin.*" Lib. iii.

Possessed of a naturally lively and penetrating turn of mind, he began early to investigate the merits of the great writers of his own country, alike in poetry, in history, and in art. His poetical taste was formed on the models of Petrarch and of Dante, and he was accustomed, while yet a child, to repeat their finest passages to his father, an enthusiastic admirer of Italy's old poets, who took pride in cultivating the same fervour in the mind of his son, a fervour of which, in more northern climates, we can form little idea. His imitations of these early poets, whose spirit he first imbibed at the fountain head, before he grew familiar with the corrupt and tasteless compositions of succeeding eras, are said to have frequently been so bold and striking as to deceive the paternal eye. To these, too, he was perhaps mainly indebted for that energy of feeling and solidity of judgment, as well as that richness of illustration and allusion, which confer attractions upon his more serious and elaborate works. He was no less intimate with the best political and literary historians at an early age; with Machiavelli, Davila, and Guicciardini; with Muratori and Tiraboschi; whose respective compositions he was destined to rival in the world of art.

Lanzi's first studies were pursued in the Jesuits' College at Fermo, where an Italian Canzone, written in praise of the Beata Vergine, is said to have acquired for him, as a youth of great promise, the highest degree of regard. Under the care of his spiritual instructor, Father Raimondo Cunich, Lanzi likewise became deeply versed in all the excellences of classical literature, and, along with the technical skill of the scholar, he imbibed the spirit of the ancient writers. In his succeeding philosophical and mathematical studies he was assisted by Father Boscovich, one of the first mathematicians of his day. Thus to a keen and fertile intellect, animated by enthusiasm for true poetry and the beauties of art, was added that regular classical and scientific learning, inducing a love of order and of truth, so useful in applying the clear logic derived from Euclid to advantage, in subjects of a less tangible and demonstrative nature. The value of such preliminary acquirements to the examination of antiquarian and scientific remains, which can only be conducted on uncertain data and a calculation of possibilities, as in ancient specimens of art, can bear no question; and of this truth Lanzi was fully aware. To feel rightly, to reason clearly, to decide upon probabilities, to distinguish degrees, resemblances, and differences, comparing and weighing the whole with persevering accuracy; these were among the essentials which Lanzi conceived requisite to prepare a writer upon works of art.

These qualities, too, will be found finely relieved and ennobled by frequent and appropriate passages of eloquent feeling; flowing from that sincere veneration for his subject, and that love which may be termed the religion of the art to which he became so early attached. How intimately such a spirit is connected with the best triumphs of the art of painting, is seen in the angelic faces of Da Vinci, of Raffaello, and Correggio; and the same enthusiasm must have been felt by a true critic, such as Lanzi. Far, however, from impeding him in the acquisition of his stores of antiquarian knowledge, and in his scientific arrangements, his enthusiasm conferred upon him only an incredible degree of diligence and despatch.\* He was at once enabled to decipher the age and character, to

\* Ab. Zannoni. Cav. Boni.



arrange in its proper class, and to give the most exact description of every object of art which passed under his review.

Lanzi thus came admirably prepared to his great task, one of the most complete models of sound historical composition of which the modern age can boast. It was written in the full maturity of his powers; no hasty or isolated undertaking, it followed a series of other excellent treatises, all connected with some branches of the subject, and furnishing materials for his grand design. Circumstances further contributed to promote his views. Shortly after the dissolution of the order of Jesuits, to which he belonged, he was recommended by his friend Fabroni, prior of the church of S. Lorenzo, to the grand duke Leopold of Florence, who, in 1775, appointed him to the care of his cabinet of medals and gems, in the gallery of Florence. This gave rise to one of his first publications, entitled, "A Description of the Florentine Gallery," which he sent in 1782 to the same friend, Angiolo Fabroni, then General Provveditore of the Studio at Pisa, and who conducted the celebrated Literary Journal of that place, in which Lanzi's "Description" appeared.

His next dissertation, still more enriched with antiquarian illustration and research, was his Essay on the "Ancient Italian Dialects," which contains a curious account of old Etruscan monuments, and the ducal collection of classical vases and urns. This was followed by his "Preliminary Notices respecting the Sculpture of the Ancients, and their various Styles," put forth in the year 1789, in which he pursues the same plan which he subsequently perfected in the history before us, of allotting to each style its respective epochs, to each epoch its peculiar characters, these last being exemplified by their leading professors most celebrated in history. He farther adduces examples of his system as he proceeds, from the various cabinets of the Royal Museum, which he explains to the reader as a part of his chief design in illustrating them. He enters largely into the origin and character of the Etruscan School, and examines very fully the criticisms, both on ancient and Italian art, by Winckelman and Mengs.

From the period of these publications, the grand duke, entertaining a high opinion of Lanzi's judgment, was in the

habit of consulting him before he ventured to add any new specimens to his cabinet of antiquities. He was also entrusted with a fresh arrangement of some new cabinets belonging to the gallery, which, together with the latter, he finally completed, on a system which it is said never fails to awaken the admiration of all scientific visitors at Florence. During this task, his attention had been particularly directed to the interpretation of the monuments and Etruscan inscriptions contained in the ducal gallery, which, together with the ancient Tuscan, the Umbrian, and other obsolete dialects, soon grew familiar to him, and led to the composition of his celebrated "Essay upon the Tuscan Tongue." For the purpose of more complete research and illustration, he obtained permission from the duke to visit Rome, in order to consult the museums, and prepare the way for his essay, which he published there in 1789; a work of immense erudition and research.

It was here Lanzi first appeared as the most profound antiquarian of modern Italy, by his successful explanation of some ancient Etruscan inscriptions and remains of art, which had baffled the skill of a number of his most distinguished countrymen. Upon presenting it to the grand duke, after his return from Rome, Lanzi was immediately appointed his head antiquary and director of the Florentine gallery; while the city of Gubbio raised him to the rank of their first patrician order, on account of his successful elucidation of the famous Eugubine Tables. In one of his "Dissertations upon a small Etruscan Urn," he triumphantly refuted some charges which had been invidiously advanced against him, and defended his principles of antiquarian illustration by retorting the charge of fallacy upon his adversaries.

In the year 1790, Lanzi, at the request of the Gonfaloniere and priors of Monte dell' Olmo, published an inquiry into the "Condition and Site of Pausula, an ancient City of Piceno;" said to be written with surprising ingenuity, yet with equal fairness; uninfluenced by any prejudices arising from national partiality, or from the nature of the commission with which he had been entrusted. This was speedily followed by a much more important undertaking, connected with the prosecution of his great design, which it would appear he had already for some time entertained.



During the period of his travels through Italy in pursuit of antiquities, he had carefully collected materials for a general History of Painting, which was meant to comprise, in a compendious form, whatever should be found scattered throughout the numerous authors who had written upon the art. These materials, as well as the work itself, had gradually grown upon his hands, as might be expected from a man so long accustomed to method, to criticism, to perspicuity; in short, to every quality requisite in the philosophical treatment of a great subject. The artists and literati of Italy, then, were not a little surprised at the appearance of the first portion of the "*Storia Pittorica*," comprehending "Lower Italy; or the Florentine, Sienese, Roman, and Neapolitan Schools, reduced to a compendious and methodical form, adapted to facilitate a knowledge of Professors, and of their Styles, for the lovers of the art." It was dedicated to the grand duchess Louisa Maria of Bourbon, in a style, observes the Cav. Boni, "which recalls to mind the letters of Pliny to Trajan, composed with mingled dignity and respect; with genuine feeling, and with true, not imaginary, commendations."\*

But the unfeigned pleasure and admiration expressed in the world of literature and art, on being presented with the Pictorial History of Lower Italy, was almost equalled by its disappointment at the delay experienced with regard to the appearance of the second part; and which it was feared would never see the light. Lanzi's state of health had, some time subsequent to 1790, been very precarious; and he suffered severely from a distressing complaint, which frequently interrupted his travels in which he was then engaged, collecting further materials for his History of Painting in Upper Italy. While thus employed, on his return from Genoa in December, 1793, he experienced a first attack of apoplexy, as he was passing the mountains of Massa and Carrara. After his recovery and return to Florence, he was advised in the ensuing spring to visit the baths of Albano, which, being situated near Bassano, afforded him an opportunity of superintending the publication of his history, in the Remondini

\* Elogio, p. 127.

Press, and on a more extensive scale than he had at first contemplated. He likewise obtained permission from the grand duke Leopold, in September, 1793, to absent himself during some time from his charge at Florence. The first portion of his labours he conceived to be too scanty in point of names and notices to satisfy public taste; so that, upon completing the latter part upon a more full and extensive scale, he gave a new edition of that already published, very considerably altered and augmented.

To these improvements he invariably contributed, both in notes and text, at every subsequent edition, a number of which appeared in the course of a few years, until the work attained a degree of completeness and correctness seldom bestowed upon labours of such incredible difficulty and extent. The last which received the correction and additions of the author was published at Bassano, in the year 1809.

That a work upon so grand a scale was a great desideratum, no less to Italy than to the general world of art, would appear evident from the character of the various histories and accounts of painting which had preceded it. They are rather valuable as records, than as real criticism or history; as annals of particular characters and productions derived from contemporary observation, than as sound and enlightened views, and a dispassionate estimate of individual merits. Full of errors, idle prejudices, and discussions foreign to the subject, a large portion of their pages is taken up in vapid conceits, personal accusations, and puerile reasoning, destitute of method.

The work of Lanzi, on the other hand, as it is well remarked by the Cav. Boni, observes throughout the precept of the *series et junctura* of Horace. It brings into full light the leading professors of the art, exhibits at due distance those of the second class, and only glances at mediocrity and inferiority of character inasmuch as to fill up the great pictoric canvas with its just lights and shades. The true causes of the decline and revival of the art at certain epochs are pointed out, with those that contribute to preserve the fine arts in their happiest lustre; in which, recourse to examples more than to precepts is strongly recommended. The best rules are unfolded for facilitating the study of different



manners, some of which are known to bear a resemblance, though by different hands, and others are opposed to each other, although adopted by the same artist; a species of knowledge highly useful at a period when the best productions are eagerly sought after at a high rate. It is a history, in short, worthy of being placed at the side of that on the Literature of Italy by Tiraboschi, who, having touched upon the fine arts at the outset of his labours, often urged his ancient friend and colleague to dilate upon a subject in every way so flattering to the genius of Italy; to Italy which, however rivalled by other nations in science and in literature, stands triumphant and alone in its creative mind of art.

It is, however, difficult to convey a just idea of a work composed upon so enlarged and complete a scale; which embraces a period of about six centuries, and fourteen Italian schools, but treated with such rapidity and precision, as to form in itself a compendium of whatever we meet with in so many volumes of guides, catalogues, descriptions of churches and palaces, and in so many lives of artists throughout the whole of Italy.\*

It is known that Richardson expressed a wish that some historian would collect these scattered accounts relating to the art of painting, at the same time noting down its progress and decline in every age, a desideratum which Mengs in part supplied in one of his letters, briefly marking down all the respective eras. Upon this plan, as far as regarded Venetian painting, Zanetti had partially proceeded; but the general survey, in its perfect form, of the whole of the other schools, was destined to be completed by the genius of Lanzi. Here he first gives the general character of each, distinguishing its particular epochs, according to the alterations in taste which it underwent. A few artists of distinguished reputation, whose influence gave a new impulse and new laws to the art, stand at the head of each era, which they may be said to have produced, with a full description of their style. To these great masters, their respective pupils are annexed, with the progress of their school, referring to such as may have more or less added to, or altered the manner

\* Boni, Elogio, pp. 130-1.

of their prototype. For the sake of greater perspicuity, the painters of history are kept distinct from the artists in inferior branches; among whom are classed portrait and landscape painters, those of animals, of flowers, of fruits, &c. Nor are such as bear an affinity to the art, like engraving, inlaying, mosaic work, and embroidery, wholly excluded.\*

After having resided during a considerable period at Bassano, occupied in the superintendence of the first edition of his great work, Lanzi, in 1796, found himself compelled to retire to Udine, from the more immediate scene of war; a war which subsequently involved other cities of Italy in its career. From Udine he shortly returned to Florence, where he again resumed his former avocations in the ducal gallery, about the period of the commencement of the Bourbon government.

Lanzi's next literary undertaking was three Dissertations upon "Ancient painted Vases, commonly called Etruscan;" and he subsequently published a very excellent and pleasing work, entitled, "*Aloisii Lanzii Inscriptionum et Carminum Libri Tres*:" works which obtained for him the favourable notice of the Bourbon court. Nor was he less distinguished by that of the new French dynasty, which shortly obtained the ascendancy throughout all Italy, as well as at Florence, and by which Lanzi was appointed President of the Cruscan Academy.

Among Lanzi's latest productions may be classed his edition and translations of Hesiod; entitled, "*I Lavori, e le Giornate di Esiodo Ascreo opera con L. Codici riscontrata, emendata la versione Latina, aggiuntavi l'Italiana in Terze Rime con annotazioni*." In this he had been engaged as far back as the year 1785, and it had been then announced in a beautiful edition of Hesiod, translated into Latin by Count Zamagua.

The list will here close with his "*Opere Sacre*," sacred treatises, produced on a variety of occasions, and on a variety of spiritual subjects. One of these was upon the Holy Sacrament, entitled, "*Il divoto del SS. Sacramento istruito nella pratica di tal devozione*." In truth, Lanzi was a good Christian, and may be ranked in the number of that great

\* Boni, Elogio. Zannoni.



and honoured band of Christian philosophers, who, like Newton, Locke, and Paley, have triumphantly opposed the whole strength of their mighty intellect, and vast reach of their reasoning powers, to the specious and witty, but less powerful and argumentative genius of Gibbon, of Hume, and of Voltaire. Nor was the conviction of these great truths in the mind of Lanzi the result of sickness and misfortunes, or sombre reflections in the decline of life. Great as was the reputation he had acquired by his valuable labours, he was often known sincerely to declare, among his private friends, that he would willingly renounce all kind of literary honours for the pleasure of being assured that his sacred works had in any degree promoted the cause of Christianity.

Shortly after the last edition of the History now before us, which he had personally superintended, though at a very advanced age, in the year 1809, at Bassano, Lanzi's health began rapidly to decline, and he prepared with perfect composure to meet the termination of his earthly career. He had already attained his seventy-eighth year; but his mind preserved its usual tone and vigour, though he could with difficulty pace his apartment. He wrote letters,\* and even pursued his beloved studies on the day of his decease, which took place on Sunday, the 30th of March, 1810, occasioned by a fresh attack of apoplexy. For this he had long been prepared, and only the preceding evening had taken an affectionate leave of his friends and domestics, thanking the Cav. Boni for his kindness in continuing so long to mount his staircase to visit an old man.

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\* Antiquarian history would be greatly enriched by the publication of Lanzi's correspondence, now in possession of his nephew at Monte dell' Olmo, and which is mentioned as extremely valuable by the Ab. Zannoni, his biographer. An inscription due to Lanzi's genius, by the latter, has been placed over the façade of the Sig. Gaetano Lanzi's residence, a tribute which shews that the descendant, like the countrymen, of that historian, is zealous to promote his fame.—ED.





## LANZI'S PREFACE.

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WHEN detached histories become so numerous that they can neither be easily collected nor perused, the public interest requires a writer capable of arranging and embodying them in the form of a general historical narrative; not, indeed, by minute details, but by selecting from each that which appears most interesting and instructive. Hence it mostly happens, that the diffuser compositions of earlier ages are found to give place to compendiums, and to succinct history. If this desire has prevailed in former times, it is more especially the characteristic of our own. We live in an age highly favourable to the cultivation of intellect: the boundaries of science are extended beyond what our forefathers could have hoped; and we become anxious to discover the readiest methods of obtaining a competent knowledge of a few sciences, since it is impossible to acquire them all. On the other hand, the ages preceding ours, since the revival of learning, being more occupied about words than things, and admiring certain objects that now seem trivial, have produced historical compositions, the separate nature of which demands combination, no less than their prolixity requires abridgment.

These observations are especially applicable to the history of painting. Its materials are found ready prepared, scattered through numerous memoirs of artists of every school which, from time to time, have been given to the public; and additional articles are supplied by dictionaries of art, letters on painting, guides to several cities, catalogues of various collections, and by tracts relating to different artists, which have been published in Italy. But these accounts, independent of want of connexion, are not useful to the generality of readers. Who, indeed, could form a just idea of painting in Italy by perusing the works of certain historians of latter ages, and some even of our own time, which abound in invectives, and in attempts to exalt favourite masters above the artists of all other schools;\* and which confer eulogies indiscriminately upon professors of first, second, or third rate merit?† How few are there who feel interested in knowing all that is said of the artists with so much verbosity by Vasari, Pascoli, or Baldinucci: their low jests, their amours, their

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\* This municipal and party spirit has always reigned in Italy, and Vasari is by no means exempt from this fault.

† See Algarotti, "Saggio sopra la Pittura," in the chapter *Della critica necessaria al Pittore*.

private affairs, and their eccentricities ! What do we learn by being informed of the jealousies of the Florentine artists, the quarrels of the Roman, or the boasts of the Bolognian schools ? Who can endure the verbal accuracy with which their wills and testaments are recorded, even to the subscription of the notary, as if the author had been drawing up a legal document ; or the descriptions of their stature and physiognomy, more minute than the ancients afford us of Alexander or Augustus ?\* Not that I object to the introduction of such particulars in the lives of the great luminaries of art ; in a Raffaello or a Caracci minute circumstances derive interest from the subject ; but how intolerable do they become in the life of an ordinary individual, where the principal incidents are little interesting ! Suetonius has not written the lives of his Cæsars and his grammarians in the same manner : the former he has rendered familiar to the reader ; the latter are merely noticed.

The tastes of individuals, however, are different ; some people delight in minutiae, as it regards both the present and the past ; and since it may be of utility to those who may hereafter be inclined to give a very full and perfect history of every thing relating to Italian painting, let us view with indulgence those who employed themselves in compiling lives so copious, and let those who have time to spare, beguile it with their perusal. At the same time, regard should be paid to that respectable class of readers, who, in a history of painting, would rather contemplate the artist than the man ; who are less solicitous to become acquainted with the character of a single painter, whose insulated history cannot prove instructive, than with the genius, the method, the invention, and style of a great number of artists, with their characteristics, their merits, and their rank, the result of which is a history of the whole art.

To this object there is no one whom I know who has hitherto dedicated his pen, although it seems to be recommended no less by the passion indulged by princes for the fine arts, than by the diffusion of a knowledge of them among all ranks. The habit of travelling, rendered familiar by the example of many great sovereigns, the traffic in pictures, now become a branch of commerce important to Italy, and the philosophic genius of an age which shuns prolixity, and requires systematic arrangement, are additional incentives to the task. It is true, that some pleasing and instructive biographical sketches of celebrated painters have been published by M. d'Argenville, in France ; and various epitomes have appeared, in which the style of painting alone is discussed.† But without taking

\* For this fault, called by the Greeks, *Acribia*, Pascoli has been sharply reproved. He has informed us which among the artists could boast a becoming and proportionate nose, which had it short or long, aquiline or snubbed, sharp or hollow. He observes that such an artist was neither tall nor large of stature, neither handsome nor plain in his physiognomy ; and who would have thought it worth his while to inquire about it ? The sole utility that can attend such inquiries is, the chance of detecting some impostor, who might attempt to palm upon us for a genuine portrait the likeness of some other individual. Engravings, however, are the best security against similar impositions.

† In the "Magasin Encyclopédique," (An. viii. tom. iv. p. 63), there



into account the corruption of the names of our countrymen in which their authors have indulged, or their omission of celebrated Italians, while they record less eminent artists of other countries, no work of this kind, still less any dictionary, can afford us a systematic history of painting. None of these exhibit pictures, if we may be allowed the expression, in which we trace at a glance the progress and series of events; none of them exhibit the principal masters of the art in a conspicuous point of view, while inferior artists are reduced to their proper size and station. Far less can we discover in them those epochs and revolutions of the art, which the judicious reader most anxiously desires to know, as the source from which he may trace the causes that have contributed to its revival or its decline; or from which he may be enabled to recollect the series and arrangement of the facts narrated. The history of painting has a strong analogy to literary, to civil, and to sacred history; it too requires the aid of certain beacons, some particular distinction in regard to places, times, or events, to divide it into epochs, and mark its successive stages. Deprive it of these, and it degenerates, like other history, into a chaos of names more calculated to load the memory than to inform the understanding.

To supply this neglected branch of Italian history, to contribute to the advancement of the art, and to facilitate the study of the different styles in painting, were the objects I proposed to myself when I began the present work. My intention was to form a compendious history of all our schools, in two volumes; adopting Pliny's division of the country into Upper and Lower Italy. It was my design to comprehend in the first volume the schools of Lower Italy; because in it the reviving arts arrived earlier to maturity; and in the second to include the schools of Upper Italy, which were more tardy in attaining to celebrity. The first part of my work appeared at Florence in 1792; the second I was obliged to defer; and the succeeding years have so shaken my constitution, that I have scarcely been able to bring it to a conclusion, even with the assistance of amanuenses and correctors of the press.\* One advantage has been

is a work in two volumes, edited in the German language at Gottingen, announced as well as commended. The first volume is dated 1798, the second 1801, from the pen of the learned Sig. Florillo, the title of which we insert in the second index. It consists of a history of painting upon the plan of the present one; but there is some variation in the order of the schools.

\* It was finished in the year 1796, and it is now given, with various additions and corrections throughout. Many churches, galleries, and pictures are here mentioned, which are no longer in existence; but this does not interfere with its truth, inasmuch as the title of the work is confined to the before mentioned year. Numerous friends have lent me their assistance in the completion of this edition, and in particular the cavalier Gio. de' Lazara, a gentleman of Padua, who possesses a rich collection, both in books and MSS., and displays the utmost liberality in affording others the use of them. To this merit, in regard to the present work, he has likewise added that of revising and correcting it through the press, a favour which I could not have more highly estimated from any other hand, deeply versed as he is in the history of the fine arts.

derived from this delay; a knowledge of the opinion of the public, a tribunal from which no writer can appeal; and I have been enabled to prepare a new edition conformable to its decision.\* I understood through various channels, that an additional number of names and of notices were necessary to afford satisfaction to the public; and this I accomplished, without abandoning my plan of a compendious history. Nor does the Florentine edition, on this account, become useless; it will even be preferred by many to that published at Bassano; the inhabitants, for instance, of Lower Italy will be pleased to possess a work on their most illustrious painters, without concerning themselves about accounts of other places.

To a new work, then, so much more extensive, I prefix a preface almost entirely new. The plan is not wholly my own. Richardson† suggested that some historian should collect the scattered remarks on art, especially on painting, and should point out its progress and decline through successive ages. He has even given us a sketch, which he brought down to the time of Giordano. Mengs‡ accomplished the task more perfectly in the form of a letter, in which he judiciously distinguished all the periods of the art, and thus laid the foundations of a more enlarged history. Were I to follow their example, the chief masters of every school would be considered together, and we should be under the necessity of passing from one country to another, according as painting acquired a new lustre from their talents, or was debased by a wrong use of the great example of those artists. This method might be easily pursued, if the subject were to be treated in a general point of view, such as Pliny considered and transmitted it to posterity; but it is not equally adapted to the arrangement of a history so full and particular as Italy seems to require. Besides the styles introduced by the most celebrated painters, such diversities of a mixed character, often united with originality of manner, have arisen in every school, that we cannot easily reduce them to any particular standard: and the same artists at different periods, and in different pictures, have adopted styles so various, that at one time they appear imitators of Titian, at another of Raffaello, or of Correggio.

We cannot, therefore, adopt the method of the naturalist, who having arranged the vegetable kingdom, in classes more or less numerous, according to the systems of Tournefort or of Linnæus, can easily reduce a plant, wherever it may happen to grow, to a particular class, adding a name and description, at once precise, characteristic, and permanent. In a complete history it is necessary to distinguish each style from every other; nor do I know any more eligible method than by composing a

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\* "Ut enim pictores, et qui signa faciunt, et vero etiam poetæ suum quisque opus à vulgo considerari vult, ut si quid reprehensum sit à pluribus id corrigatur.... sic aliorum judicio permulta nobis et facienda et non facienda, et mutanda et corrigenda sunt." Cicero *De Officiis* ii. c. 41.

† Treatise on Painting. tom. ii. p. 166.

‡ Opere, tom. ii. p. 108.

separate history of each school. In this I follow Winckelman, the best historian of ancient art in design, who specified as many different schools as the nations that produced them. A similar plan seems to have been pursued by Rollin, in his "History of Nations," who has thus been enabled to record a prodigious mass of names and events within the compass of a few volumes.

The method I follow in treating of each school is analogous to that prescribed to himself by Signor Antonio Maria Zanetti,\* in his "*Pittura Veneziana*," a work of its kind highly instructive, and well arranged. What he has done, in speaking of his own, I have attempted in the other schools. I accordingly omit the names of living painters, and do not notice every picture of deceased artists, as it would interrupt the connection of the narrative, and would render the work too voluminous, contenting myself with commending some of their best productions. I first give a general character of each school; I then distinguish it into three, four, or more epochs, according as its style underwent changes with the change of taste, in the same way that the eras of civil history are deduced from revolutions in governments, or other remarkable events. A few celebrated painters, who have swayed the public taste, and given a new tone to the art, are placed at the head of each epoch; and their style is particularly described, because the general and characteristic taste of the age was formed upon their models. Their immediate pupils and other disciples follow their great masters; and, without a repetition of the general character, reference is made to what each has borrowed, altered, or added to the style of the founder of the school. This method, though not susceptible of strict chronological order, is much better adapted to a history of art than an alphabetic arrangement, which interrupts the notices of schools and eras; or the method pursued in annals, by which we are often compelled to make mention of the scholar before the master; or that of separate lives, which involves much repetition, by obliging the writer to bestow praises on the pupil for the style which he commends in the master, and to notice in each individual that which was the general character of the age.

For the sake of perspicuity, I have generally separated from historical painters artists in inferior branches, such as painters of portraits, landscape, animals, flowers, and fruit; of sea-pieces, perspectives, drolls, and all who merit a place in such classes. I have also taken notice of some arts analogous to painting, which, though they differ from it in the materials

\* A learned Venetian, skilled in the practice of design and of painting. He must not be confounded with Antonio Maria Zanetti, an eminent engraver, who revived the art of taking prints from wooden blocks with more than one colour, which was invented by Ugo da Carpi, but afterwards lost. He also wrote works, serviceable to the fine arts; and several of his letters may be seen in the second volume of "*Lettere Pittoriche*." They are subscribed Antonio Maria Zanetti, q. Erasmo; but this is an error of the editor: it ought to be q. Girolamo, to distinguish him from the other, who was called del q. Alessandro. This mistake was detected by the accurate Vianelli, in his "*Diario della Carriera*," p. 49.



employed, or the manner of using them, may still be included in the art: for example, engraving of prints, inlaid and mosaic work, and embroidering tapestry. Vasari, Lomazzo, and other writers, have mentioned them; and I have followed their example; contenting myself with noticing only what has appeared worthy of being recorded. Each might form the subject of a separate work; and some of them have long had their peculiar historians, in particular the art of engraving. By this method, which boasts great examples, I am not without hopes of affording satisfaction. I am more apprehensive in regard to my selection of artists; the number of whom may to some appear too limited, to others too extended. But criticism will not so readily apply to the names of illustrious artists, whom I have included, nor to those of very inferior character, whom I have omitted; except a few that claim mention from their connexion with celebrated masters.\* The accusation, then, of having noticed some, and omitted others, will apply only as regards artists of a middle class, that rank neither with the senate, the equestrian order, nor vulgar herd; but constitute the class of mediocrity. The adjustment of limits is a frequent cause of legal contention; and the subject now under discussion may be considered like a dispute concerning boundaries. It may often admit of doubt whether a particular artist approaches more nearly to the class of merit or of insignificance; in other words, whether he should or should not obtain a place in history. Under such uncertainty, which I have several times encountered, I have more usually inclined to the side of lenity than of severity; especially when the artist has been noticed with a degree of commendation by former authors. We ought to bow to public opinion, which rarely blames us for noticing mediocrity, but frequently for passing it over. Books on painting abound with complaints against Orlandi and Guarienti, for their omissions of certain artists. Still more frequently are authors censured, when the guide to a city points out some altar-piece by a native artist, who is not even named in our dictionaries. The describers of collections repeat similar complaints in regard to every painting bearing the signature of an artist whose name appears in no work. Collectors of prints do the same when they discover the name of some designer, of whom history is silent, affixed to an engraving. Thus, were we to consult public opinion, the majority would recommend copiousness, rather than express satisfaction at a more discriminating selection. Artists and amateurs belonging to every city would be desirous that I should commemorate as many of their second rate painters as possible; and our selection, in this respect, resembles the exercise of justice, which is generally applauded as long as it visits the dwellings of others, but cried down when it knocks at our own doors. Thus a writer, bound to observe impartiality towards every city, can scarcely shew great severity to artists of mediocrity in any. This is not without reason; for to pass

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\* An amateur unacquainted with the fact that there were various artists of the same name, as the Vecelli, Bassani, and Caracci, will never become properly acquainted with these families; neither will he be competent to judge of certain pictures, which only attract the regard of the vulgar, because they boast the reputation of a great name.

mediocrity in silence may be the study of a good orator, not the office of a good historian. Cicero himself, in his treatise "*De Claris Oratoribus*," has given a place to less eloquent orators, and it may be observed that the literary history of every people does not merely include its most classic writers, and those who approached nearest to them; but it adds concise accounts of authors less celebrated. In the *Iliad*, which is a history of the heroic age, there are a few eminent leaders, many valiant soldiers, and a prodigious crowd of others, whom the poet has transiently noticed. In our case, it is still more incumbent on the historian to give mediocrity a place along with the eminent and most excellent. Many books describe that class in terms so vague, and sometimes so discordant, that to form a proper estimate of their claims, we must introduce them among superior artists, as a sort of performers in third-rate parts. Such, however, I am not solicitous to exhibit minutely, more especially when treating of painters in fresco, and generally of other artists, whose works are now unknown in collections, or add more to the bulk than the ornament of a gallery. Thus also, in point of number, my work has maintained the character of a compendium; but if any of my readers, adopting the rigid maxim of Bellori, that, in the fine arts, as in poetry, mediocrity is not to be tolerated,\* should disdain the middle class, he must look for the heads of schools, and for the most eminent painters. To these he may dedicate his attention, and turn his regard from the others like one,

"Cui altra cura stringa e morda  
Che quella di colui che gli è davante."†

Having described my plan, let us next consider the three objects originally proposed, of which the first was to present Italy with a history important to her fame. This delightful country, already indebted to Tiraboschi for a history of her literature, is still in want of a history of her arts, in which she is confessedly without a rival. This I propose to supply, or at least to facilitate the attempt. In some departments of literature and of the fine arts we are equalled, or even surpassed, by foreigners; in others, the palm is yet doubtful: but in painting, universal

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\* I do not admit this principle. Horace laid it down for the art of poetry, because it is a faculty that perishes when it ceases to give delight. Architecture, on the other hand, confers utility when it does not please, by presenting us with habitations; and painting and sculpture, by preserving the features of men, and illustrious actions. Besides, Horace denounces the production of inferior verses, because there is not space enough for them; "*Non concessere columnæ*," but it is not so with paintings of mediocrity. In any country, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tasso may be read, and he who has never read a poor poet, will write better than if he had read a hundred. But it is not every one who can boast, either in the houses or temples of his country, of possessing the works of good artists; and for purposes of worship or of ornament, the less excellent may suffice; wherefore these also produce some advantage.

† Like one who thinks of some other person than he that is before him.  
—Dante.

consent yields the triumph to Italian genius, and foreigners are the more esteemed in proportion to their approach towards us. It is time then, for the honour of Italy, to collect in one point of view those observations, scattered through upwards of a hundred volumes, and to embody them in what Horace terms *series et junctura*; without which the work cannot be pronounced a history. I will not conceal that the author of the "History of Italian Literature" frequently animated me to this undertaking, as a sequel to his own work. He also wished me to subjoin other anecdotes to those already published, and to substitute more authentic documents for the inaccuracies abounding in our dictionaries of painting. I have attended to both these objects. The reader will here find various schools never hitherto illustrated, and an entire school, that of Ferrara, now first described from the manuscripts of Baruffaldi and of Crespi. In other schools he will often observe names of fresh artists, which I have either collected from ancient MSS.\* and the correspondence of my learned friends, or deciphered on old paintings. Although such pictures are confined to cabinets, it cannot prove useless to extend a more intimate acquaintance with their authors. The reader will also meet with many new observations on the origin of painting, and on its diffusion in Italy, formerly a fruitful subject of contention; and likewise with some original reflections on the masters, to whom various disciples may be traced; a branch of history, the most uncertain of any. Old writers of respectability often mention Raffaello, Correggio, or other celebrated artists, as the master of a painter, without any better foundation than a similarity of style; just as the credulous heathens imagined one hero to be the son of Hercules, because he was strong; another of Mercury, because he was ingenious; a third of Neptune, because he had performed long voyages. Errors like these are easily corrected, when accompanied by some inadvertency in the writer; as for instance, where he has not been aware that the age of the disciple does not correspond with that of his supposed master. Occasionally, however, their detection is attended with more difficulty; in particular when the artist, whose reputation is founded upon that of his master, represented himself, in foreign parts, as the disciple of men of celebrity, whom he scarcely knew by sight. Of this we have an example in Agostino Tassi, and more recently in certain *soi-disant* disciples of Mengs; to whom it scarcely appears that he ever so much as said, "Gentlemen, how do you do?"

Finally, the reader will find some less obvious notices relating to the

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\* For the improvement of my latest edition, I am greatly indebted to the Prince Filippo Ercolani, who, having purchased from the heirs of Signor Marcello Oretti fifty-two manuscript volumes, which that indefatigable amateur, in the course of his studies, journeys, and observations, had compiled respecting the professors of the fine arts, their eras, and their labours, allowed materials to be drawn from them for various notes, by the Sig. Lazazra, who superintended the edition. To the devoted attachment of these gentlemen to the fine arts the public are indebted for much information, either wholly new, or hitherto little known.



name, the country, and the age of different artists. The deficiency of our dictionaries in interesting names, together with their inaccuracy, are common subjects of complaint. I can excuse the compilers of these works; I know how easily we may be misled in regard to names which have been gathered from vulgar report, or from authors who differ in point of orthography, giving opposite readings of the same name. But it is necessary that such mistakes should be cleared up. The index of this work will form a new dictionary of painters, more copious, and perhaps more accurate than usual, although it might be further improved by consulting archives and manuscripts.\*

The second object which I had in view was to advance the interests of the art. It was of old observed that examples have a more powerful influence than any precepts can possess; and this is particularly true in respect to painting. Whoever writes history upon the model of the ancients ought not only to narrate events, but to investigate their sources and causes. These will be here developed, tracing the progress of painting as it advanced or declined in each school; and such causes being invariable, point out the means of its improvement, by shewing what ought to be pursued and what avoided. Such observations are not of im-

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\* Vasari, from whom several epochs are taken, is full of errors in dates. See Bottari's note on tom ii. p. 79. The same observation applies generally to other authors, as Bottari remarks in a note on "*Lettere Pittoriche*," tom. iv. p. 366. A similar objection is made to the Dictionary of P. Orlandi in another letter, tom. ii. p. 318, where it is termed "a useful work, but so full of errors, that one can derive no benefit from it without possessing the books there quoted." After three editions of this work, a fourth was printed in Venice, in 1753, corrected and enlarged by Guarienti, "but enough still remains to be done after his additions, even to increase it twofold." Bottari, *Lett. Pitt.* tom. iii. p. 353. See also Crespi "*Vite de' Pittori Bolognesi*," p. 50. No one, who has not perused this book, would believe how often he defaces Orlandi in presuming to correct him; multiplying artists for every little difference with which authors wrote the name of the same man. Thus Pier Antonio Torre, and Antonio Torri, are with him two different men. Many of the articles, however, added by him, relating to artists unknown to P. Orlandi, are useful; so that this second Dictionary ought to be consulted with caution, not altogether rejected. The last edition, printed at Florence, in two volumes, contains the names of many painters, either lately dead, or still living, often of very inferior merit, and on this account is little noticed in my history. This Dictionary, moreover, affords little satisfaction to the reader concerning the old masters, unless he possess a work printed at Florence in twelve volumes, entitled, "*Serie degli Uomini più illustri in Pittura*," to which the articles in it often refer. The "*Dizionario Portatile*," by Mr. La Combe, is also a book of reference, not very valuable to those who look for exact information. We give a single instance of his inaccuracy in regard to the elder Palma; but our emendations have been chiefly directed towards the writers of Italy, from whom foreigners have, or ought to have, borrowed, in writing respecting our artists.

portance to the artist alone. In the Roman school, during its second epoch, I perceive that the progress of the arts invariably depends on certain principles universally adopted in that age, according to which artists worked, and the public decided. A general history, by pointing out the best maxims, may contribute to make them known and regarded. Hence artists can execute, and others approve or direct, on principles no longer questionable, nor deduced from the manner of a particular school, but founded on maxims unerring and established, strengthened by the uniform practice of all schools and all ages. In a history so diversified, numerous examples occur suited to the genius of different students, who have often to lament their want of success by neglecting to follow the path in which nature destined them to tread. On the influence of examples I shall add no more : should any one be desirous also of precepts under every school, he will find them given by those who have written more ably on the art, and whom I have diligently consulted with regard to different masters.

My third object was to facilitate an acquaintance with various styles. The artist or amateur, who has studied the manner of all ages and of every school, on meeting with a picture, can readily assign it to a particular master, or at least to a certain style, much as antiquarians, from a consideration of the paper and the characters, are enabled to assign a manuscript to a particular era ; or as critics conjecture from his phraseology, the age and place in which an anonymous author flourished. With similar lights we proceed to investigate the school and era of artists ; and by diligent examination of prints, drawings, and other relics, we determine the real author. Much of the uncertainty, with regard to pictures, arises from a similitude between the style of different masters : these I collect under one head, and remark in what one differs from the other. Ambiguity often arises from comparing different works of the same painter, when the style of some does not seem to accord with his general manner, nor with his great reputation. On account of such uncertainty, I usually then point out the master of each artist, because all at the outset imitate the example offered by their teachers. I note the style formed, adhered to by each, or abandoned for another manner ; sometimes marking the age in which he lived, and his greater or less assiduity. By attentive consideration of such circumstances we avoid pronouncing a picture spurious, which may have been painted in old age, or negligently executed. Who would receive as genuine all the pictures of Guido, were it not known that he sometimes affected the style of Caracci, of Calvart, or of Caravaggio ; at other times pursued a manner of his own, in which he was often very unequal, as he is known to have painted three or four pieces in a single day ? Who would suppose that the works of Giordano were the production of the same artist, if it were not known that he aspired to diversify his style, by adopting the manner of various ancient artists ? These are well known facts, but how many are there yet unnoted worthy of being related, if we wish to avoid falling into error ? Such will be found noticed in my work, among other anecdotes of the various masters, and the different styles.

To become critically acquainted with the diversity of styles is not the

ultimate object to which the travels and the eager solicitude of the connoisseur aspire. His object is to make himself familiar with the handling of the most celebrated masters, and to distinguish copies from originals. Happy should I be, could I promise to accomplish so much! Even they might consider themselves fortunate, who dedicate their lives to such pursuits, were they enabled to discover any short, general, and certain rules for infallibly determining this delicate point! Many rely much upon history for the truth. But how frequently does it happen that the authority of an historian is cited in favour of a family picture, or an altar-piece, the original of which having been disposed of by some predecessor, and a copy substituted in its place, the latter is supposed to be genuine! Others lay great stress on the importance of places, and hesitate to raise doubts respecting any specimen they find contained in royal and select galleries, assuming that they really belong to the artists referred to in the gallery descriptions and catalogues. But here, too, they are liable to mistake; inasmuch as private individuals, as well as princes, unable to purchase ancient pictures at any price, contented themselves with such copies as approached nearest to the old masters. Some, indeed, were made by professors, despatched by princes in search of them; as in the instance of Rodolph I., who employed Giuseppe Enzo, a celebrated copyist. (See Boschini, p. 62, and Orlandi, on Gioseffo Ains di Berna.) External proofs, therefore, are insufficient, without a knowledge of different manners. Such discrimination is the fruit only of long experience, and deep reflection on the style of each master; and I shall endeavour to point out the manner in which it may be obtained.\*

To judge of a master we must attend to his design, and this is to be acquired from his drawings, from his pictures, or, at least, from accurate engravings after them. A good connoisseur in prints is more than half way advanced in the art of judging pictures; for he who aims at this must study engravings with unremitting assiduity. His eye becomes familiarized to the artist's method of delineating and foreshortening the figure, to the air of his heads and the casting of his draperies; to that action, that peculiarity of conception, of disposing, and of contrasting, which are habitual to his character. He is introduced, as it were, to the different families of youths, of children, of women, of old men, and of individuals in the vigour of life, which each artist has adopted, and usually exhibited in his pictures. We cannot be too well versed in such matters, so minute are the distinctions between the imitators of one master (Michelangelo, for example), who have perhaps studied the same cartoon, or the same statues, and, as it were, learned to write after the same model.

More originality is generally to be discovered in colouring, a branch of the art formed by a painter rather on his own judgment, than by instruction. No amateur can attain experience in this branch who has not studied pictures by the same master; who has not observed his selection

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\* See Mr. Richardson's "Treatise on Painting," tom. ii. p. 58; and M. D'Argenville's "Abrégé de la Vie des plus fameux Peintres," tom. i. p. 65.



of colours, method of separating, uniting and subduing them ; what are his local tints, and what the general tone that harmonises the colours. This tint, however, clear and silvery in Guido and his followers, bright and golden in Titiano and his school, and thus of the rest, has still as many modifications as there are masters in the art. The same remark extends to middle tints and to chiaroscuro, in which each artist employs a peculiar method.

These are qualities which catch the eye at a distance, yet will not always enable the critic to decide with certainty ; whether, for instance, a certain picture is the production of Vinci, or Luini, who imitated him closely ; whether another be an original picture by Barocci, or an exact copy from the hand of Vanni. In such cases judges of art approach closer to the picture with a determination to examine it with the same care and accuracy as are employed in a judicial question, upon the recognition of handwriting. Fortunately for society, nature has given to every individual a peculiar character in this respect, not easy to counterfeit, nor to mistake. The hand, habituated to move in a peculiar manner, always retains it : in old age the characters may be more slowly traced, become more negligent or heavy ; but the form of the letters remains the same. So it is in painting. Every artist retains this peculiarity : one is distinguished by a full charged pencil, another by a dry but neat finish ; the work of one exhibits blended tints, that of another distinct touches ; and each has his own manner of laying on the colours.\* Even in regard to what is common to so many, each has a peculiar handling, a marking of his lines more or less waved, more or less free, and more or less studied, by which those skilled from long experience are enabled, after due consideration of all circumstances, to decide who was the author. Such judges do not fear a copyist, however excellent. He will perhaps keep pace with his model for a certain time, may sometimes shew a free, but commonly a timid, servile, and meagre pencil ; but he will not be long able, with a free hand, to keep his own style concealed, especially in regard to less important points, such as the pencilling of the hair, and in the fore and back grounds of the picture.† Certain observations on the canvas and the priming ground may assist inquiry ; and hence some have endea-

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\* “ Some made use of pure colours, without blending one with the other ; a practice well understood in the age of Titiano ; others, as Correggio, adopted a method totally opposite ; he laid on his admirable colours in such a manner, that they appear as if they had been breathed without effort on the canvas ; so soft and so clear, without harshness of outline, and so relieved, that he seems the rival of nature. The elder Palma and Lorenzo Lotto coloured freshly, and finished their pictures as highly as Giovanni Bellini ; but they have loaded them with outline and softness in the style of Titiano and Giorgione. Some others, as Tintoretto, to a purity of colour not inferior to these artists, have added a boldness as grand as it is astonishing ;” &c.—Baldinucci, *Lett. Pittor.* tom. ii. lett. 126.

† See Baldinucci in *Lett. Pittor.* tom. ii. lett. 126, and one by Crespi, tom. iv. lett. 162.

voured to attain greater certainty by a chemical analysis of the colours. Diligence is ever laudable when exerted on a point so nice as ascertaining the hand-work of a celebrated master. It may prevent our paying ten guineas for what may not be worth two; or placing in a choice collection pictures that will do it no credit; while to the curious it affords scientific views, instead of creating prejudices that often engender errors. That mistakes should happen is not surprising. A true connoisseur is more rare than a good artist. His skill is the result of indirect application; it is acquired amidst other pursuits, and divides the attention with other objects; the means of attaining it fall to the lot of few; and still fewer practise it successfully. Among that number I do not reckon myself. By this work I pretend not to form an accomplished connoisseur in painting; my object is to facilitate the acquisition of such knowledge. The history of painting is the basis of connoisseurship; by combining it, I supersede the necessity of referring to many books; by abbreviating it I save the time and labour of the student; and by arranging it in a proper manner, I present him with the subject ready prepared and developed.

It remains, that I should give some account of myself; of the criticisms that I, who am not an artist, have ventured to pass upon each painter: for if the professors of the art had as much leisure and experience in writing as they have ability, every author ought to resign to them the field. The propriety of technical terms, the abilities of artists, and the selection of specimens, are usually better understood, even by an indifferent artist, than by the learned connoisseur; but since those occupied in painting have not leisure to write, others, assisted by them, may be permitted to undertake the office.\*

By the mutual assistance which the painter has afforded to the man of letters, and the man of letters to the artist, the history of painting has been greatly advanced. The merits of the best painters are already so ably discussed, that a modern historian can treat the subject advantageously. The criticisms I most regard are those that come directly from professors of the art. We meet with few from the pen of Raffaello, or Titiano, or Poussin, and of other great masters; such as exist, however, I regard as most precious, and deserving the most careful preservation; for, in general, those who can best perform can likewise judge the best. Vasari, Lomazzo, Passeri, Ridolfi, Boschini, Zanotti, and Crespi, require, perhaps, to be narrowly watched in some passages where they allowed themselves to be surprised by a spirit of party; but, on the whole, they

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\* We must recollect that "*de pictore, sculptore, fusore, judicare nisi artifex non potest*" (Plin. Jun. i. epist. 10), must be understood of certain refinements of the art that escape the eye of the most learned connoisseur. But have we need of a painter to whisper in our ear whether the features of a figure are handsome or ugly, its colouring false or natural, whether it has harmony and expression, or whether its composition be in the Roman or Venetian taste? And where it is really expedient to have the opinion of an artist, will that opinion have less authority in my pages than on his own tongue?

have an undoubted right to dictate to us, because they were themselves painters. Bellori, Baldinucci, Count Malvasia, Count Tassi, and similar writers, hold an inferior rank; but are not wholly destitute of authority; for though mere *dilettanti*, they collected both the opinions of professors and of the public. This will at present suffice, with regard to the historians of the art: we shall notice each of them particularly under the school which he has described.

In pronouncing a criticism upon each artist I have adopted the plan of Baillet, the author of a voluminous history of works on taste, where he does not so frequently give his own opinion as that of others. Accordingly, I have collected the various remarks of connoisseurs, scattered through the pages of history; but have not always cited my authorities, lest I should add too much to the dimensions of my book;\* nor have I regarded their opinion when they seemed to me to have been influenced by prejudice. I have availed myself of the observations of some approved critics, like Borghini, Fresnoy, Richardson, Bottari, Algarotti, Lazzarini, and Mengs; with others who have rather criticised our painters than written their lives. I have also respected the opinions of living critics, by consulting different professors in Italy: to them I have submitted my manuscript; I have followed their advice, especially when it related to design, or any other department of painting, in which artists are almost the only adequate judges. I have conversed with connoisseurs, who, in some points, are not less skilful than the professors of the art, and are even consulted by artists with advantage; as on the suitability of the subject, on the propriety of the invention and the expression, on the imitation of the antique, on the truth of the colouring. Nor have I failed to study the greatest part of the best productions of the schools of Italy; and to inform myself in the different cities what rank their least known painters hold among their connoisseurs; persuaded that the most accurate opinion of any artist is formed where the greatest number of his works are to be seen, and where he is most frequently spoken of by his fellow-citizens and by strangers. In this way, also, I have been enabled to do justice to the merits of several artists who had been passed over, either because the historian of their school had never beheld their productions, or had merely met with some early and trivial specimens in one city, being unacquainted with the more perfect and mature specimens they had produced elsewhere.

Notwithstanding my diligence, I do not presume to offer this as a work to which much might not be added. It has never happened that a his-

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\* Abundance of quotations and descriptions of the minutest particulars from rarer works is a characteristic of the present day, to which I think I have sufficiently conformed in my second Index. But in a history expressly composed to instruct and please, I have judged it right not to interrupt the thread of the narrative too frequently with different authorities. The works from which I draw my account of each artist are indicated in the body of the history and in the first Index; to make continual allusion to them might please a few, but would prove very disagreeable to many.



tory, embracing so many objects, is at once produced perfect; though it may gradually be rendered so. The history earliest in point of time, becomes, in the end, the least in authority; and its greatest merit is in having paved the way to more finished performances. Perfection is still less to be expected in a compendium. The reader is here presented with the names of many artists and authors; but many others might have been admitted, whom want of leisure or opportunity, but not of respect, has obliged us to omit. Here he will find a variety of opinions; but to these many others might have been added. There is no man, of whom all think alike. Baillet, before mentioned, is a proof of this, with regard to writers on literary subjects; and he who thinks the task worthy of his pains might demonstrate it more fully with respect to different painters. Each judges by principles peculiar to himself: Bonarruoti stigmatized as drivelling, Pietro Perugino and Francia, both luminaries of the art; Guido, if we may credit history, was disapproved of by Cortona; Caravaggio by Zuccherò; Guercino by Guido; and, what seems more extraordinary, Domenichino by most of the artists who flourished at Rome when he painted his finest pictures.\* Had these artists written of their rivals they either would have condemned them, or spoken less favourably of them than unprejudiced individuals. Hence it is that connoisseurs will frequently be found to approach nearer the truth, in forming their estimate, than artists; the former adopt the impartial feelings of the public, while the latter allow themselves to be influenced by motives of envy or of prejudice. Innumerable similar disputes are still maintained concerning several artists, who, like different kinds of aliment, are found to be disagreeable or grateful to different palates. To hold the happy mean, exempted from all party spirit, is as impossible as to reconcile the opinions of mankind, which are as multifarious as are the individuals of the species.

Amid such discrepancy of opinion I have judged it expedient to avoid the most controverted points; in others, to subscribe to the decision of the majority; to allow to each his particular opinion;† but not, if possi-

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\* Pietro da Cortona told Falconieri that when the celebrated picture of S. Girolamo della Carità was exhibited, "it was so abused by all the eminent painters, of whom many then flourished, that he himself joined in its condemnation, in order to save his credit." See Falconieri, *Lett. Pittor.* tom. ii. lett. 17. He continues: "Is not the tribune of the church of S. Andrea della Valle, ornamented by Domenichino, among the finest specimens of painting in fresco? and yet they talked of sending masons with hammers to knock it down after he had displayed it. When Domenichino afterwards passed through the church, he stopped with his scholars to view it; and, shrugging up his shoulders, observed, 'After all, I do not think the picture so badly executed.'"

† The most singular and novel opinions concerning our painters are contained in the volumes published by M. Cochin, who is confuted in the "Guides" to the Cities of Padua and Parma, and is often convicted of erroneous statements in matter of fact. He is reproved, with regard to Bologna, by Crespi, in *Lett. Pittor.* tom. vii.: and for what he has said

ble, to disappoint the reader, desirous of learning what is most authentic and generally received. Ancient writers appear to have pursued this plan when treating of the professors of any art, in which they themselves were mere amateurs; nor could it arise from any other circumstance that Cicero, Pliny, and Quintilian, expressed themselves upon the Greek artists in the same manner. Their opinions coincide, because that of the public was unanimous. I am aware that it is difficult to obtain the opinion of the public concerning the more modern artists, but it is not difficult with regard to those on whom much has been written. I am also aware that public opinion accords not at all times with truth, because "it often happens to incline to the wrong side of the question." This, however, is a rare occurrence in the fine arts,\* nor does it militate against an historian who aims more at fidelity of narrative, and impartiality of public opinion, than the discussion of the relative merit or correctness of tastes.

I commence by treating of that part of Italy, which, through the genius of Da Vinci, Michelangelo, and Raffaello, became first conspicuous, and exhibited a decided character in painting. Those artists were the ornaments of the Florentine and Roman schools, from which I proceed to two others, the Sienese and Neapolitan. About the same time Giorgione, Titiano, and Correggio, began to flourish in Italy; three artists, who as much advanced the art of colouring, as the former improved design. Then follows the school of Bologna, in which the attempt was made to unite the excellences of all the other schools; and on account of proximity it is succeeded by that of Ferrara, and Upper and Lower Romagna. Then follows the school of Genoa, which was late in acquiring celebrity; and we conclude with that of Piedmont, which, though it cannot boast so long a succession of artists as those of other

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of Genoa, by Ratti, in the lives of the painters of that city. Commencing with his preface, they point out the grossest errors in Cochin. It is there also observed that his work was disapproved of by Watellet, by Clerisseau, and other French connoisseurs then living: nor do I believe it would have pleased Filibien, De Piles, and such masters of the critical art. Italy also, at a later period, has produced a book, which aims at overturning the received opinions on subjects connected with the fine arts. It is entitled "*Arte di vedere secondo i principii di Sulzer e di Mengs.*" The author, who, in certain periodical works at Rome, was called the modern Diogenes, has been honoured with various confutations. (See "*Lettera in Difesa del Cav. Ratti,*" p. 11.) Authors like these launch their extravagant opinions, for the purpose of attracting the gaze of the world; but men of letters, if they cannot pass them over in silence, ought not to be very anxious to gratify their wishes—"Opinionum commenta delet dies."—Cicero.

\* Of Apelles himself Pliny observes, "*Vulgum diligentiorum judicem quam se præferens.*" Examine also Carlo Dati in "*Vite de' Pittori Antichi,*" p. 99, where he proves, by authority and examples, that judging of the imitative arts is not confined to the learned. See also Giunio "*De Pictura Veterum,*" lib. i. cap. 5.

states, has merits sufficient to entitle it to a place in a history of painting.\* Thus the five most celebrated schools will be treated of in the order in which they arose, as the ancient writers on painting began with the Asiatic school, which was followed by the Grecian, and this last was subdivided into the Attic and Sicyonian; to which in process of time succeeded the Roman school.† At the end of the work is given an ample index, quite indispensable to render the work more extensively useful, and to give it its full advantage. In assigning artists to any school I have paid more regard to other circumstances than the place of their nativity; to their education, their style, their place of residence and the instruction of their pupils: circumstances sometimes found so blended and confused, that several cities may contend for one painter, as they are said to have done for Homer. In such cases I do not pretend to decide; the object of my labours being to trace the vicissitudes of the art in various places, and to point out those artists who have exercised an influence over them; not to determine disputes, unpleasant in themselves, and wholly foreign to my undertaking.

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\* Where, we might inquire, is the Lombard school? Yet the author gives an account of it in vol. iv.; and Da Vinci, when called by Il Moro to Milan, found painting there already matured by the works of Bernardo Zenale, by Borgognoni, and by many other artists.

† See Mons. Agucchi, in a fragment preserved by Bellori, in "Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti moderni," p. 190.





# HISTORY OF PAINTING

IN

## LOWER ITALY.

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### BOOK I.

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#### FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

##### EPOCH I.

Origin of the revival of Painting—Association and methods of the old Painters—Series of Tuscan Artists before the time of Cimabue and Giotto.

##### SECTION I.

THAT there were painters in Italy, even during the rude ages, is attested not only by historians,\* but by pictures which have escaped the ravages of time. Rome retains several ancient specimens.† Passing over her cemeteries, which have handed down to us a number of Christian monuments, part in specimens of painted glass, scattered through our museums, and part in those of parietal histories, or walled mosaic, it will be sufficient to adduce two vast works, unrivalled by any others in Italy. The first is the series of the Popes, which, in order to prove the succession of the papal chair from the prince of the Apostles down to the time of St. Leo, this last holy pontiff caused to be painted; a work of the fifth century,

\* See Tiraboschi, "*Storia della Letterat. Italiana*," towards the end of tom. iv. Also the Dissertation of Lami on the Italian painters and sculptors who flourished from the year 1000 to 1300; in the Supplement to Vinci's "*Trattato della Pittura*," printed at Florence in 1792; and see Moreni, P. iv. p. 108.

† See the oration of Mon. Francesco Carrara "*Delle Lodi delle belle Arti*," Roma, 1758, 4to., with the accompanying notes, in which the two Bianchini, Marangoni, and Bottari, their illustrators, are cited.

subsequently continued until our own times. The second is the decoration of the whole church of San Urbano, where there are several evangelical acts represented on the walls, along with histories of the Titular Saint and St. Cecilia, a production which, partaking in nothing either of the Greek lineaments or style of drapery, may be attributed more justly to an Italian pencil, which has subscribed the date of 1011.\* Many more might be pointed out, existing in different cities; as, for instance, the picture at Pesara, of the patron saints of the city, illustrated by the celebrated Annibale Olivieri, which is earlier than the year 1000; those in the vaults of the cathedral at Aquileja,† the picture at Santa Maria Primerana at Fiesole, which seems the work of that or the succeeding age;‡ and the picture at Orvieto which was formerly known by the name of S. Maria Prisca, but is now generally called S. Brizio.§ I say nothing of the figures of the Virgin formerly ascribed to St. Luke, now supposed to be the production of the eleventh or twelfth century, as I shall have to treat of them at the opening of the third book. The painters of those times were, however, of little repute; they produced no illustrious scholars, no work worthy of marking an era. The art had gradually degenerated into a kind of mechanism, which, after the models afforded by the Greek workers in mosaic employed in the church of St. Mark, at Venice,|| invariably exhibited the

\* Pointed out to me by Signor D'Agincourt, a gentleman deeply versed in antiquities of this sort.

† There were similar remains in the choir, the design of which I have seen. They were covered over in 1733. Among other curiosities was the portrait of the patriarch Popone, of the Emperor Conrad, and his son Henry: the design, action, and characters, like the mosaics at Rome; executed about the year 1030. See Bartoli "*Antichità di Aquileja*," p. 369; and Altan, "*Del vario Stato*," &c. p. 5.

‡ The figure of our Lady is retouched; but two miniatures, attached to it, are better preserved; the one represents a man, the other a woman: and their drapery is in the costume of that period. The figures are reversed in the engraving of them, which is published.

§ See P. della Valle in the preface to Vasari, p. 51.

|| A few pictures by superior Greek artists remain, which are very good. Of this number is a Madonna, with a Greek inscription, at the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome. There is also one at Camerino said to have come from Smyrna; and I know of no Greek picture in Italy better executed or better preserved.



same legends, in which nature appeared distorted rather than represented. It was not till after the middle of the thirteenth century that any thing better was attempted; and the improvement of sculpture was the first step towards the formation of a new style.

The honour of this is due to the Tuscans; a nation that from remote antiquity disseminated the benign light of art and learning throughout Italy; but it more especially belongs to the people of Pisa. They taught artists to shake off the trammels of the modern Greeks, and to adopt the ancients for their models. Barbarism had not only overwhelmed the arts, but the maxims necessary for their re-establishment. Italy was not destitute of fine specimens of Grecian and Roman sculpture; but she had long been without an artist who could appreciate their value, much less attempt to imitate them. Little else was executed in those dark ages but some rude pieces of sculpture, such as what remains in the cathedral of Modena, in San Donato at Arezzo, in the Primaziale at Pisa,\* and in churches where specimens are preserved on the doors or in the interior. Niccola Pisano was the first who discovered and pursued the true path. There were, and still are, some ancient sarcophagi in Pisa, especially that which inclosed the body of Beatrice, mother of the countess Matilda, who died in the eleventh century. A chase, supposed to represent that of Hippolytus, is sculptured on it in basso relievo, which must be the production of a good school; being a subject which has been often delineated by the ancients on many urns still extant at Rome.† This

\* The lateral gate of bronze is of very rude workmanship, as described by the Canon Martini, in his account of that temple, p. 85; and by Signor da Morrona, it is ascribed to the hand of Bonanno Pisano. From Vasari's life of Arnolfo, we learn that the same sculptor also executed the great gate of the Primaziale at Pisa, in bronze, about the year 1180, subsequently destroyed by fire. That of Santa Maria Nuova at Monreale, is likewise his. It is described by P. del Giudice, in his account of that church, and bears the name of Bonanno Pisano, with the date 1186. It is as rudely executed as the preceding one at Pisa, as I am assured by the Cavalier Puccini, accurately versed in every branch of the fine arts. If we wish to estimate the merit of Niccola Pisano, we have only to compare these two gates with the specimens which he gave us only a few years afterwards.

† Several specimens of similar productions also remain in Sicily, parti-

was the model which Niccola selected; from this he formed a style which participated of the antique, especially in the heads and the casting of the drapery; and when exhibited in different Italian cities, "it inspired artists with a laudable emulation to apply to sculpture more assiduously than they had before done," as we are informed by Vasari. Niccola did not attain to what he aspired. The compositions are sometimes crowded, the figures are often badly designed, and show more diligence than expression. His name, however, will always mark an era in the history of design, because he first led artists into the true path by the introduction of a better standard. Reform in any branch of study invariably depends on some rule, which, promulgated and adopted by the schools, gradually produces a general revolution in opinion, and opens a new field to a succeeding age.

About 1231, he sculptured at Bologna the urn of San Domenico, and from this, as a remarkable event, he was named "Niccola of the Urn." He afterwards executed, in a much superior style, the Last Judgment, for the cathedral of Orvieto, and the pulpit in the church of San Giovanni, at Pisa; works that demonstrate that design, invention, and composition, received from him a new existence. He was succeeded by Arnolfo Fiorentino, his scholar, the sculptor of the tomb of Boniface VIII. in San Pietro at Rome; and by his son Giovanni, who executed the monuments of Urban IV. and of Benedict IX. in Perugia. He afterwards completed the great altar of San Donato, at Arezzo, the cost of which was thirty thousand gold florins; besides many other works which remain in Naples and in several cities of Tuscany. Andrea Pisano was his associate, and probably also his disciple in Perugia, who, after establishing himself in Florence, ornamented with statues the cathedral and the

cularly at Mazzerra and Girganti. At Palermo, the tomb of the Empress Constance II., who died in the year 1222, is decorated with an antique sculpture in basso relievo, representing a chase, which is conjectured to represent that of Æneas and Dido, and which is well engraved. See the work entitled, "*I Regali Sepolchri del Duomo di Palermo riconosciuti e illustrati*." Nap. 1784."—W. R.

Another specimen of this sort is said to be in the collection of Mr. Blundell, at Ince.—W. R.

church of San Giovanni in that city; and in twenty-two years finished the great gate of bronze "to which we are indebted for all that is excellent, difficult, or beautiful in the other two, which are the workmanship of succeeding artists." He was, in fact, the founder of that great school that successively produced Orcagna, Donatello, and the celebrated Ghiberti, who fabricated those gates for the same church, which Michelangelo pronounced worthy to form the entrance of Paradise. After Andrea, we may notice Giovanni Balducci, of Pisa, whose era, country, and style, all lead us to suppose him one of the same school. He was an excellent artist, and was employed by Castruccio, lord of Lucca, and by Azzone Visconti, prince of Milan; where he flourished, and left, among other monuments of his art, the tomb of San Pietro Martire, at S. Eustorgio, so highly praised by Torre, by Lattuada, and by various learned illustrators of Milanese antiquities.\* Two eminent artists, natives of Siena, proceeded from the school of Gio. Pisano, namely, the two brothers, Agnolo and Agostino, who are commended by Vasari as improvers of the art. Whoever has seen the sepulchre of Guido, bishop of Arezzo, decorated with an infinity of statues and basso relievos, representing passages of his life, will not only admire in them the design, which was the work of Giotto, but the execution of the sculpture. The brothers also executed many of their own designs in Orvieto, in Siena, and in Lombardy, where they brought up several pupils, who for a long period pursued their manner, and diffused it over Italy.

To the improvement of sculpture succeeded that of mosaic, through the efforts of another Tuscan, belonging to the order of minor friars, named Fra Jacopo, or Fra Mino da Turrita, from a place in the territory of Siena. It is not known whether he was instructed in his art by the Romans or by the

\* In the "Guide to Milan," Sig. Abate Bianconi observes, "that these are beautiful works, and that nothing superior is to be seen in any work of that age. Vasari, by omitting this very eminent Pisan, and not mentioning these works, although he was, according to his own account, at Milan, has given reason to believe, that he was not over anxious in his researches." p. 215.

See also Giuliani and Verri, as quoted by Sig. da Morrona in tom. i. pp. 199, 200.



Greek workers in mosaic,\* but it is well ascertained that he far surpassed them. On examining what remains of his works in Santa Maria Maggiore at Rome, one can hardly be persuaded that it is the production of so rude an age, did not history constrain us to believe it. It appears probable that he took the ancients for his models, and deduced his rules from the more chaste specimens of mosaic, still remaining in several of the Roman churches, the design of which is less crude, the attitudes less forced, and the composition more skilful, than were exhibited by the Greeks who ornamented the church of San Marco, at Venice. Mino surpassed them in every thing. From 1225, when he executed the mosaic of the tribune of the church of San Giovanni, at Florence, he was considered at the head of the living artists in mosaic. He merited this praise much more by his works at Rome, and it appears that he long maintained his reputation. Vasari has not been sufficiently just to the fame of Turrita, in noticing him only casually in the life of Tafi, but the verses he recites, and the commissions he mentions, demonstrate how greatly Turrita was esteemed by his contemporaries. It is maintained that he was also a painter; but this is a mistake which will be cleared up in the Sienese school.

From a deficiency of specimens, painting long remained in a more rude state than mosaic, and was very far behind sculpture. But we must not imagine, that at the birth of Cimabue, in 1240, the race of artists was entirely extinct, as erroneously asserted by Vasari. This must be deemed an exaggeration, for he himself has recounted several sculptors, architects, and painters then living; and the general scope of his less cautious expressions, against which so many writers have inveighed, and still continue to declaim, favours this

\* The mosaic school subsisted at Rome as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (See Musant. *Fax Chronol.* pp. 319, 338.) In this the family of the Cosmati acquired great excellence. Adeodato di Cosimo Cosmati employed himself in the church of St. Maria Maggiore, in 1290 (*Guide to Rome*); and several of the same name exercised their talents in the cathedral of Orvieto. (See Valle, *Catalogo*.) The whole of these are preferred to the Greek mosaic-workers, who were at the same period engaged in decorating St. Mark's at Venice. (See Valle's *Preface to Vasari*, p. 61.)

opinion. I shall be constrained to advert, in almost every book, to their accusations, and to produce the names of artists who then lived. I shall commence with those who then flourished in Tuscany. The city of Pisa, at this time, had not only painters, but a school for each of the fine arts.\* The distinguished Signor Morrona, who has illustrated the Pisan antiquities, deduces its origin immediately from Greece. The Pisans, already very powerful by sea and land, having resolved in 1063 to erect the vast fabric of their cathedral, had drawn thither artists in miniature, and other painters, at the same time with Buschetto the architect, and these men educated pupils for the city. The Greeks at that time were but ill qualified to instruct, for they knew little. Their first pupils in Pisa seem to have been a few anonymous artists, some of whose miniatures and rude paintings are still in existence. A parchment, containing the *Exultet*, as usually sung on Sabbato Santo, is in the cathedral, and we may here and there observe, painted on it, figures in miniature, with plants and animals: it is a relique of the early part of the twelfth century, yet a specimen of art not altogether barbarous. There are likewise some other paintings of that century, in the same cathedral, containing figures of our Lady, with the holy infant on her right arm: they are rude, but the progress of the same school may be traced from them to the time of Giunta. This artist lately received a fine eulogium, among other illustrious Pisans, from Signor Tempesta, and he was entitled to it from the more early historians. His country possesses none of his undoubted pictures, except a crucifixion with his name, which is believed to be among his earliest productions, a print from which may be found in the third volume of "Pisa Illustrata." He executed better pictures in Assisi, where he was invited to paint by Frat' Elia di Cortona, superior of the Minori, about the year 1230. From thence we are furnished with notices of his education, which is thus described by P. Angeli, the historian of that cathedral: "Juncta Pisanus ruditer à Græcis instructus, primus ex Italis, artem apprehendit circa an. sal. 1210." In the church of the Angioli there is a better preserved work

\* See "Pisa Illustrata" of Signor da Morrona, tom. i. p. 224.

of the same master; it is a crucifixion painted on a wooden cross; on the lateral edges and upper surface of which our Lady is represented, with two other half-length figures, and underneath the remains of an inscription are legible, which having copied on the spot, I do not hesitate to publish with its deficiencies now supplied:—

*IUNTA PISANUS  
IUNTINI ME Fecit.*

I supply Juntini, because Signor da Morrona asserts, that about this time, a Giunta di Giuntino is mentioned in the records of Pisa, whom, by the aid of the Assisi inscription, I conjecture to be the painter we have now under notice. The figures are considerably less than life; the design is dry, the fingers excessively long, but these are *vitia non hominum sed temporum*; in short, this piece shews a knowledge of the naked figure, an expression of pain in the heads, and a disposition of the drapery, greatly superior to the efforts of the Greeks, his contemporaries. The handling of his colours is strong, although the flesh inclines to that of bronze; the local tints are judiciously varied, the chiaroscuro even shews some art, and the whole is not inferior, except in the proportions, to crucifixions with similar half-figures usually ascribed to Cimabue. He painted at Assisi another crucifixion, which is now lost, to which may be added, a portrait of Frat' Elia, with this inscription, "F. Helias fecit fieri. Jesu Christe pie miserere precantis Heliae. Juncta Pisanus me pinxit, An. D. 1236. Indit. IX." The inscription has been preserved by P. Wadingo, in his annals of the Franciscan order for that year, and the historian describes the crucifixion as *affabre pictum*. The fresco works of Giunta were executed in the great church of the Franciscans, and according to Vasari, he was there assisted by certain Greeks. Some busts and history pieces still remain in the gallery and the contiguous chapels, among which is the crucifixion of San Pietro, noticed in the "Etruria Pittrice." Some believe that those paintings have been injudiciously retouched, and this may serve to excuse the drawing, which may have been altered, in many places, but the feebleness of the colouring cannot be denied. When they are compared with what Cimabue



executed there about forty years afterwards, it seems that Giunta was not sufficiently forcible in this species of painting; perhaps he might have improved, but he is not mentioned after 1236; and it is conjectured that he died while yet a young man, at a distance from his native country. I am induced to believe so from observing, that Giunta di Giuntino is noticed in the records of Pisa, in the early part of that century, but not afterwards; and that Cimabue was sent for to paint the altar-piece and portrait of San Francesco of Pisa, about the year 1265, before he went to Assisi. It is more likely that Giunta would have executed this, had he returned home from that city, where he had seen, and perhaps painted, the portrait of the Holy Father.\*

From this school the art is believed to have spread in these early times over all Tuscany, although it must not be forgotten that there were miniature painters there as well as in other parts of Italy, who, transferring their art from small to large works, like Franco of Bologna, betook themselves, and incited others, to painting on walls and on panel. Whatever we may choose to believe, Siena, at this period, could boast her Guido, who painted from the year 1221, but not entirely in the manner of the Greeks, as we shall find under the Sienese school. Lucca possessed in 1235 one Bonaventura Berlingieri. A San Francesco painted by him still exists in the castle of Guiglia, not far from Modena, which is described as a work of great merit for that age.† There lived another artist about the year 1288, known by his production of a crucifixion, which he left at San Cerbone, a short distance from the city, with this inscription: "Deodatus filius Orlandi de Luca me pinxit, A. D. 1288." Margaritone of Arezzo was a disciple and imitator of the Greeks, and by all accounts he must have been born several years before Cimabue. He painted on canvas, and if we may credit Vasari, made the first

\* In the sacristy of the Angioli is preserved the most ancient portrait of San Francesco that is extant. It is painted on the panel which served as the saint's couch until the period of his decease, as we learn from the inscription. It is there supposed to be the work of some Greek artist anterior to Giunta.

† See Signor Ab. Bettinelli, "*Risorgimento d' Italia negli studii, nelle arti, ne' costumi dopo il mille*," p. 192.

discovery of a method of rendering his pictures more durable, and less liable to cracking. He extended canvas on the panel, laying it down with a strong glue, made of shreds of parchment, and covered the whole with a ground of gypsum, before he began to paint. He formed diadems and other ornaments of plaster, giving them relief from gilding and burnishing them. Some of his crucifixions remain in Arezzo, and one of them is in the church of the Holy Cross at Florence, near another by Cimabue; both are in the old manner, and not so different in point of merit, but that Margaritone, however rude, may be pronounced as well entitled as Cimabue to the name of painter.

While the neighbouring cities had made approaches towards the new style, Florence, if we are to credit Vasari and his followers, was without a painter; but subsequent to the year 1250, some Greek painters were invited thither by the rulers of the city, for the purpose of restoring the art of painting in Florence, where it was rather wholly lost than degenerated. To this assertion I have to oppose the learned dissertation of Doctor Lami, which I have just commended. Lami observes that mention is made in the archives of the chapters of one Bartolommeo who painted in 1236, and that the picture of the Annunciation of our Lady, which is held in the highest veneration in the church of the Servi, was painted about that period. It is retouched in some parts of the drapery; it possesses, however, much originality, and for that age is respectably executed. When I prepared my first edition, I had no knowledge of the work of Lami, which was not then published, and hence was unable to proceed further than to refute the opinion of those who ascribed this sacred figure to Cavallini, a pupil of Giotto. I reflected that the style of Cavallini appeared considerably more modern in his other works which I had examined at Assisi and at Florence; yet, various artists whom I consulted, and among others Signor Pacini, who had copied the Annunciation, disputed with me this diversity of style. I further adduced the form of the characters written there in a book, "*Ecce Virgo concipiet*," &c., which resembles those of the thirteenth century; nor have they that profusion of lines which distinguishes the German, commonly denominated the Gothic character, which Cavallini

and other pupils of Giotto always employed. I rejoice that the opinion of Lami confirms my conjecture, and stamps its authenticity; and it seems to me highly probable that the Bartolommeo, whom he indicates, is the individual to whom the memorandums of the Servi ascribe the production of their Annunciation about the year 1250. The same religious fraternity preserve, among their ancient paintings, a Magdalen, which appears, from the design and inscription, a work of the thirteenth century; and we might instance several coeval pictures that still exist in the Chapter House, and in other parts of the city.\*

Having inserted these notices of ancient painters, and some others, which will be found scattered throughout the work, I turn to Vasari, and to the accusations laid to his charge. He is defended by Monsignor Bottari in a note at the conclusion of the life of Margaritone, taken from Baldinucci. He affirms, from his own observation, "that though each city had some painters, they were all as contemptible and barbarous as Margaritone, who, if compared to Cimabue, is unworthy of the name of painter." The examples already cited do not permit me to assent to this proposition; even Bottari himself will scarcely allow me to do so, as he observes, in another note on the life of Cimabue, "that he was the first who abandoned the manner of the Greeks, or at least who avoided it more completely than any other artist." But if others, such as Guido, Bonaventura, and Giunta, had freed themselves from it before his time, why are they not recorded as the first, in point of time, by Vasari? Did not their example open the new path to Cimabue? Did they not afford a ray of light to reviving art?

\* To this list of early painters might perhaps be added the name of Francesco Benani, by whom there is a whole-length figure of St. Jerome holding a crucifix in his hand. It possesses all the characteristics attributed by Lanzi to this early age. Near the bottom of the picture is a label, inscribed Franciscus Benanus, Filius Petri Ablada. The size of the picture is 2 feet 8 by 2 feet 2, on panel, covered with gypsum. The vehicle of the colours is probably prepared from eggs, which were usually employed for that purpose before the invention of painting in oil, and to which an absorbent ground of lime or gypsum seems to have been indispensable. It is surprising how well the early pictures executed in this style have preserved their colouring to the present day.—W. R.



Were they not in painting what the two Guidos were in poetry, who, however much surpassed by Dante, are entitled to the first place in a history of our poets? Vasari would, therefore, have acted better had he followed the example of Pliny, who commences with the rude designers, Ardicus of Corinth, and Telephanes of Sicily; he then minutely narrates the invention of Cleophantes the Corinthian, who coloured his designs with burnt earth; next, that of Eumarus the Athenian, who first represented the distinction of age and sex. Then comes that of Cimon of Cleonæ, who first expressed the various attitudes of the head, and aimed at representing the truth, even in the joints of the fingers and the folds of the garments. Thus, the merits of each city, and every artist, appear in ancient history; and it seems to me just that the same should be done, as far as possible, in modern history. These observations may, at present, suffice in regard to a subject that has been made a source of complaint and dispute among many writers.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there is no city to which painting is more indebted than to Florence, nor any name more proper to mark an epoch, whatever may be the opinion of Padre della Valle,\* than that of Cimabue. The artists before mentioned had few followers; their schools, with the exception of that of Siena, languished, and were

\* This writer has thrown much light upon the history of our early painters, from which I have derived much benefit; but in the heat of dispute he has frequently depreciated Cimabue in a way which I cannot approve. For instance, Vasari having said that "he contributed greatly to the perfection of the art," della Valle asserts, that "he did it neither good nor harm;" and that having closely examined the pictures of Cimabue, "he has found them in a ruder style than appears in those of Giunta Pisano, of Guido da Siena, of Jacopo da Turrita, &c." (tom. i. p. 235.) Of the two last I shall speak elsewhere. With respect to the first, the writer contradicts himself four pages after; when, commenting on another passage of the historian relating to certain pictures of Cimabue, executed in Assisi in the inferior church of S. Francesco, he says, that "he there, in his opinion, surpassed Giunta Pisano." It is to be remembered that this was his first work, or amongst the first that Cimabue painted in Assisi. When he went thither, therefore, he was a better artist than Giunta. How, then, when he worked in the superior church, in Assisi, and in so many other places, did he become so bad a painter, and more uncouth than Giunta himself?

either gradually dispersed, or united themselves to that of Florence. This school in a short time eclipsed every other, and has continued to flourish in a proud succession of artists, uninterrupted even down to our own days. Let us then trace it from its commencement.

Giovanni Cimabue, descended from illustrious ancestors,\* was both an architect and a painter. That he was the pupil of Giunta is conjectured in our times, only because the Greeks were less skilful than the Italians. It ought to be a previous question, whether the supposed scholar and master ever resided in the same place, which it would seem, after the observations before adduced, can scarcely be admitted.† It appears from history, that he learnt the art from some Greeks who were invited to Florence, and painted in S. Maria Novella, according to Vasari. It is an error to assert that they painted in the chapel of the Gondi, which was built a century after, together with the church; it was certainly in another chapel, under the church, where those Greek paintings were covered with plaster, and their place supplied by others, the work of a painter of the thirteenth century.‡

Not long since a part of the new plaster fell down, and some of the very rude figures of those Greek painters became again visible. It is probable that Cimabue imitated them in early life, and perhaps at that time painted the S. Francesco and the little legends which surround it in the church of S. Croce. But, if I mistake not, it is doubtful who painted this picture; at least, it neither has the manner nor the

\* See Baldinucci, tom. i. p. 17, Florentine edition, 1767, where it is said that the Cimabuoi were also called Gualtieri.

† But see Baldinucci in "Veglia," p. 87.

‡ We read, in the preface to the Sienese edition of Vasari's "Lives" (p. 17), as follows: "To Giunta and to the other artists of Pisa, as heads of the school, was given the principal direction of adorning the Franciscan church; and Cimabue and Giotto are known to have been either disciples or assistants in their school, in which they produced several important works. Giunta had the direction of his assistant as long as he resided there, which may have been even subsequent to 1236. But how are we to suppose that he could have been at Assisi so long as to permit Cimabue (who was born in 1240, and went to Assisi about 1265) to assist, to receive instructions from, and to succeed him? Such a supposition is still more untenable as regards Giotto, who was invited to Assisi many years afterwards."—Vasari.

colouring of the works of Cimabue, even when young. I may refer to the S. Cecilia, with the implements of her martyrdom, in the church dedicated to that saint, and which was afterwards removed to that of San Stefano, a picture greatly superior to that of S. Francesco.

However this may be, Giovanni, like other Italians of his age, got the better of his Greek education, which seems to have consisted in one artist copying another without adding any thing to the practice of his master. He consulted nature, he corrected in part the rectilinear forms of his design, he gave expression to the heads, he folded the drapery, and he grouped the figures with much greater art than the Greeks. His talent did not consist in the graceful. His Madonnas have no beauty, his angels in the same piece have all the same forms. Wild as the age in which he lived, he succeeded admirably in heads full of character, especially in those of old men, impressing an indescribable degree of bold sublimity, which the moderns have not been able greatly to surpass. Vast and inventive in conception, he executed large compositions, and expressed them in grand proportions. His two great altar-pieces of the Madonna, at Florence, the one in the church of the Dominicans, the other in that of the Trinity, with the grand figures of the prophets, do not give so good an idea of his style as his fresco paintings in the church of Assisi, where he appears truly magnificent for the age in which he lived. In these histories of the Old and New Testament, such as remain, he appears an Ennius, who, amid the rudeness of Roman epic poetry, gave flashes of genius not displeasing to a Virgil. Vasari speaks of him with admiration for the vigour of his colouring, and justly so of the pictures in the ceiling. They are still in a good state of preservation, and although some of the figures of Christ, and of the Virgin in particular, retain much of the Greek manner, others representing the Evangelists, and Doctors instructing the Monks of the Franciscan Order, from their chairs, exhibit an originality of conception and arrangement that does not appear in contemporary works. The colouring is bold, the proportions are gigantic even in the distance, and not badly preserved; in short, painting may there be said to have almost advanced beyond what the mosaic worker at first



attempted to do. The whole of these, indeed, are steps in the progress of the human intellect not to be recounted in one history, and form beyond question the distinguishing excellence of the Florentine artist, when put into competition with either the Pisans or the Sienese. Nor do I perceive how, after the authority of Vasari, who assigns the work of the ceiling to Cimabue, confirmed by the tradition of five centuries, P. della Valle is justified at this day, in ascribing that painting to Giotto, a painter of a milder genius. If he was induced to prefer other artists to Cimabue, because they gave the eyes less fierceness, and the nose a finer shape, these circumstances appear to me too insignificant to degrade Cimabue from that rank which he enjoys in impartial history.\* He has, moreover, asserted, that Cimabue neither promoted nor injured the Florentine school by his productions, a harsh judgment, in the opinion of those who have perused so many old writers belonging to the city who have celebrated his merits, and of those who have studied the works of the Florentine artists before his time, and seen how greatly Cimabue surpasses them.

If Cimabue was the Michelangelo of that age, Giotto was the Raffaello. Painting, in his hands, became so elegant, that none of his school, nor of any other, till the time of Masaccio, surpassed, or even equalled him, at least in gracefulness of manner. Giotto was born in the country, and was bred a shepherd; but he was likewise born a painter; and continually exercised his genius in delineating some object or other around him. A sheep which he had

\* To the testimonies in favour of Cimabue, may be added one of no little weight, from the manuscript given to the public a few years since, by the Abbate Morelli. We there find that Cimabue painted in Padua, in the church del Carmine, which was afterwards burnt; but that a head of S. Giovanni, by him, being rescued from the flames, was inserted in a frame, and preserved in the house of Alessandro Capella. Would a painter, who had done neither good nor harm to the Florentine school, and to the art, have been invited to Padua? Would the remains of his works have been held in such esteem? Would he have been so highly valued, after so great a lapse of time, by Vasari, to whose arts he seems to wish to ascribe the reputation of Cimabue. Other proofs of this reputation may be seen in the defence of Vasari, in the present book, third epoch. The writer of history ought completely to divest himself of the love of system and party spirit.

drawn on a flat stone, after nature, attracted the notice of Cimabue, who by chance passed that way; he demanded leave of his father to take him to Florence, that he might afford him instruction; confident that, in him, he was about to raise up a new ornament to the art. Giotto commenced by imitating his master, but quickly surpassed him. An Annunciation, in the possession of the Fathers of Badia, is one of his earliest works. The style is somewhat dry, but shews a grace and diligence, that announced the improvement we afterwards discern. Through him symmetry became more chaste, design more pleasing, and colouring softer than before. The meagre hands, the sharp pointed feet, and staring eyes, remnants of the Grecian manner, all acquired more correctness under him.

It is not possible to assign the cause of this transition, as we are able to do in the case of later painters; but it is reasonable to conclude that it was not wholly produced, even by the almost divine genius of this artist, unaided by adventitious circumstances. There is no necessity for sending him, as some have done, to be instructed at Pisa; his history does not warrant it, and an historian is not a diviner. Much less ought we to refer him to the school of F. Jacopo da Turrina, and give him Memmi and Lorenzetti for fellow-pupils, who are not known to have been in Rome when F. Jacopo was distinguished for his best manner. But P. della Valle thinks he discovers in Giotto's first painting, the style and composition of Giunta (Preface to Vasari, p. 17), and in the pictures of Giotto at S. Croce, in Florence, which "he has meditated upon a hundred times," he recognises F. Jacopo, and finds "reason for opining" that he was the master of Giotto. (Vide tom. ii. p. 78.) When a person becomes attached to a system, he often sees and opines what no one else can possibly see or opine. In the same manner Baldinucci wished to refer to the school of Giotto, one Duccio da Siena, Vital di Bologna, and many others, as will be noticed; and he too argues upon a resemblance of style, which, to say truth, neither I nor any one I know can perceive. If I cannot then agree with Baldinucci, can I value his imitator? and more particularly as it is no question here of Vitale, or any other artist of

mediocrity, almost unknown to history, but of Giotto himself. Is it likely, with a genius such as his, and born in an age not wholly barbarous, with the advantages enjoyed under Cimabue, especially in point of colouring, that he would take Giunta for his model, or listen to the instruction of Fra Mino, in order to excel his master? Besides, what advantage can be obtained from thus disturbing the order of chronology, violating history, and rejecting the tradition of Giotto's native school, in order to account for his new style?

It is most probable that, as the great Michelangelo, by modelling and studying the antique, quickly surpassed in painting his master, Ghirlandaio, the same occurred with regard to Giotto. It is at least known that he was also a sculptor, and that his medals were preserved till the time of Lorenzo Ghiberti. Nor was he without good examples. There were specimens of antique sculpture at Florence, which may be yet seen near the cathedral (not to mention those which he afterwards saw at Rome); and their merit, then already established by the practice of Niccola and Giovanni of Pisa, could not be unknown to Giotto, to whom nature had granted such a taste for the exquisite and the beautiful. When one contemplates some of his heads of men; some of his forms, proportioned far beyond the littleness of his contemporaries; his taste in flowing, natural, and becoming drapery; some of his attitudes after the manner of the antique, breathing grace and tranquillity, it is scarce possible to doubt that he derived no small advantage from ancient sculpture. His very defects discover this. A good writer (the author of the *Guide of Bologna*) remarks in him a style which partakes of statuary, contrary to the practice of contemporary foreign artists; a circumstance very common, as we shall observe, under the Roman school, to those painters who designed from statues. I shall be told that he probably derived assistance from the sculpture of the two Pisani; especially as Baldinucci has discovered a strong resemblance between his style and that of Giovanni, and some others also have noticed the circular compositions, the proportions and casting of the drapery which one perceives in the basso relievos of the early Pisan school. I



would not deny that he also availed himself of them; but it was perhaps in the manner that Raffaello profited by Michelangelo, whose example taught him to imitate the antique. Nor let it be objected to me that the dryness of the design, the artifice of concealing the feet by long garments, the inaccuracy of the extremities, and similar defects, betray rather a Pisan than an Attic origin. This only proves, that when he became the founder of a style, he did not aim at giving it the perfection of which it was susceptible, and which it could hardly be expected to obtain amid the numerous avocations in which he appears to have been engaged. In short, I cannot persuade myself, that without the imitation of the antique, he could in so short a time have made such a progress, as to have been admired even by Bonarruoti himself.\*

The first histories of the patriarch S. Francesco, at Assisi, near the paintings of his master, shew how greatly Giotto excelled him. As his work advanced he became more correct; and towards the conclusion, he already manifested a design more varied in the countenances, and improved in the extremities; the features are more animated, the attitudes more ingenious, and the landscape more natural. To one who examines them with attention, the composition appears the most surprising; a branch of the art in which he seems not only to surpass himself, but even sometimes appears unrivalled. In many historical pictures, he often aimed at ornamenting with buildings, which he painted of a red, or azure, or a yellow, the colours employed in staining houses, or of a dazzling white, in imitation of Parian marble. One of his best pictures in this work is that of a thirsty person, to the expression of which scarcely any thing could be added by the animating pencil of Raffaello d'Urbino himself. With similar skill he painted in the inferior church, and this is perhaps the best performance which has reached our times, though specimens remain in Ravenna, in Padua, in Rome, in Florence, and in Pisa. It is assuredly the most spirited of all, for he has there, with the most poetical images, depicted the saint shunning vice, and a follower of virtue;

\* Vasari, tom. i. p. 322

it is my opinion that he here gave the first example of symbolical painting, so familiar to his best followers.

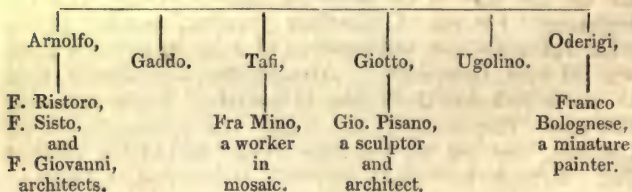
His inventions, which, according to the custom of the age, were employed in scripture history, are repeated by him in nearly the same style in several places; and are generally most pleasing when the proportions of the figures are the least. His small pictures of the Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul, with some representations of our Saviour, and of various saints, in the sacristy of the Vatican, appear most elegant and highly finished miniatures; as likewise are some others in the church of the Holy Cross at Florence, taken from scriptural history, or from the life of St. Francis. The real art of portrait painting commenced with him; to whom we are indebted for correct likenesses of Dante, of Brunetto Latini, and of Corso Donati. It was indeed before attempted, but, according to Vasari, no one had succeeded. He also improved the art of working in mosaic; a piece wrought by him in the Navicella, or ship of St. Peter, may be seen in the portico of that cathedral; but it has been so much repaired, that now the design is wholly different, and appears the work of another artist. It is believed that the art of miniature painting, so much prized in that age for the ornamenting of missals, received great improvement from him.\* Architecture undoubtedly did; the admirable belfry of the cathedral of Florence is the work of Giotto.

After collecting all the notices he could of the scholars of Cimabue and Giotto, Baldinucci endeavours to make us believe that all the benefits which accrued to painting,

\* A book is mentioned by Baldinucci ornamented by Giotto with miniatures, with histories from the Old Testament, and presented to the vestry of St. Peter, by Cardinal Stefaneschi; of this he neither adduces any proof, nor can I find any record. From the evidence, rather of an existing necrology, where, among the presents made by Stefaneschi to the cathedral, the pictures and the mosaic by Giotto are noticed without any other work of this artist, the gift of the book is very doubtful. See Sig. Ab. Cancellieri "*De Secretariis Veteris Basilicæ Vaticanæ*," p. 859 and 2464. Some miniatures of the martyrdom and miracles of St. George, in another book, are ascribed to him; but I am uncertain whether there is any ancient document for this; and they might, possibly, be the work of Simone da Siena, who is often confounded with him.

sculpture, and architecture in Italy, and even throughout the world, came directly or indirectly from Florence. The following is the manner in which he expresses himself in his first pages, with the proofs which he adduces. "During my researches, I have ascertained beyond all doubt the truth of an opinion I always considered as indisputable, and which is not controverted by respectable ancient historians; that these arts in the first place were restored by Cimabue and Giotto, and afterwards diffused over the world by their disciples; and I conceived the idea of making it evident by the help of a tree, which at a glance might shew their progress from the earliest to the present times." He published the first small part of this tree, just as I exhibit it to the reader; and promised in each succeeding volume to give another part, that would establish the connection with the principal root (Cimabue), or with the branches derived from it; a promise from which he adroitly delivered himself; therefore we are without any more than these few branches that follow :

## CIMABUE.



But with all his pains he has not satisfied the public expectation, as is observed by Signor Piacenza, who published the splendid Turin edition of Baldinucci as far as the life of Franciabigio, accompanied with very useful notes and dissertations.\* It is alleged, that to make this tree fair and flourishing, he has inserted in it branches dexterously stolen from his neighbours, who have not failed to reclaim their property. I rejoice to write in an age when the opinions of Baldinucci

\* See his first volume, pp. 131 and 202; and also P. della Valle in the preface to Vasari, p. 27; also Signor da Morrona in his "Pisa Illustrata," p. 154; besides many other authors.—W. R.



have few followers even in Florence. The excellent work entitled "*Etruria Pittrice*," composed and applauded in that city in proportion as it is free from the prejudice of former times, proves this sufficiently. Following in like manner the light of history and of reason, unswayed by party spirit, I shall, in the first place, observe, that among all the scholars of Cimabue, I do not find any named by Vasari, but Giotto and Arnolfo di Lapo, concerning whom it is certain that the historian was in error. Lapo and Arnolfo are the names of different sculptors, disciples of Niccolo Pisano, who, being already versed in the art, assisted him in 1266 to adorn with history-pieces the pulpit of the cathedral at Siena, an authentic document of which remains in the archives of the work.\* Thus this branch of the tree belongs to Pisa, unless Cimabue have a claim to it, by contributing to the instruction of Arnolfo in the principles of architecture. Andrea Tafi was the pupil of Apollonius, a Greek artist, and assisted him in the church of St. John, in some pieces of mosaic, from scriptural history, which, according to Vasari, are without invention and without design; but he improved as he proceeded, for the last part of the work was less despicable than the beginning. Cimabue is not named in these works, nor in what Tafi afterwards executed without assistance; and as he was old when Cimabue began to teach, I cannot conceive how he can be reckoned the scholar of the latter, or a branch from that root. Gaddo Gaddi, says Vasari, was contemporary with Cimabue, and was his intimate friend, as well as that of Tafi; through their friendship he received hints for his improvement in mosaic. At first he followed the manner of the Greeks, mingled with that of Cimabue. After long working in this manner, he went to Rome, and improved his style, while employed on the façade of S. Maria Maggiore, by his own genius, assisted by imitating the ancient workers in mosaic. He also painted some altar-pieces, and I saw at Florence one of his crucifixions, of a square figure, and very respectable workmanship. This circumstance induces me to consider Gaddo, in some measure, among the imitators of Cimabue, but not one of his pupils; for it appears to me

\* D. Valle's preface to Vasari, p. 36.

unjust, should a contemporary communicate with an artist either as a friend, or for the sake of advice on the art, to set him immediately down as a branch from that stock. Vasari relates of Ugolino Senese, that he was a tenacious follower of the Greek style, and inclined more to imitate Cimabue than Giotto. He does not, indeed, expressly say that he had been his scholar; he rather hints that he had other instructors at Siena, for which reason it will be better to consider him under that school. In that of Bologna we should also class Oderigo, who, as a miniature painter, was more likely to employ some other master than a painter in fresco like Cimabue. In the mean time it is useful to reflect, that were the method of Baldinucci to be pursued, nothing authentic would remain in a history of painting; and the schools of the early masters would increase beyond all limits, were the scholars of each master to be confounded with his friends, acquaintances, and contemporaries, who paid attention to his maxims.

It is still more strange to peruse the account of the connection between the first and secondary branches of the tree, or, if one may use the expression, between the children and grandchildren of Cimabue. There is nothing natural in their succession, and the labour is wholly useless which derives the professors of every fine art, of whatever country, past, present, and to come, from one individual. F. Ristoro and F. Sisto were eminent architects, who rebuilt the grand bridges of the Carraja and the Holy Trinity, about 1264, when Cimabue was twenty-four years of age. Baldinucci writes of both, that they were, perhaps, disciples of Arnolfo, or even imitators, judging from the appearance of their works. But how comes he to found on a *perhaps*, what he, a little before, had vaunted as a *clear demonstration*? And then, on what does this *perhaps* rest? Is it not more probable that Arnolfo, and Cimabue himself, imitated them? That Fra Mino da Turrita should appear in his tree as a scholar of Tafi, and as posterior to Cimabue, is no less absurd. In 1225, a date omitted by Baldinucci, Mino wrought in mosaic at Florence, fifteen years before Cimabue was born. In his old age he commenced a similar work in the cathedral of Pisa, "in the same style in which he had executed his other labours,"

says Vasari, who adds, that Tafi and Gaddi (both his inferiors in age and reputation) assisted him. The work was "little more than begun," from which we may infer that they were not long associated. It seems extraordinary how Baldinucci could assert, "it appears that Vasari imagined that Mino was the pupil of Andrea Tafi," which is contrary to fact; instead of the "clear demonstration," which he promised, he has amused us with "it appears," which is evident only to himself.

At length, wishing to make us believe that Giovanni Pisano the sculptor is a *pupil* of Giotto the painter, he again turns to Vasari, from whom he brings evidence that Giovanni, having completed his work in the cathedral of Arezzo, and being then established at Orvieto, came to Florence to examine the architecture of S. Maria del Fiore, and to become acquainted with Giotto: he further notices two pieces which he executed at Florence, the one a Madonna between two little angels, over the gate of the cathedral; the other a small baptism of St. John; this happened in 1297. Here Baldinucci hazards a reflection, that "if one compares the other works of this artist with the above-mentioned figure of the Virgin Mary, we may recognise in it such improvement, and so much of the manner of Giotto, that there cannot remain a doubt but he is to be reckoned a disciple of this master, both in respect of his imitation of him, and his observance of his precepts, *which he followed during so many years in the exercise of the profession.*" Every attentive reader will discover here not a clear demonstration of the assumption, but a mass of difficulties. He compares this to the other figures made by Pisano at Florence, before he was acquainted with Giotto; and yet this was the first which he there executed. He wishes to make Giovanni, already sixty years of age, an imitator of Giotto, then twenty-one, when it is much more probable that Giotto would follow him, the best sculptor of the age. There is no foundation for the supposed instruction which Giovanni received from Giotto, who, shortly after, departed for Rome; where, after some other works, he executed the mosaic of the *boat* in 1298. In short, the whole question of preceptorship rests on no better authority than a single figure. How great are the inconsistencies



in this account, and how absurd the explanations and repetitions which are offered ! Is it not lamentable thus to see so many old and honoured artists compelled, in spite of history, to become pupils to masters so much younger and less celebrated ? I know that various writers have censured Baldinucci as an historian of doubtful fidelity, artful in concealing or misrepresenting facts, captious in expounding the opinions of Vasari, and more intent on captivating than instructing. I am not ignorant that his system was controverted even in his own country, as appears from his work published there, entitled "*Delle Veglie*;" and that Signor Marmi, a learned Florentine, strongly suspected his fair dealing, of which we shall adduce a proof under the Sienese school. Nevertheless I take into account that he wrote in an age less informed in regard to the history of painting, and that he defended an opinion then much more common in Italy than at present. He had promised Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici to demonstrate it for the honour of his country, and of the house of Medici, and had received advice and assistance from him in order to encourage him to defend it, and to refute the contrary opinion. Under the necessity of answering Malvasia,\* a severe writer against Vasari, and of proving his assertion, that the people of Bologna, no less than those of Siena, of Pisa, and other places, had learned the art from the Florentines, he formed a false system, the absurdity of which he did not immediately perceive ; but he at last discovered it, as Signor Piacenza observes, and succeeded in escaping from its trammels. The most ingenious builders of systems have subjected themselves very frequently to the same disadvantage, and the history of literature abounds with similar instances.

Having examined this sophism, I cannot subscribe to the opinion of Baldinucci ; but shall comprise my own opinion in two propositions :—The first is, that the improvement of painting is not due to Florence alone. It has been remarked, that the career of human genius, in the progress of the fine

\* We may observe, that Malvasia is the champion, not only of Bologna, but of Italy, and of all Europe. At p. 11, volume first, he has quoted a passage from Filibien, which proves that design always maintained itself in France, even in rude ages, and that at the time of Cimabue it was there equally respectable as in Italy.

arts, is the same in every country. When the man is dissatisfied with what the child learned, he gradually passes from the ruder elements to what is less so, and from thence, to diligence and precision; he afterwards advances to the grand, and the select, and at length attains facility of execution.

Such was the progress of sculpture among the Grecians, and such has been that of painting in our own country. When Correggio advanced from laborious minuteness to grandeur, it was not necessary for him to know that such was the progress of Raffaello, or to have witnessed it: in like manner, nothing more was wanting to the painters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, than to learn that they had pursued a wrong path; this was sufficient to guide them into a better, and it was not then untried; for sculpture had already improved design. We have seen the Pisani, and their scholars, preceding the Florentines; and, as their precursors, diffusing a new system of design over Italy. It would be injustice to overlook them in the improvement of painting, in which design is of such importance; or to suppose that they did not signally contribute to its improvement. But if Italy be indebted solely to Cimabue and Giotto for its progress, all the good artists should have come from Florence. And yet, in the cathedral of Orvieto (to instance the finest work, perhaps, of that age), we find, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, many artists from various other places, who would not have been called to ornament such a building, had they not previously enjoyed the reputation of able masters.\* Add to this, if we are to derive all painters from those two masters, every style of painting should resemble that of their Florentine disciples. But on examining the old paintings of Siena, of Venice, of Bologna, and of Parma, they are found to be dissimilar in idea, in choice of colouring, and in taste of composition. All, then, are not derived from Florence.

My second proposition is, that no people then excelled in, nor contributed, by example, so much to the progress of art as the Florentines. Rival cities may boast artists of merit,

\* A catalogue of them is given in P. della Valle, in his history of that church, and is republished in the Sienese edition of Vasari, at the end of the second volume.

even in the first era of painting ; their writers may deny the fame of Giotto and his disciples ; but truth is more powerful than declamation. Giotto was the father of the new method of painting, as Boccaccio was called the father of the new species of prose composition. After the time of the latter, any subject could be elegantly treated of in prose ; after the former, painting could express all subjects with propriety. A Simon da Siena, a Stefano da Firenze, a Pietro Laurati, added charms to the art ; but they and others owe to Giotto the transition from the old to a new manner. He essayed it in Tuscany, and while yet a young man, greatly improved it, to the general admiration of all classes. He did not leave Assisi until called to Rome by Boniface VIII., nor did he take up his residence at Avignon, until invited to France by Clement V. Before going there, he was induced to stop at Padua, and on returning some years after, he again resided at the same place. Many parts of Italy were under a republican form of government ; but abounded in potent families, that bore sway in various quarters, and which, while adorning their country, aimed at its subjugation. Giotto, beyond every other, was in universal request, both at home and abroad. The Polentani of Ravenna, the Malatesti of Rimino, the Estensi of Ferrara, the Visconti of Milan, the Scala of Verona, Castruccio of Lucca, and also Robert, king of Naples, sought to engage him with eagerness, and for some period retained him in their service. Milan, Urbino, Arezzo, and Bologna, were desirous to possess his works ; and Pisa, that, in her *Campo Santo*, afforded an opportunity for the choicest artists of Tuscany to vie with one another,\* as of old they contended at Corinth, and in Delphi,† obtained from him those historic paintings from the life of Job, which are greatly admired, though they are amongst his early productions. When Giotto was no more, similar applause was bestowed on his disciples :

\* This place, which will ever do high honour to the magnificence of the Pisans, would be an inestimable museum, if the pictures there, executed by Giotto, by Memmi, by Stefano Florentino, by Buffalmacco, by Antonio Veneziano, by the two Orcagni, by Spinello Aretino, and by Laurati, had been carefully preserved ; but the greatest number having been injured by dampness, were repaired, but with considerable judgment, within the century.

† Plin. xxxv. 9.



cities contended for the honour of inviting them, and they were more highly estimated than the native artists themselves. We shall find Cavallini and Capanna in the Roman school; in that of Bologna the two Faentini, Pace, and Ottaviano, with Guglielmo da Forlì; Menabuoi at Padua; Memmi, who was either a scholar or assistant of Giotto, at Avignon; and we find traces of the successors of the same school throughout all Italy. This work will indicate the names of some of them; it will point out the style of others; without including the great number who, in every province, have been withdrawn from our view, for the purpose of replacing old pictures with others in the new manner. Giotto thus became the model for students during the whole of the fourteenth century, as was Raffaello in the sixteenth, and the Caracci in the subsequent century: nor can I find a fourth manner that has been so generally received in Italy as that of those three schools. There have been some who, from the inspiration of their own genius, had adopted a new manner, but they were little known or admired beyond the precincts of their own country. Of the Florentines alone can it be asserted, that they diffused the modern style from one extremity of Italy to the other: in the restoration of painting, though not all, yet the chief praise belongs to them; and this forms my second proposition.

I proceed more willingly to the sequel of my work, having escaped from that part of it in which, amid the contradictory sentiments of authors, I have often suspended my pen, mindful of the maxim, *Historia nihil falsi audeat dicere, nihil veri non audeat*. Resuming the subject of Florence, after the death of her great artist in 1336, I find painters had there prodigiously multiplied, as I shall presently, from undoubted testimony, proceed to prove. Not long afterwards, that is, in 1349, the painters associated themselves into a religious fraternity, which they denominated the Society of St. Luke, first established in S. Maria Nuova, but afterwards in S. Maria Novella. This was not the first that had arisen in Italy, as Baldinucci affirms: in 1290 there was a company of painters previously established at Venice, of which St. Luke was the patron, the laws of which, it is believed, are still

preserved in the church of St. Sophia.\* But neither this, the Florentine, nor that of Bologna, can be called academies for design; they were only the results of Christian devotion, a sort of school, such as formerly existed, and still exist in many of the arts. They did not consist of painters alone; these always possessed the most elevated rank; but in the same place were assembled artists "in metal and in wood, whose works partook, more or less, of design;" as is related by Baldinucci, in describing the Florentine association. In that of Venice were comprehended basket-makers, gilders, and the lowest daubers; in that of Bologna were included even saddlers, and scabbard-makers; who were only divided from the painters by means of lawsuits and decisions. That unrefined age did not as yet acknowledge the dignity of painting; it denominated those artists master workmen, whom we now call professors of the art, and it called shops what we name studies. I have often doubted, whether the progress of the arts was so rapid among us as in Greece, because there painting, either from the beginning or a very early era, was considered as a liberal art: with us its dignity was much longer in being acknowledged.

He who desires to discover the origin of those associations, will find it in the works composed of different arts then most in use, of which I shall treat somewhat fully, for the sake of illustrating the history. A little above I mentioned basket-makers: at that time, all kinds of furniture, such as cupboards, benches, and chests, were wrought by mechanics, and then painted, especially when intended as the furniture of new married women. Many ancient cabinet pictures have been cut out of such pieces of furniture, and, by this means, preserved to later ages. As for images on altars, through the whole of the fourteenth century, they were not formed, as at present, on a separate piece from the surrounding ornaments. There were made little altars, or dittici,† in many parts of

\* Zanet. p. 3.

† It was a very ancient practice of Christian worship to place the silver, or ivory dittici, upon the altars during the service of the mass, and when the sacred ceremony was over, they were folded up in the manner of a book, and taken elsewhere. The same figure was retained,

Italy, called *Ancone*; they first shaped the wood, and laboriously ornamented it with carving. The design was conformed to the Teutonic, or, as it is called, the Gothic architecture, seen in the façades of churches built in that age. The whole work was a load of minuteness, consisting of little tabernacles, pyramids, and niches; and various doors and windows, with semicircular and pointed arches, were represented on the surface of the panel; a style very characteristic of that period. I have sometimes there observed, in the middle, little statues in mezzo-rilievo.\* Most frequently the painter designed these figures or busts of saints: sometimes there were also prepared various sorts of little forms, or moulds—formielle—in which to represent histories. Often there was a step added to the little altar, where, in several compartments, were likewise exhibited histories of our Saviour, of the Virgin, and of the martyrs, either real or feigned.† Sometimes various compartments were prepared, in which their lives were represented. The carvers in wood were so vain of their craft, that they often inscribed their own names before that of the painter.‡

Even pictures for rooms were fashioned by the carvers into triangular and square forms, which they surrounded with

even in the introduction of the largest altar-pieces, which likewise consisted of two wings, and were portable. This custom, of which I have seen few remnants in Italy, has been long preserved in the Greek church. At length, by degrees, artists began to paint upon one whole panel.—See Buonarroti, *Vetri Antichi*, p. 258, &c.

\* In Torrello, one of the Venetian isles, there is an ancient image of St. Hadrian, which is tolerably carved, and around it the history of the saint is depicted: the style is feeble, but not Grecian.

† I notice this peculiarity, because the histories, either painted or engraved, belonging to those early times, are apt to perplex us; nor can they be cleared up without having recourse to books of fiction, which were, in those less civilized periods, believed. In the acts of our Saviour and of the Virgin, it may be useful to consult Gio. Alberto Fabrizio, in the collection entitled "*Codex Apocr. Novi Testamenti*;" in the acts of the apostles and martyrs, it is not so much their real history, as the legends, either manifestly false or suspected, as recounted by the Bollandist, that will throw light upon the subject.

‡ See Vasari, in the "*Life of Spinello Aretino*:" "*Simone Cini, a Florentine, carved it; it was gilt by Gabriello Saracini, and Spinello di Luca, of Arezzo, painted it in the year 1385.*" A similar signature may be seen in "*Pittura Veneziana*," p. 15.



heavy borders, with rude foliage, lace, or arabesque ornaments around them. In that age, pictures were rarely committed to canvas alone, though some such are to be seen at Florence, and more among the Venetians and people of Bologna; but panels were most frequently employed. The borders often inclosed portions of canvas, not unfrequently of parchment, and sometimes of leather, which, in all probability, were prepared by those who usually wrought in such materials; and this is the reason why such artists, and even in some instances saddlers, were sometimes associated with painters.

History informs us that shields for war, or the tournament, and also various equestrian accoutrements, as the saddles and trappings of horses, were ornamented with painting, a custom which was retained till the time of Francia, as Vesari mentions in his life; hence armourers and saddlers became associated with painters. Among them might be included those who prepared walls for painting in fresco, and who covered them with a reddish ground, which not unfrequently is still discovered in the flaws. On this colour the figures were designed, and such walls were the cartoons of the old masters. The stucco-workers also assisted them in those relieved ornaments we see in fresco paintings. They used moulds in those works, which seem nothing else than globules, flowerets, and little stars, formed with a stamp, such as we see on gilt plaster, on leather, on board, and on playing cards. On whatever substance they painted, some gold was usually added; with it they ornamented the ground of their pictures, the glories of their saints, their garments, and fringes. Although painters themselves were skilled in such labours, it appears that they sought the assistance of gilders, and therefore gilders were classed with painters, and, like them, inscribed works with their names.

This was the practice of Cini and Saracini, and particularly of a native of Ferrara, who, in the pictures of the Vivarini, at Venice, subscribes his name before theirs. (See Zanetti, "*Pittura Ven.*" p. 15.) And in the cathedral of Ceneda, below an Incoronation of the Virgin, in which the artist did not care to exhibit himself to posterity, the engraver, already noticed, left the following inscription, which

Signor Lorenzo Giustiniani, a Venetian patrician of great taste and cultivation of mind, has very politely communicated to me : "1438, A DÌ 10. FREVER CHRISTOFALO DA FERARA INTAJO."

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, when the Gothic style was disappearing from architecture, the design of the carvers improved, and they began to erect over altars oblong panels, divided by partitions, which were fashioned into pilasters, or small columns, and often between these last feigned gates or windows, so that the ancona or altar bore some resemblance to the façade of a palace or a church ; over them was placed a frieze, and above the frieze was a place like a stage, with some figures. The saints were placed below, and their histories were painted in the compartments ; and often there appeared their histories painted upon some little form, or upon the steps. The partitions were gradually removed, the proportions of the figures enlarged, and the saints were disposed in a single piece around the throne of our Lord, not so erect as formerly, after the manner of statues, but in different actions and positions, a custom which prevailed even in the sixteenth century. The practice of gilding grounds declined towards the end of the fifteenth century, but it was increased on the garments, and fringes were never so deep as at that period. About the close of that century gold was more sparingly employed, and it was almost wholly abandoned in the following. No little benefit would be conferred upon the art by any one who would undertake to point out with accuracy what were the colours, gums, and other mixtures employed by the Greeks. They were undoubtedly in possession of the best methods transmitted to them by a tradition, which though in some measure corrupted, was confessedly derived from their ancestors. Even subsequent to the invention of oils, their colouring is in some degree deserving of our admiration. In the Medicean Museum there is a Madonna, subscribed with the following Latin inscription, "Andreas Rico de Candia pinxit," the forms of which are rude, the folds inelegant, and the composition coarse ; but with all this, the colour is so fresh, vivid, and brilliant, that there is no modern work that would not lose by a comparison. Indeed, the colouring is so extremely strong and firm, that when tried

with the iron, it does not liquefy, but rather scales off, and breaks in minute portions. The frescos, likewise, of the earliest Greek and Italian painters, are surprisingly strong, and more particularly in Upper than in Lower Italy. There are some figures of saints upon the pilasters of the church of San Niccolo, at Trevigi, remarkable for their durability, an account of which is given in the first volume of Padre Federici (p. 188). I have understood from professors that such a degree of adhesiveness must have been produced by a certain portion of wax, employed at that period, as will be explained in the subsequent chapter, on the subject of painting in oil. It must, however, be admitted that we are little advanced in these inquiries into the ancient methods of preparing colour. Were they once satisfactorily explored, it would prove highly useful in the restoration of ancient pictures, nor superfluous in regard to the adoption of that firm, fused, and lucid colouring which we shall have occasion to commend in various Lombard and Venetian pictures, and more especially in those of Correggio.

These observations will not be useless to the connoisseur, who doubts the age of a picture on which there are no characters. Where there are letters, he may proceed with still greater certainty. The letters vulgarly called Gothic began to be used after the year 1200, in some places more early than in others; and characters were loaded with a superfluity of lines, through the whole of the fourteenth, until about the middle of the fifteenth century, when the use of the Roman alphabet was revived. What forms were adopted by artists in subscribing their names, will be more conveniently explained in the course of a few pages further. I have judged it proper to give here a sort of paleology of painting; because inattention to this has been, and still is, a fruitful source of error. The reader, however, may observe, that though the rules here proposed afford some light to resolve doubtful points, they are not to be considered as infallible and universal, and he may further recollect, that in matters of antiquity nothing is more dangerous and ridiculous than to form general rules, which a single example may be sufficient to overthrow.



## FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH I.

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Florentine Painters who lived after Giotto to the end of the fifteenth century.

## SECTION II.

It is worthy of remark, that Vasari, in the *Life of Jacopo di Casentino*, quotes the manuscript records of the Society of St. Luke, afterwards printed by Baldinucci, and mentions fourteen painters who were formerly its captains, counsellors, or chamberlains; yet he takes no notice of them in his "*Lives*," and of but very few of the great number named in that manuscript. The same selection was employed by Baldinucci, in whose "*Veglia*" we are informed that many painters flourished about 1300, the names of whom he has refused to insert in his anecdotes. It clearly appears from his writings that he omitted about a hundred, all belonging to that age.\* It is therefore incorrect to say, that those two historians have commemorated many artists of mediocrity, merely

\* "The number of artists of whom I can collect nothing more than the time they lived, their name and occupation, and their death (I speak of those who lived about the year 1300), amounts in the city of Florence alone to nearly a hundred, without including those who have been discovered by some of our antiquarians; and those we find mentioned in the old book of the Society of Painters."—(See Baldinucci in *Notizie del Gioggi*.) The Florentine painters of this age, whose names have been produced by the Canon Moreni from the records of the diplomatic archive may be seen in part the fourth of his "*Notizie Istoriche*," p. 102. Others have been collected and communicated to me by the Abbate Vincenzo Follini, librarian to the Magliabecchi collection, extracted from various MSS. of the same, besides those from the "*Novelle Letterarie*" of Florence, from the "*Delizie de' Letter*," of the P. Ildefonso, C.S., and from the "*Viaggi*" of Targioni, works which will always be found to supply the brevity of the present history.

because they were natives of Florence, an accusation alleged against them by foreigners. The artists of their country whom they have transmitted to posterity, are not less worthy of record than those ancient ones of Venice, of Bologna, and of Lombardy, whom we are accustomed to praise in their respective schools. Among this number I include Buffalmacco, the wit whose jests, as recorded in Boccaccio and Sacchetti, render him more celebrated than his pictures. His real name was Buonamico di Cristofano. He had been the scholar of Tafi, but by living long in the time of Giotto, he had an opportunity of correcting his own style. He displayed a most lively fancy, "and when he chose to exert himself, was not inferior to any of his contemporaries."\* Unfortunately, his best works, which were in the Abbey and in Ognisanti, have perished, and there only remain some less carefully executed at Arezzo and at Pisa. The best preserved are in the Campo Santo; viz. the Creation of the World, in which there is a figure of the Deity, sustaining the mighty frame of the heavens and the elements, and three other historical pictures of Adam, of his children, and of Noah. A crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of the Redeemer, may be seen at the same place. Good symmetry is not to be looked for in them; he knew but little of design, and he drew his figures by other rules than the roundness and facility seen in the disciples of Giotto. His heads are deficient in beauty and variety. The pious women near the cross all have the same mean and vulgar features, in which the mouths are opened even to deformity. Some of the heads of the men, especially that of Cain, possess, however, a physiognomical expression which arrests the eye of the spectator. The air of nature, too, in the action, as in the man, who, full of horror, flies from Mount Calvary, is highly praiseworthy. His draperies are greatly varied, distinguished by the difference of stuffs and linings, and laboriously ornamented with flowers and with fringes. Before he was employed in the Campo Santo, he painted in the church of St. Paul, Ripa d'Arno, where he was associated with one Bruno di Giovanni, formerly his fellow-student, and believed to be

\* Vasari.

the painter of a St. Ursula in a piece which still exists in the Commenda. Unable to attain the expression of Buffalmacco, he tried to atone for the defect by the aid of sentences proceeding from the mouths of his figures, which expressed what their features and attitudes were incapable of explaining, a practice in which he was preceded by Cimabue, and followed by the eccentric Orcagna and several others. This Bruno, together with Nello di Dino, was associated with Buffalmacco in the jests contrived for the simple Calandrino. They all owe their fame to Boccaccio, who introduces them in the eighth of his Decamerone; and a similar favour was conferred by Sacchetti on a Bartolo Giongi, a house-painter, whom he introduced into his one hundred and seventieth tale. Giovanni da Ponte, the scholar of Buffalmacco, had some merit, but he was not solicitous to increase it by his diligence. Some remains of his pictures exist on the walls of the church of St. Francis, at Arezzo.

Bernardo Orcagna, who rivalled the fame of Buffalmacco, proceeded from some old school. He was the son of one Cione, a sculptor, and his brother Jacopo was of the same profession: but the other brother, Andrea, surpassed them all; and so far united the attainments of the three sister arts, that he was by some reckoned second only to Giotto. He is known among architects for having introduced the circular arch instead of the acute, as may be seen in the gallery of the Lanzi, which he built and ornamented with sculpture. Bernardo taught him the principles of painting. They who have represented him as the pupil of Angiol Gaddi, do not appear attentive to dates. In the Strozzi chapel in the church of S. Maria Novella, he and Bernardo painted Paradise, and over against it the Infernal Regions; and in the Campo Santo of Pisa, Death and the Judgment were executed by Andrea, and Hell by Bernardo. The two brothers imitated Dante in the novel representations which they executed at those places; and that style was more happily repeated by Andrea in the church of Santa Croce, where he inserted portraits of his enemies among the damned, and of his friends among the blessed spirits. These pictures are the prototypes of similar pictures preserved in S. Petronio, at Bologna, in the cathedral of Tolentino, in the Badia del



Sesto, at Friuli,\* and some other places, in which hell is distinguished by abysses and a variety of torments, after the manner of Dante. Several pictures by Andrea remain, and his name is still on that in the Strozzi chapel, which is full of figures and of episodes. On the whole, he discovers fertility of imagination, diligence, and spirit, equal to any of his contemporaries. In composition he was less judicious, in attitudes less exact, than the followers of Giotto; and he yields to them in drawing and in colouring.

The same school produced Mariotto, a nephew of Andrea, and a Tommaso di Marco, whom I pass over, as well as others of little note, no longer known by existing works. Bernardo Nello di Gio. Falconi, of Pisa, merits consideration. He executed many pictures in that cathedral, and is supposed to be the same with that Nello di Vanni, who, with other Pisan artists, painted in the Campo Santo in the fourteenth century. Francesco Traini, a Florentine, is known as much superior to his master, by a large picture which is in the church of S. Catherine of Pisa, in which he has represented St. Thomas Aquinas in his own form, and in his beatification. He stands in the middle of the picture, under the Redeemer, who sheds a glory on the Evangelists and him; and from them the rays are scattered on a crowd of listeners, composed of clergy, doctors, bishops, cardinals, and popes. Arius and other innovators are at the feet of the saint, as if vanquished by his doctrine; and near him appear Plato and Aristotle, with their volumes open, a circumstance not to be commended in such a subject. This work exhibits no

\* They are believed by the historian of the art of painting at Friuli to be anterior to the year 1300; but to this I cannot agree. The pictures bear a very great resemblance to the designs of Orcagna, or rather to the poetry of Dante, who, in the year above mentioned, feigns to have had his vision, and described it in the years immediately succeeding. In confirmation of this opinion, it must be remarked that the style is Florentine, and induces us to suppose that a painter of that school must have been there. See "Lettera postuma del P. Cortinovis sopra le Antichità di Sesto," published in the "Giornale Veneto" (or *Memorie per servire all' Istoria Letter. e Civile*), Semestre ii. p. 1, of the year 1800. It was reprinted at Udine in 1801, in octavo, with some excellent notes by the Cav. Antonio Bartolini, who has distinguished himself by other productions connected with bibliography and the fine arts.

skill in grouping, no knowledge of relief, and it abounds in attitudes which are either too tame, or too constrained ; and yet it pleases by a marked expression in the countenances, an air of the antique in the draperies, and a certain novelty in the composition. Let us now pass on to the followers of Giotto.

The scholars of Giotto have fallen into an error common to the followers of all illustrious men ; in despairing to surpass, they have only aspired to imitate him with facility. On this account the art did not advance as it might otherwise have done, among the Florentine and other artists of the fourteenth century, who flourished after Giotto. In the several cities above mentioned, Giotto invariably appears superior when seen in the vicinity of such painters as Cavallini, or Gaddi ; and whoever is acquainted with his style, stands in no need of a prolix account of that of his followers, which, with a general resemblance to him, is less grand and less agreeable. Stefano Fiorentino alone is a superior genius in the opinion of Vasari, according to whose account he greatly excelled Giotto in every department of painting. He was the son of Catherine, a daughter of Giotto, and possessed a genius for penetrating the difficulties of the art, and an insuperable desire of conquering them. He first introduced fore-shortenings, and if in this he did not attain his object, he greatly improved the perspective of buildings, the attitudes, and the variety and expression of the heads. According to Landino, he was called the "Ape of Nature," an eulogy of a rude age ; since such animals, in imitating the works of man, always debase them : but Stefano endeavoured to equal and to embellish those of nature. The most celebrated of his pictures, which were in the *Ara Cœli* at Rome, in the church of S. Spirito at Florence, and in other places, have all perished. As far as I know, his country does not possess one of his undoubted pictures ; unless we mention as such, that of the Saviour in the Campo Santo of Pisa, which is in a greater manner than the works of this master, but it has been retouched. A *Pietà*, by his son and disciple Tommaso, as is believed by some, exists in S. Remigi at Florence, which strongly partakes of the manner of Giotto ; like his frescos at Assisi. He deserved the name of Giotto, given him by his fellow-citizens,

who used to say that the soul of Giotto had transmigrated, and animated him. Baldinucci alleges that there was another of the same name, who should not be confounded with him, and quotes an inscription from a picture in the Villa Tolomei. But Cinelli, the strenuous opponent of Baldinucci, attributes it to Giotto. This artist left behind him one Lippo, commended by Vasari, but who rather seems to have been an imitator than a scholar. Giovanni Tossicani, of Arezzo, was a disciple of Giotto, employed in Pisa and over all Tuscany. He painted the St. Philip and St. James, which still remain on the baptismal font in Arezzo, and were repaired by Vasari while a young man, who acknowledges that he learned much from this work, injured as it was. With him perished the best branch of the stock of Giotto.

Taddeo Gaddi may be considered as the Giulio Romano of Giotto, his most intimate and highly favoured pupil. Vasari, who saw his frescos and easel pictures at Florence, in good preservation, prefers him to his master, in colouring and in delicacy; but the lapse of time at this day forbids our deciding this point, although several of his pictures remain, especially in the church of Santa Croce, which are scriptural histories, in the manner of Giotto. He discovered more originality in the Chapter-house of the Spagnuoli, where he worked in competition with Memmi.\* He painted some of the acts of the Redeemer on the ceiling, and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the refectory, which is among the finest specimens of art in the fourteenth century. On one of the walls he painted the Sciences, and under each some one of its celebrated professors; and demonstrated his excellence in this species of allegorical painting, which approaches so nearly to poetry. The brilliance and clearness of his tints are chiefly conspicuous in that Chapter-house. The royal gallery contains the taking down of Christ, the work of his hands, which was formerly at Orsanmichele, and by some ascribed to Buffalmacco, merely because it was unascertained. Taddeo flourished beyond the term assigned him by Vasari, and outlived most of those already named. This may be collected

\* Vide Giuseppe Maria Mecatti, who has given an exact description of it.



from Franco Sacchetti, a contemporary writer, who relates in his 136th Tale, that Andrea Orcagna proposed as a question, "Who was the greatest master, setting Giotto out of the question?" Some answered Cimabue, others Stefano, some Bernardo, and some Buffalmacco. Taddeo Gaddi, who was in the company, said, "Truly these were very able painters, but the art is decaying every day," &c. He is mentioned up to 1352, and he might possibly survive several years.

He left at his death several disciples, who became eminent teachers of painting in Florence, and other places. D. Lorenzo Camaldolese is mentioned with honour. He instructed pupils in the art; and several pictures by him and his scholars are in the monastery of the Angeli. At that time the fraternity of Camaldulites furnished some miniature painters, one of whom, named D. Silvestro, ornamented missals, which still exist, and are amongst the best that Italy possesses. The most favoured pupils of Taddeo were Giovanni da Milano, whom I shall notice in the school of Lombardy, and Jacopo di Casentino, who also will find a place there, with his imitators. To these two he recommended on his death-bed his two sons and disciples, Giovanni, who died prematurely, with a reputation for genius; and Angiolo, who being then very young, most needed a protector. The latter died, according to Vasari, at sixty-three years of age; in 1389, according to the date of Baldinucci. He did not improve the art in proportion to his abilities, but contented himself with imitating Giotto and his father, in which he was astonishingly successful. The church of S. Pancrazio possessed one picture by him, containing saints, and some histories from the Gospel, which may still be seen in the monastery, divided into several pieces, and coloured in a superior taste. There is another in the same style in the sacristy of the Conventual friars, by whom he was employed in the choir of the church, to paint in fresco the story of the recovery of the Cross, and its transportation in the time of Heraclius: a work inferior to the others, because much larger, and to him somewhat new. He afterwards lived at Venice, as a merchant rather than as a painter; and Baldinucci, who seizes every opportunity of supporting his hypothesis, says, that if he was not the founder of that school, he, at least, improved it. But I shall demon-

strate, in the proper place, that the Venetian school was advancing to a modern style before Angiolo could have taught in that place; and in the many old pictures I saw at Venice, I was unable to recall to mind the delicate style of Angiolo. The Venetians owe to him the education of Stefano da Verona, whom I shall consider in another place; and he gave the Florentines Cennino Cennini, praised by Vasari as a colourist, of whom as a writer I shall soon make mention.

In the school of Angiolo Gaddi we may reckon Antonio Veneziano, concerning whom Vasari and Baldinucci disagree. The former makes him a Venetian, "who came to Florence to learn painting of Agnolo Gaddi:" the latter, a system writer, as we have seen, asserts that he was born in Florence, and that he obtained the surname of Veneziano, from his residence and many labours in Venice, on the authority of certain memoirs in the Strozzi library, which were, perhaps, doubted by himself; for had they been of high authority, he would not have omitted to proclaim their antiquity. However this may be, each of them is a little inconsistent with himself. As they assert that Antonio died of the plague in 1384, or, according to the correction of their annotators, in 1383, at the age of seventy-four, it follows that he was born many years before Gaddi, whose disciple, therefore, we cannot easily suppose him. It is likewise rendered doubtful by his design in the legends of S. Ranieri,\* which remain in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where there is a facility, care, and caprice in the composition, that savour of another school. Vasari, moreover, notices a method of painting in fresco, without retouching it when dry, that would seem to have been introduced from other parts, different

\* Vasari is by no means so bitter against the Venetian school as it is wished to make him appear. In regard to these pictures he declares, "that they are universally admitted, with justice, to be the best which were produced among many excellent masters, at different times, in that place." They are, therefore, preferred by him to the whole of the Florentine and Siennese paintings there exhibited; and his opinion is authorized by that of P. della Valle, who frequently differs from him. It it could be proved from history, as it may be reasonably conjectured, that Antonio was a painter when he came from Venice, and did not commence his art at Florence, he would merit the reputation of being the greatest artist of that school known to us; as well as of having conferred some benefit upon that of Florence, from the Venetian school. But this point is very doubtful.

from what was employed by the Tuscan artists, his competitors, whose paintings, in the time of the historian, were not in as good a state of preservation as those of Antonio. In the same place he deposited his portrait, which the describers of the ducal gallery at Florence pretend still to find in the chamber of celebrated artists. This portrait is, however, painted in a manner so modern, that I cannot believe it the work of a painter so ancient. On this occasion I must observe that there was another Antonio Veneziano, whom this picture probably represents, and who, about the year 1300, painted, at Osimo, a picture of St. Francis, in the manner of that age, and inscribed it with his name. I learned this from the accomplished Sig. Cav. Acqua, who added, that this name had been erased, and that of Pietro Perugino inserted, who certainly gains no very great honour by such substitution.

We learn from history \* that Antonio educated in Paolo Uccello, a great artist in perspective; and in Gherardo Starnina, a master in the gay style, of whom there are yet some remnants, in a chapel of the church of Santa Croce. They are among the last efforts of the school of Giotto, which succeeding artists abandoned, to adopt a better manner. One exception occurs in Antonio Vite, who executed some works in the old style, in Pistoia, his native city, and in Pisa. I may here observe, that Starnina and Dello Fiorentino shortly after introduced the new Italian manner in the court of Spain, and returned to Florence with honour and with affluence. The first remained to enjoy them in his native country, until the time of his death: the latter returned back to increase them; and left no public work in Florence, except an historic design of Isaac, in green earth, in a cloister of the church of S. Maria Novella. Perhaps we ought to have said, that he

\* We cannot reconcile it to dates that Paolo Uccello was one of his scholars, having been born after the death of Antonio, if, indeed, there be not some error in regard to the chronology either of the master or of his pupil. Starnina might have been his pupil, as he is said to have been born in 1354; and, therefore, in 1370, he might possibly be one of his school. Yet it appears that Antonio had then renounced the easel. In his epitaph we find written:—

Annis qui fueram pictor JUVENILIBUS, artis

Me Medicæ reliquo tempore coepit amor, &c.

See Vasari, ed. Senese, tom. ii. p. 297.



left various works, for several are there visible, all in the same taste, and so rude, as to induce us to reckon him rather a follower of Buffalmacco than of Giotto. But he excelled in small pieces; and there was none then living who could more elegantly ornament cabinets, coffers, the backs of couches, or other household furniture, with subjects from history and fable.

Among the disciples of Taddeo Gaddi I have named Jacopo del Casentino, of whom there are some remains in the church of Orsanmichele. Jacopo taught Spinello Aretino, a man of lively fancy, as may be gathered from some of his pictures in Arezzo, no less than from his life. He painted also at Florence, and was one of those who had the honour of ornamenting the Campo Santo of Pisa with historical paintings. His pictures of the martyrs S. Petito and S. Epiro are noticed by Vasari as his best performances. He was, however, inferior to his competitors by the meanness of his design, and the style of his colouring, in which green and black are too predominant. The Fall of the Angels still remains in S. Angelo at Arezzo, in which Lucifer is represented so terrible, that it afterwards haunted the dreams of the artist, and, deranging both his mind and body, hastened his death. Bernardo Daddi was his scholar; a man less known in his own country than at Florence, where he executed a picture, seen on the gate of San Giorgio; as was also Parri, the son of Spinello, who modernised his style on the manner of Masolino. The latter excelled in the art of colouring, but he was barbarous in the drawing of his figures, which he made extravagantly long and bending, in order, as he was used to say, to give them greater spirit. One may see some remains of them at Arezzo in S. Domenico, and other places. Lorenzo di Bicci, of Florence, another scholar of Spinello, was the Vasari of his time, for the multiplicity, celerity, and easy self-complacency shewn in his labours. The first cloister of the church of S. Croce retains several specimens, consisting of the legends of S. Francis; and there is an Assumption on the front, in which he was assisted by Donatello, while still a young man. Perhaps his best work is the fresco, ornamenting the sanctuary of S. Maria Nuova, built by Martin V. about the year 1418. His son Neri is reckoned among the

last followers of Giotto. He lived but a short time ; he left, in S. Romolo, a picture which would not have disgraced his father, and which is certainly more carefully executed than was usual with the latter.

During the fourteenth century, sculpture was cultivated at Pisa by as many artists as painting was at Florence ; but Pisa was not on that account destitute of painters worthy of being recorded. Vasari mentions one Vicino, who finished the mosaic begun by Turrita, assisted by Tafi and Gaddi, and adds, that he was also a painter. Sig. da Morrona says, that he retained the old style of his school ; which was the case with many others, as appears from several old Madonnas upon panels, both of anonymous and of ascertained painters. Of this sort is that in the old church of Tripalle, and that at S. Matthew's in Pisa. On the first is this inscription, "Nerus Nellus de Pisa me pinxit, 1299 : " on the second we read, "Jacopo di Nicola dipintore detto Gera mi dipinse." The mode of expression is derived from the  $\mu' \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon$  of the Greeks ; to which the old Pisans closely adhered in their paintings, their sculptures, and their bronzes.\* Like the

\* The old painters varied the manner of their superscriptions, even in the following ages, according to the taste of the Greeks. *Sebastianus Venetus pingebat a. 1520* ; is written upon a St. Agatha in the Palazzo Pitti, and this corresponds to the ΕΠΙΟΙΕΙ, *faciebat* ; by which the Greek sculptors wished to convey, that such work was not intended to exhibit their last effort ; so that they were at liberty to improve it when they pleased. The subscription of Opus Belli is obvious, and similar ones, drawn from the ΕΡΕΩΝ (for example), ΑΥΣΙΗΠΙΟΥ, which we see in Maffei. I recount in my fifth book as singular, the epigraph *Sumus Rogerii manus* ; it is, however, derived from the Greeks, who, for instance, sometimes wrote ΧΕΙΡ. ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΟΥ, ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ, as I read in a Fabrianese church called Della Carità, where there is a picture of the General Judgment ; the figures very small, and highly finished, upon a large tablet : with, I think, more figures than are seen in the Paradise of Tintoretto. ΧΕΙΡ ΒΙΤΟΠΕ, was written by Vittor Carpaccio, under his portrait cited in the index. I omit other forms better known. That adopted at Trevigi, *Hieronymus Tarvisio*, is very erudite ; and it is imitated from the military *latercoli*, in which, with the same view, the soldier and his country are named. In short, where the words *fecit* or *pinxit* are not used, the best plan was that of giving the proper name in the genitive case at the foot of the picture, as the engravers of Greek gems were wont to do in inscriptions, as ΑΛΛΟΥ ΔΙΟ-ΣΚΟΠΙΑΟΥ, &c.

other Italians, they at length reformed their style, and there, as well as at Florence and Siena, families of painters arose, in which the fathers were excelled by their sons, and they by their children. Thus, from Vanni, who flourished in 1300, sprung Turino di Vanni, who flourished about 1343, and Nello di Vanni, who painted in the Campo Santo, whose son Bernardo was the disciple of Orcagna, and furnished many pictures for the palace of the primate. There was also in that city Andrea di Lippo, who is noticed in the "Academical Discourse on the Literary History of Pisa," in the year 1336; the same, I believe, with that Andrea da Pisa, mentioned among the artists that ornamented the cathedral of Orvieto in 1346. A work by one Giovanni di Niccolo remains in the monastery of S. Martha, and, perhaps, he painted the fine trittico of the Zelada museum at Rome, which represents our Saviour with S. Stephen, S. Agatha, and other saints, and which has this inscription, *Jo. de Pisis pinxit*. This is a picture of great labour, by some ascribed to Gio. Balducci; which, if ascertained, would confer honour on that great man, as a professor of the three sister arts. Towards the end of the century the power of the Pisans declined, rather from civil discord than from other misfortunes; till at length the city fell into the hands of the Florentines in 1406, and lay for a long time prostrate and humbled, deprived not only of her artists, but almost of her citizens. She at length rose again, not, indeed to command, but to more dignified subjection.

The spirit of the Florentines in the mean time increasing with their power, they became chiefly solicitous to suit the magnificence of their capital to the grandeur of the state. Cosmo, at once the father of his country and of men of genius, gave stability to public affairs. Lorenzo the Magnificent, and others of the house of Medici, followed, whose hereditary taste for literature, and the fine arts is celebrated in a multitude of books, and most copiously in the histories written by three eminent authors, Monsignor Fabroni, the Signor Ab. Galluzzi, and Mr. Roscoe. Their house was at once a lyceum for philosophers, an arcadia for poets, and an academy for artists. Dello, Paolo, Masaccio, the two Peselli, both the Lippi, Benozzo, Sandro, the Ghirlandai, enjoyed the perpetual



patronage of this family, and as constantly rendered it whatever honour they could bestow. Their pictures are full of portraits, according to the custom of the times, and continually presented to the people the likenesses of the Medici, and often represented them with regal ornaments in their pictures of the Epiphany, as if to prepare the people to behold the sceptre and royal robe securely established in that house. The good taste of the Medici was seconded by that of other citizens, who were then distributed into various corporations, according to their place of residence and profession, each of which strove with reciprocal emulation to decorate their houses and their churches. Besides the desire of public ornament, they were animated by religion, which, in what relates to divine worship, is so widely spread, not only among the great, but also among the lower orders of people; that those have a difficulty in believing who have not beheld it. Their cathedral, a vast fabric, was already reared for the ceremonies of religion, and here and there some other churches arose; these and the more ancient, in emulation of each other, they adorned with paintings, a luxury unknown to their ancestors, and less common in the other cities of Italy. This disposition gave rise, after the conclusion of the century, to that prodigious number of painters already mentioned; and hence sprang, in the century we now treat of, that crowd of artists in marble, bronze, and silver, who transferred pre-eminence in sculpture, the ancient inheritance of the Pisans, to the people of Florence. The Florentines were desirous of ornamenting the new cathedral and baptistery, the church of Orsanmichele, and other sacred places, with statues and basso-relievos. These brought forward Donatello, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Filarete, Rossellini, Pollajuoli, and Verrocchio, and produced those noble works in marble, in bronze, and in silver, which appear to have attained the perfection of the art, and to have rivalled the ancients. The rising generation was instructed in design by those celebrated men, and the universality of the principles they taught, made the transition from one art to another easy. The same individuals were often statuaries, founders in bronze, in gold, lapidaries, painters, or architects, talents that appear enviable to this age, in which an artist with difficulty acquires a competent knowledge in a

single art. Such was the course of instruction at Florence in the Studies, and such the subsequent encouragement without, from which it will not appear wonderful to the reader that this city was the foremost to attain the perfection of the art. But let us trace the steps by which it advanced in Florence, and in the rest of Italy.

The followers of Giotto had carried painting beyond the period of its infancy, but it continued to give proofs of its infant faculties, especially in *chiaroscuro*, and still more in perspective. Figures sometimes appeared as if falling or slipping from the canvas; buildings had not a true point of view; and the art of foreshortening was yet very rude. Stefano Fiorentino perceived rather than removed the difficulty; others for the most part sought either to avoid or to compensate for the deficiency. Pietro della Francesca, elsewhere noticed, appears to have been the first who revived the Grecian practice of rendering geometry subservient to the painter. He is celebrated by Pascoli,\* and by authors of greater note, as the father of perspective. Brunelleschi was the first Florentine who saw the method of bringing it to perfection, "which consisted in drawing it in outline by the help of intersections;"† and in this manner he drew the square of St. John, and other places, with true diminution and with receding points. He was imitated in mosaic by Benedetto da Maiano, and in painting by Masaccio, to both of whom he was master.

About the same period Paolo Uccello, having studied under Gio Manetti, a celebrated mathematician, applied to it with assiduity; and even so dedicated himself to the pursuit, that in labouring to excel in this, he never acquired celebrity in the other branches of pointing. He delighted in it far beyond his other studies, and used to say that perspective was the most pleasant of all; so true is it that novelty is a great source of enjoyment. He executed no work that he did not reflect some new light on that art, whether it consisted of edifices and colonnades, in which a great space was represented in a small compass, or of figures foreshortened with a skill unknown to the followers of Giotto. Some of his historic

\* Pascoli, tom. i. p. 199.

† Vasari.

pictures of Adam, and of Noah, in which he indulged in his favourite taste for the novel and whimsical, remain in the cloisters of S. Maria Novella; and there are landscapes with trees and animals so well executed, that he might be called the Bassano of the first age. He particularly delighted to have birds in his house, from which he drew, and from thence he obtained his surname of Uccello. In the cathedral there is a gigantic portrait of Gio. Aguto on horseback, painted by Paolo in green earth. This was, perhaps, the first attempt made in painting, which achieved a great deal without appearing too daring. He produced other specimens at Padua, where he delineated some figures of giants with green earth in the house of the Vitali. He was chiefly employed in ornamenting furniture for private individuals; the triumphs of Petrarch in the royal gallery, painted on small cabinets are supposed by some good judges to be his.

Masolino da Panicale cultivated the art of chiaroscuro. He derived advantage from having long dedicated his attention to modelling and sculpture, a practice which renders relief easy to the painter, beyond what is generally conceived. Ghiberti had been his master in this branch, who, at this time, was unrivalled in design, in composition, and in giving animation to his figures. Colouring, which he yet wanted, was taught him by Starnina, and in this also he became a very celebrated master. Thus uniting in himself the excellences of two schools, he produced a new style, not indeed exempt from dryness, nor wholly faultless; but grand, determined, and harmonious, beyond any former example. The chapel of St. Peter al Carmine is a remaining monument of this artist. He there painted the Evangelists, and some acts of the Saint; as his vocation to the apostleship, the tempest, the denying of Christ, the miracle performed at Porta Speciosa, and the Preaching. He was prevented by death from representing other acts of St. Peter, as, for instance, the tribute paid to Cæsar, baptism conferred on the multitude, the healing of the sick, which several years afterwards were painted by his scholar, Maso di S. Giovanni, a youth who obtained the surname of Masaccio, from trusting to a precarious subsistence, and living, as it was said, by chance, while deeply engrossed with the studies of his profession. This artist was



a genius calculated to mark an era ; and Mengs has assigned him the highest place among those who explored the untried paths of the art. Vasari informs us that “ what was executed before his time might be called paintings, but that his pictures seem to live, they are so true and natural ;” and in another place adds, that “ no master of that age so nearly approached the moderns.” He had formed the principles of his art on the works of Ghiberti and Donatello ; perspective he acquired from Brunelleschi, and on going to Rome, it cannot be doubted that he improved by the study of ancient sculpture. He there met with two senior artists, Gentile da Fabriano, and Vittore Pisanello, upon whom high encomiums, as the first painter of his time, may be seen in Maffei and elsewhere.\* They who write thus had not seen any of the paintings of Masaccio, or at most only his early productions ; such as the S. Anna in the church of S. Ambrose in Florence, or the chapel of S. Catherine in S. Clement’s at Rome, in which, while still young, he executed some pictures of the passion of Christ, and legends of S. Anna, to which may be added, a ceiling containing the Evangelists, which are all that now remain free from retouching. This work is excellent for that time, but some doubt whether it ought to be ascribed to him ; and it is inferior to his painting in the Carmine, of which we may say with Pliny, *jam perfecta sunt omnia*. The positions and foreshortenings of the figures are diversified and complete beyond those practised by Paolo Uccello. The air of the heads, says Mengs, is in the style of Raffaello ; the expression is so managed that the mind seems no less forcibly depicted than the body. The anatomy of the figure is marked with truth and judgment. That figure, so highly extolled in the Baptism of S. Peter, which appears shivering with cold, marks, as it were, an era in the art. The garments, divested of minuteness, present a few easy folds. The colouring is true, properly varied, delicate, and surprisingly harmonious ; the relief is in the grandest style. This chapel was not finished by him. He died in 1443, not without suspicion of poison, and left it still deficient in several pictures, which, after many years, were supplied by the younger Lippi. It

\* Verona Illustrata, tom. iii. p. 277.

became the school of all the best Florentine artists, whom we shall have occasion to notice in this and the succeeding epoch, of Pietro Perugino, and even of Raffaello ; and it is a curious circumstance, that in the course of many years, in a city fruitful in genius, ever bent on the promotion of the art, no one in following the footsteps of Masaccio attained that eminence which he acquired without a director. Time has defaced other works of his hand at Florence, equally commended, and especially the sanctuary of the church del Carmine, of which there is a drawing in the possession of the learned P. Lettor Fontana Barnabita in Pavia. The royal gallery has very few of his works. The portrait of a young man, that seems to breathe, and is estimated at a high price, is in the Pitti collection.

After Masaccio, two monks distinguished themselves in the Florentine school. The first was a Dominican friar named F. Giovanni da Fiesole, or B. Giovanni Angelico. His first employment was that of ornamenting books with miniatures, an art he learned from an elder brother, who executed miniatures and other paintings. It is said that he studied in the chapel of Masaccio, but it is not easy to credit this when we consider their ages. Their style, too, betrays a different origin. The works of the friar discover some traces of the manner of Giotto, in the posture of the figures and the compensation for deficiencies in the art, not to mention the drapery, which is often folded in long tube-like forms, and the exquisite diligence in minute particulars common to miniature painters. Nor did he depart much from this method in the greatest part of his works, which chiefly consist of scripture pieces of our Saviour, or the Virgin, in cabinet pictures not unfrequently to be met with in Florence. The royal gallery possesses several ; the most brilliant and highly-finished of which, is the Birth of John the Baptist. The Glory,\* which is in the church of S. Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi, from its great size, is among his rarest productions ; and it also ranks with the most beautiful. His chief excellence consists in the beauty that adorns the countenances of his saints and angels ;

\* Gloria is a name given in Italy to a representation of the celestial regions.

and he is truly the Guido of the age, for the sweetness of his colours, which, though, in water, he diluted and blended in a manner which almost reaches perfection. He was also esteemed one of the best of his age in works executed in fresco; and he was employed in the decoration of the cathedral of Orvieto, as well as the palace of the Vatican itself, where he painted a chapel—a work much commended by a number of writers. Vasari enumerates Gentile da Fabriano among his disciples, but the dates render this impossible; and says the same of Zanobi Strozzi, a man of noble origin, of whom I do not know that any certain picture exists in a public collection: I only know that, treading in the steps of his master, he surpassed the reputation of a mere amateur. Benozzo Gozzoli, another of his disciples, and an imitator of Masaccio, raised himself far above the majority of his contemporaries.

In a few points he even surpassed his model, as in the stupendous size of his edifices, in the amenity of his landscapes, and in the brilliancy of his fancy, lively, agreeable, and picturesque. In the Riccardi palace, once a royal residence, there is a chapel in good preservation, where he executed a Glory, a Nativity, and an Epiphany. He there painted with a profusion of gold and of drapery, unexampled, perhaps, in fresco; and with an adherence to nature that exhibits an image of that age in the portraits, the garments, the accoutrements of the horses, and in the most minute particulars. He long resided at Pisa, and died there, where he ought to be studied; for his compositions in that place are better than those at Florence, and he was there also more sparing in the use of gold. The portrait of S. Thomas Aquinas is highly spoken of by Vasari and Richardson; but they especially notice the pictures from scripture history, with which he ornamented a whole wing of the Campo Santo, “a most prodigious work, sufficient to appal a legion of painters;”\* and he finished it within two years. Here he displayed a talent for composition, an imitation of nature, a variety in the countenances and attitudes, a colouring juicy, lively, and clear, and an expression of the passions, that

\* Vasari.



places him next to Masaccio. I can scarcely believe that he painted the whole. In the Ebriety of Noah, in the Tower of Babel, and in some other pictures, we discern an attempt at surprising, not to be seen in some others, where figures sometimes occur that seem dry and laboured; defects which I am disposed rather to attribute to his coadjutors. Near this great work a monument is erected to his memory by a grateful city, in the public name, with an epitaph that commends him as a painter. Time itself, as if conscious of his merit, has respected this work beyond any other in the Campo Santo.

The other monk was Filippo Lippi, a Carmelite, a genius of a different stamp from B. Giovanni. He received his instruction, not from Masaccio, as Vasari would have it, but from his works. His assiduity in copying him makes him sometimes appear a second Masaccio, especially in small histories. Some of his choicest are in the sacristy of the church of S. Spirito. In that place, in the church of S. Ambrose, and elsewhere, his pictures represent the Virgin surrounded by angels, with full and handsome countenances, distinguished by a colouring and a gracefulness peculiarly his own. He delighted in drapery like the neat folds of a surplice; his tints were very clear but delicate, and often subdued by a purple hue not common to other painters. He introduced gigantic proportions in his large frescos in the parish church of Prato; where his pictures of S. Stefano and the Baptist were, in the opinion of Vasari, his capital performances. His forsaking the convent, his slavery in Barbary, his works at Naples, at Padua, and elsewhere, his death, hastened by poison, administered by the relations of a young lady who had borne him a natural child, likewise named Filippo Lippi, are recorded by Vasari. P. della Valle is of opinion that he never *professed* any order, but in the register of Carmine, his death is noticed in the year 1469, and he is there denominated Fra Filippo. He died at Spoleti when he had nearly completed his large picture for the cathedral. Lorenzo the Magnificent requested his ashes from the townsmen, but was refused; on which he caused a handsome monument to be erected for him, with an inscription by Angelo Poliziano; a circumstance I mention, to demonstrate the respect paid to

the art at that period. F. Diamante da Prato, the scholar of Lippi, and his assistant in his last work, imitated him well; as likewise did Francesco Pesello, a Florentine of the same school; his son Pesellino, a short-lived artist, followed him with still greater success. The Epiphany of Francesco, described by Vasari, in which there is a portrait of Donato Acciaiuoli, is in the royal gallery. The *grado*, painted by his son for the apartments of the novices of S. Croce, is there still; on this last are the histories of S. Cosma and S. Damiano, of S. Anthony, and S. Francis, denominated by the historian most wonderful productions, and, perhaps, this is not too much to say when we recollect the period.

About this time other able artists flourished at Florence, who were obscured by greater names. Of this number was Berto Linaiuolo, whose pictures in private houses were held in great repute. They were even ordered by the king of Hungary, and procured him great fame in that kingdom. Alessio Baldovinetti, of noble extraction, was a painter particularly diligent and minute, a good worker in mosaic, and the master of Ghirlandaio. In his picture of the Nativity in the porch of the Nunziata, and in his other works, the design, rather than the colouring, may now be said to remain; for the tints have vanished, from a defect in their composition. To them we may add Verrocchio, a celebrated statuary, a good designer, and a painter for amusement rather than by profession. While he painted the Baptism of Christ at S. Salvi, his scholar, L. da Vinci, then a youth, finished an angel, in a manner superior to the figures of his master, who, indignant at his own inferiority to a boy, never more handled the pencil.

Baldinucci imagines that Andrea del Castagno, a name infamous in history, was a scholar of Masaccio; he was rather his imitator in attitude, relief, and casting of the drapery, than in grace and colouring. He lived at the time that the secret of painting in oil (discovered by John Van Eyck, or John of Bruges, about 1410),\* was known in Italy, not

\* In the dictionary of Guarienti, in the article Gio. Abeyk, appears an account of a picture of this artist existing in the gallery at Dresden, bearing date 1416; a time, says the writer, when he enjoyed his highest reputation, by painting in his second manner, in oil. It represents the

only by report, but by experience of the advantages of this method. Our artists, admiring the harmony, delicacy, and brilliance, which colours received from this discovery, sighed to possess the secret. For this purpose, one Antonello da Messina, who had studied at Rome, travelled to Flanders, and having learned the secret, according to Vasari, from the inventor, went to Venice, where he communicated it to a friend named Domenico. After having practised much in his own country, at Loreto,\* and other parts of the ecclesiastical states, Domenico came to Florence. There he became the general favourite, and on that account was envied by Castagna, whose dissembled friendship won him to impart the secret, and rewarded him by an atrocious assassination, which he perpetrated, in order that there might be none living to rival him in the art. The assassin was sufficiently skilful to conceal his crime, owing to which a number of innocent persons soon fell under suspicion, which did not induce the real criminal to avow the atrocious deed, until he lay upon his death-bed, when he disclosed his guilt, and did justice to the innocence of others. He had the reputation of being the first artist of his time, for vigour, for design, and for perspective, having perfected the art of foreshortening. His finest works have perished: one of his pictures remains at S. Lucia de' Magnuoli, and also some of his historic pieces, executed with great diligence. There is also a Crucifixion, painted on a wall in the monastery of the Angeli.

Many writers have appeared who deny the above-mentioned statement of Vasari, and maintain that the art of painting in oil was known long before. It is pretended that

Virgin in a majestic seat with the divine infant, who is seen very gracefully receiving an apple from St. Anne, seated on a couch of straw. The young St. John is seen assisting, and also St. Joseph, whose countenance represents the portrait of the painter himself. The introduction of arms shews that the picture must have been executed for some distinguished person. It is in high preservation, and is pronounced by Guarienti the miracle of painting, from its display of extreme diligence, even in the minute furniture, and particularly because the chamber in which the scene is represented, the couch, the window, the pavement, executed *a punto alto*, together with the whole action, are conducted with the most exact rules of perspective.

\* In 1454 he was in great credit at Perugia.—See Mariotti, Lett. Perug. p. 133.



it existed in the time of the Romans, an opinion adopted by Sig. Ranza, in regard to a picture said to be of S. Helena, consisting of a quilting of different pieces of silk stitched together, exhibiting a picture of the Virgin Saint with the Infant. The heads and hands are coloured in oils; the drapery is shaded with the needle, and in a great measure with the pencil. It is preserved in Vercelli, and from the tradition of its citizens, reported by Mabillon (*Diar. Ital.* cap. 28), it is said to be the work of S. Helena, mother of Constantine; that is, the patches of silk were sewed by her, and the gilding and painting added to it by her painter, as is conjectured by Ranza. He was not aware that the practice of drawing the Infant Christ in the lap of the Virgin (as we notice in the preface to the Roman school) was posterior to the fourth century; and that other particulars related by him of the picture cannot belong to the age of Constantine; for instance, the hooded mantle of our Lady. From such signs we ought rather to conclude that it is either not an oil painting, or that the figure, at whatever period executed, has been retouched, in the same way as that of the Nunziata at Florence, or of the Santa Maria Primerana at Fiesole; the former of which in the drapery, and the latter in the lineaments, are not the same now as in their ancient state.

Others, without ascending to the first ages of the church, have asserted that oil painting was known out of Italy, at least as early as the eleventh century. As a proof of this, they adduce a manuscript of the Monk Teofilo or Ruggiero, no later back than that period, which bears title, "*De omni scientiâ artis pingendi*," where there is a receipt for the preparation and use of oil from flax.\* Lessing gave an account of this manuscript in the year 1774, in a treatise published at

\* *Lib. i. c. 18.* Accipe semen lini, et exsicca illud in sartagine super ignem sine aqua, &c. Brustolato says, it should be pounded, and again subjected to the fire in water, then put into a press between cloths, and the oil extracted. He continues: Cum hoc oleo tere minium sive cenobrium super lapidem sine aqua, et cum pincello linies super ostia vel tabulas quas rubricare volueris, et ad solem siccabis, deinde iterum linies et siccabis. And in chap. 22, he says,—Accipe colores quos imponere volueris, terens eos diligenter, oleo lini sine aqua; et fac mixturas vultuum ac vestimentorum sicut superius aqua feceras, et bestias, sive aves, aut folia, variabis suis coloribus prout libuerit.

Brunswick, where he filled the office of librarian to the prince. Morelli, also, in the *Codici Naniani* (cod. 39); and more at length Raspe, in his critical "Dissertation on Oil Painting," published in the English language at London, in which he enumerated the existing copies in various libraries, and gave a great part of the manuscript, entered into an examination of the subject. Lastly, Teofilo's treatise is inserted by Christiano Leist, in Lessing's collection, "*Zur Geschichte unde Litteratur*," Brunsw. 1781. The Dottore Aglietti, in his *Giornale Veneto*, December, 1793, likewise adds his opinion; while the learned Abbate Morelli, in his "Notizia," which is often cited by me in the emendation and illustration of this edition, throws the greatest light upon the present question, agitated by so many, and, we may add, "*rem acu tetigit*." He, then, will be found to concede to Giovanni, whom he calls Giances da Brugia, the boast of this great discovery, agreeing with Vasari, though in a different sense from that in which the latter writer views it. For he does not reply to his opponents, that the art of painting, as taught by Teofilo, might have gone into disuse, and was only revived by Giovanni; whence Vasari ventured to commend him as an original inventor; in the same manner as Tiraboschi replied, who followed the Roman anthologists (*St. Lett. t. vi. p. 1202*). Neither does he bring forward the defence advanced by the Baron de Budberg in the apology of Gio. da Bruges,\* to the purport that Teofilo taught the art of painting in oil, only upon a ground, without figures, and without ornaments: because Teofilo, in chap. 22, whose words we have given in the note, likewise taught this art. Into what, then, does the long-boasted invention of Giovanni resolve itself? Nothing more than this: according to the ancient practice, a fresh colour was never added to the panel until the first covering had been dried in the sun: a mode, as Teofilo confesses, infinitely tedious: "*quod in imaginibus diuturnum et tædiosum nimis est*" (cap. 23); to which I may add, that the colours in this way could never perfectly harmonize. Van Eyck saw this difficulty, and he became more truly sensible of it, from the circumstance of having exposed one of

\* Gottingen, 1792. See *Esprit des Journaux*, Octobre, 1792.

his paintings to the sun, in order to harden, when the excess of heat split the panel. Being at that period sufficiently skilled both in philosophical and philological inquiries, he began to speculate on the manner of applying oils, and on their acquiring a proper consistency without the aid of the sun. "By uniting it with other mixtures he next produced a varnish, which, dried, was waterproof, and gave a clearness and brilliancy, while it added to the harmony of his colours." Such are the words of Vasari; and thus, in a very few words, we may arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. Before the time of Van Eyck, some sort of method of painting in oil was known, but so extremely tedious and imperfect, as to be scarcely applicable to the production of figure-pieces. It was practised beyond the Alps, but is not known to have been in use in Italy. Giovanni carried the first discovery to its completion; he perfected the art, which was afterwards diffused over all Europe, and introduced into Italy, by means of Antonio, or Antonello da Messina.

Here again we are met by another class of objectors, who enter the lists against Van Eyck, against Antonello, and more decidedly against Vasari, not with arguments from books, but in the strength of pictorial skill, and chemical experiments.

Malvasia, upon the authority of Tiarini, maintains, that Lippo Dalmasio painted in oil; the Neapolitans, relying upon Marco da Siena, and other men of skill, assert the same of their artists in the thirteenth century; while a few have pretended that some of the pictures\* produced in the fourteenth century, to be seen at Siena and Modena, in particular that from the hand of Tommaso da Modena, belonging to the Imperial cabinet, and described by me in the native school of that artist, are also coloured in oil; because, after being exposed to water, and analyzed, the colours discovered

\* Raspe (Lib. Cit.). Della Valle (Ann. al Vasari, tom. iii. p. 313). Tiraboschi (St. Lett. tom. vi. p. 407). Vernazza (Giorn. Pisano, tom. xciv. p. 220), cited by Morelli (Notizia, p. 114). More recently is added the authority of P. Federici Domenicano. It is absurd to suppose that Tommaso da Modena, or, according to him, da Trevigi, carried the discovery from this city into Germany, from whence it was subsequently communicated to Flanders.



their elements, and were pronounced oil. In spite, however, of so much skill, and so many experiments, I cannot see that Vasari has yet been detected in an error. It would not be difficult to oppose other experiments and opinions, that might throw light upon the question. To begin with Tuscany: an analysis of several Tuscan paintings was made at Pisa by the very able chemist Bianchi; and though apparently coloured in oil, the most lucid parts were found to give out particles of wax; a material employed in the *encausti*, and not forgotten by the Greeks, who instructed Giunta and his contemporaries. It would appear that they applied it as a varnish, to act as a covering and protection from humidity, as well as to give a lucid hue and polish to the colours. It has been observed, that the proportion of wax employed decreased during the fourteenth century; and after the year 1360 fell into disuse, and was succeeded by a vehicle, that carries no gloss. But in these experiments oil was never elicited, if we except a few drops of essential oil, which the learned professor conjectures was employed at that early period to dissolve the wax made use of in painting.

Besides this material, certain gums, and yolks of eggs, which easily deceive the eye of the less skilful, were also used, and resemble those pictures that display a scanty portion of oil, as is observed by Zanetti, in his account of Venetian painting (p. 20); and the analysis of Tommaso da Modena's picture has tended to confirm his opinion. This information I owe to the late Count Durazzo, who, in 1793, assured me, when at Venice, that he had himself beheld, at Vienna, the process of analyzing such pictures, by very skilful hands, in the presence of Prince Kaunitz; and that it was the unanimous opinion of those professors, that no traces of oil were to be found. The colours consisted of the finest gums, mixed with the yolk and white of eggs, a fact that afforded just ground for a like conclusion in regard to similar works by the ancients. I fully appreciate, likewise, the opinion of Piacenza upon the celebrated picture of Colantonio; this I reserve, however, together with some further reflections of my own, for the school of Naples.

I shall here merely inform the reader, that, in regard to the chemical experiments employed on these paintings, Sig.

da Morrona\* observes, that old pictures are often believed to be in a state of purity, when they have been retouched with oil colours at a subsequent period: the use of wax, and of essential oils, or of some such old methods, may frequently give rise to doubt, as I shall soon shew.

Having removed the objections brought against the opinion of Vasari, I must add a few words in regard to a passage where he seems to have forgotten what he had said in the life of Angiolo Gaddi, but which will, in fact, throw further light upon the question. He is giving an account of the paintings and writings of Andrea Cennini, a scholar of Angelo. This person, in 1437, that is, long before the arrival of Domenico, composed a work on painting, which is preserved in MS. in the library of S. Lorenzo.† He there treated, says Vasari, of grinding colours with oil, for making red, blue, and green grounds; and various methods and sizes for gilding, but not figures. Baldinucci examined the same manuscript, and found these words in the 89th chapter:—"I wish to teach thee how to paint in oil on walls, or on panel, as practised by many Germans;" and on consulting the manuscript, I find, after that passage, "and by the same method on iron and on marble; but I shall first treat of painting on walls." In the succeeding chapters he says, that this must be accomplished "by boiling linseed oil." This appears not to accord with the assertion of Vasari, that John of Bruges, after many experiments, "discovered that linseed oil and nut oil were the most drying. When boiled with his other ingredients they formed the varnish so long sought after by him and all other painters." On weighing the evidence, we should take three circumstances into consideration:—1. That Vasari does not deny that oil was employed in painting; since he affirms that it was long a desideratum, and consequently had been often attempted; but that alone is perfect which, "when dry, resists water; which brightens the colours, makes them clear, and perfectly unites them." 2. The oil of Cennini might not be of this sort, either because it was not boiled with the ingredients of Van Eyck, or because it was intended only for coarse work;

\* Pisa Illustrata, p. 160, et seq.

† This MS. by Cennini was published only a short time ago under the superintendence of Sig. the Cav. Tambroni.

a circumstance rendered probable by the fact, that though he painted the Virgin, with several Saints, in the hospital of Bonifazio, at Florence, "in a good style of colouring," yet he never excited the admiration nor the envy of artists. 3. The above remarks forbid us to give implicit confidence to every relation that is given of ancient oil-pictures; but we are not blindly to reject all accounts of imperfect attempts of that nature.

The painters that remain to be noticed approach the golden age of the art, of which their works in some degree participate, notwithstanding the dryness of their design, and the want of harmony in their colouring. The vehicle of their colours was commonly water, very rarely oil. They flourished in the time of Sixtus IV., who, having erected the magnificent chapel that retains his name, invited them from Florence. Their names are Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Rosselli, Luca da Cortona, and D. Bartolommeo d'Arezzo. Manni, the historian of some of these artists,\* conjectures that this was executed about the year 1474. They were desired to portray the history of Moses on one part of the chapel, and that of Christ on the other: thus the old law was confronted by the new, the shade by the light, and the type by the person typified. The pontiff was unskilled in the fine arts, but covetous of the glory they confer on the name and actions of princes. To superintend the work, he made choice of Sandro Filipepi, from his first master, a goldsmith, surnamed Botticelli, and the pupil of F. Filippo; a celebrated artist at that time, and distinguished by his pictures containing a number of small figures, in which he strongly resembled Andrea Mantegna, though his heads were less beautiful. Vasari says, that his little picture of the Calumny of Apelles is as fine a production as possible, and he pronounces the Assumption, painted for the church of S. Pier Maggiore, to be so excellent, that it ought to silence envy. The former is in the royal gallery, the latter in a private house. What he painted in the Sistine Chapel, however, surpasses his other works. Here we scarcely recognise Sandro of Florence. The Temptation of Christ, embellished with a magnificent

\* See *Opuscoli del Calogera*, tom. xliii.



temple, and a crowd of devotees in the vestibule; Moses assisting the daughters of Jethro against the Midianite shepherds, in which there is great richness of drapery, coloured in a new manner; and other subjects, treated with vigour and originality, exhibit him in this place greatly superior to his usual manner. The same observation applies to the painters we are about to notice: such were the effects produced by their emulation; by the sight of a city that is calculated to enlarge the ideas of those who visit it, and by the judgment of a public scarcely to be satisfied by what is above mediocrity, because its eye is habituated to what is wonderful.

History does not point out the portion of this work that was performed by Filippino Lippi, the son, as we have already observed, of F. Filippo. It is, however, highly probable that he assisted, because he was his father's pupil from an early age, and because the taste of Lippi, that delighted in portraying the usages of antiquity, appears to have been formed while he was still young, and engaged in his studies at Rome. In the life which Cellini has written of himself, he tells us that he had seen several books of antiquities drawn by Lippi; and Vasari gives him credit for being the first who decorated modern paintings by the introduction of grotesques, trophies, armour, vases, edifices, and drapery, copied from the models of antiquity; but this I cannot confirm, because it was before attempted by Squarcione. It is true that he excelled in those ornaments, in his landscape, and in minute particulars. The S. Bernard of the Abbey, the Magi of the royal museum, and the two frescos in S. Maria Novella; the one the history of S. John, the other of S. Philip, the apostles, please more perhaps by these accessories of the art than by the countenances, which, indeed, have not the beauty and grace of the elder Lippi. They are faithful portraits, but shew no discrimination. He was invited to Rome to ornament a chapel of the Minerva, in which there is an Assumption by his hand, and some histories of Thomas Aquinas, amongst which the Disputation is the best. In this chapel he shews great improvement in his heads, but was surpassed in this respect by his pupil Raffaellino del Garbo, who painted a choir of angels on the ceiling, that would alone suffice to justify the name by which he was distinguished.

In Monte Oliveto at Florence, there is a Resurrection by Raffaellino, where the figures are small, but so graceful withal, so correct in attitude, and so finely coloured, that we can scarcely rank him inferior to any master of that age. There is mention made by the learned Moreni, in the concluding part of his "*Memorie Istoriche*" (p. 168), of another of his beautiful altar-pieces, still in existence at S. Salvi, with the *grado* entire. Some early pictures are in a similar state; but becoming the father of a numerous family, he gradually degenerated in his style, and died in poverty and obscurity.

The second whom I have mentioned among the artists in the Sistine Chapel, is Domenico Corradi, surnamed Del Ghirlandaio, from the profession of his father.\* He was a painter, an excellent worker in mosaic, and even contributed to the improvement of these arts. He painted in the Sistine Chapel the Resurrection of Christ, which has perished; and the Call of S. Peter and S. Andrew, which still remains. He is that Ghirlandaio, in whose school, or on whose manner, not only Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, his son, but also Bonarroti, and the best artists of the succeeding era, formed their style. He possessed clearness and purity of outline, correctness of form, and variety of ideas, together with facility and uncommon diligence; he was the first Florentine who, by means of true perspective, attained a happy method of grouping, and depth of composition.† He was among the first to reject the deep golden fringes to the drapery, that the old masters introduced; who, unable to render their figures beautiful, endeavoured to make them gaudy. Some of his pictures, however, yet remain, moderately illuminated with gold; as for instance, the Epiphany in the church of the Innocents, at Florence. It is a fine work, as is also his chapel in the Holy Trinity, with the actions of S. Francis, and his Nativity, in the sacristy. His most celebrated work is the choir of S. Maria Novella, on one side of which he designed the history of John the Baptist, on the other that of our Lady, and on another part the murder of the Innocents, so much commended by Vasari. It contains many

\* This person invented and fabricated an ornament called *ghirlanda* or garland, worn on the heads of the Florentine children.

† Mengs, tom. ii. p. 109.

portraits of literary men, and noble citizens, and almost every head is from the life; but they are dignified, and judiciously selected. The hands and feet of the figures, however, do not correspond, and attention to this circumstance is the peculiar merit of Andrea del Sarto, who seems to have carried the manner of Ghirlandaio to perfection. Many works of the latter are scattered over Italy, in Rome, in Rimini, and at Pisa, at the Eremitani di Pietra Santa, and the Camaldolesi of Volterra; where, besides the paintings in the refectory, there is in the church a figure of S. Romualdo, carved by Diana of Mantua. The pictures of this master should not be confounded with those of his scholars, as happens in many instances. Thus the holy families painted by his brothers or his scholars, frequently pass for his; but they are very far from meriting the praise we have justly bestowed on him. Davide, one of his brothers, became very eminent in mosaic; another, Benedetto, painted more in France than in Italy; Bastiano Mainardi, their brother-in-law, was rather the assistant of Domenico, than a painter of originality. Baldino Bandinelli, Niccolo Cieco, Jacopo del Tedesco, and Jacopo Indaco, are little known; except that the last is recorded as having assisted with Pinturicchio, at Rome, and was the brother of Francesco, better known as a painter at Montepulciano than in Florence.

Cosimo Rosselli, whose noble family has produced several other artists, also wrought in the Sistine Chapel. Few of his works remain in public places in his own country, besides the miracle of the sacrament in the church of S. Ambrose, a fresco picture, full of portraits; in which we discover variety, character, and truth. Vasari praises his labours at Rome less than those of his fellow-artists. Being unable to rival his competitors in design, he loaded his pictures with brilliant colours and gilded ornaments, which, though it was at that time condemned by an improving taste, yet pleased the pontiff, who commended and rewarded him beyond all other artists. Perhaps his best work there, is Christ preaching on the Mount, in which the landscape is said to be the work of Pier di Cosimo, a painter more remarkable for his colouring than his design, as is evident from a picture in the church of the Innocents, and his Perseus in the royal gallery.



They are both, however, celebrated in history ; the one as the master of del Porta, the other of Andrea del Sarto.

No other Florentine was employed to paint in the Sistine Chapel ; but Piero and Antonio Pollaiuoli, who were both statuaries and painters, came there not long afterwards, and wrought in bronze the tomb of Sixtus IV. Some of their paintings may yet be seen in the church of S. Miniato, without the walls of Florence, and the altar-piece was transferred to the royal museum. We may there trace the school of Castagno, the master of Piero, in the harsh features, coloured in a strong and juicy manner. Antonio, the scholar of Piero, became one of the best painters of that age. In the chapel of the Marchesi Pucci, at the church of St. Sebastiano de' Servi, there is a martyrdom of the saint, which is one of the best pictures of the fifteenth century I have seen. The colouring is not in the best style ; but the composition rises above the age in which he lived, and the drawing of the naked figure shews what attention he had bestowed on anatomy. He was the first Italian painter who dissected bodies in order to learn the true situations of the tendons and muscles. Both the Pollaiuoli died at Rome, where their tomb is to be seen in S. Piero in Vincoli, ornamented with a picture, which, according to some, typifies a soul in purgatory, and the efficacy of indulgences to deliver it ; but whether it is by them, or of their school, I am unable to determine.

The two following artists were brought to the Sistine Chapel from the Florentine territory, the painters of which I shall now consider after those of the capital. Luca Signorelli, the kinsman of Vasari of Arezzo, and the disciple of Piero della Francesca, was a spirited and expressive painter, and one of the first Tuscan artists who designed figures with a true knowledge of anatomy, though somewhat dryly. The cathedral of Orvieto evinces this ; and those naked figures which even Michelangelo has not disdained to imitate. Although in most of his works we do not discover a proper choice of form, nor a sufficient harmony of colouring in some of them, especially in the Communion of the Apostles, painted for the Jesuits in his native city, there are beauty, grace, and tints approaching to modern excellence. He painted in Urbino, at Volterra, Florence, and other cities. In the Sistine

Chapel he painted the Journey of Moses with Sefora, and the Promulgation of the Old Law, paintings full of incident, and superior in composition to the confused style of that age. Vasari and Taia have assigned him the first place in this great assemblage of artists; to me he seems at least to have equalled the best of them, and to have improved on his usual style. He had two countrymen of noble families for pupils; Tommaso Bernabei, who followed him closely, and has left some works in S. M. del Calcinajo, and Turpino Zaccagna, whose style was different, as appears from a picture painted for the church of S. Agatha, in Cantalena, near Cortona, in 1537.

Don Bartolommeo della Gatta executed none of his own designs in the Sistine Chapel; he lent assistance to Signorcelli and to Perugino. He had been educated in the monastery of the Angeli, at Florence, rather as a painter of miniatures than of history. On being appointed abbot of S. Clement, in Arezzo, he exercised both; and was also skilled in music and in architecture. There is of his works only a S. Jerome, executed in the chapel of the cathedral, as we find from a MS. guide to the city, and which was transferred into the sacristy in 1794. The abbot instructed Domenico Pecori and Matteo Lappoli, two gentlemen of Arezzo, who improved themselves in the art on other models, especially the first, as is evident from a picture in the parish church, in which the Virgin receives under her mantle the people of Arezzo, who are recommended to her protection by their patron saints. In it are heads in the style of Francia, good architecture, judicious composition, and a moderate use of gold.

Two miniature painters, according to Vasari, learned much from the precepts, or rather from the example, of the abbot. These were Girolamo, also named by Ridolfi, as a pupil of the Paduan school, at the same time with Lancilao; and Vante, or as he subscribed himself, Attavante Fiorentino. Two of his letters are inserted in the third volume of the "*Lettere Pittoriche*;" and it may be collected from Vasari and Tiraboschi,\* that Vante ornamented with miniatures many books

\* Tom. vi. n. 1204.

for Matthias, king of Hungary, which afterwards remained in the Medicean and Estensean libraries. The learned Sig. Ab. Morelli, who has the direction of the library of S. Mark at Venice, shewed me one in that place. It is a work of Marziano Capella, where the subject is poetically expressed by the painter. The assembly of the Gods, the emblems of the arts and sciences, the grotesque ornaments set off with little portraits, discover in Vante a genius that admirably seconded the ideas of the author. The design resembles the best works of Botticelli; the colouring is gay, lively, and brilliant; the excellence of the work ought to confer on the artist greater celebrity than he enjoys. In the life of D. Bartolommeo, Vasari, or his printers, have confounded Attavante with Gherardo, the miniature painter, who at the same time was a worker in mosaic, an engraver in the style of Albert Durer, and a painter; of him there are some remains in each of these arts; but they were certainly different individuals, as is demonstrated by Sig. Piacenza.

Having before named Pietro Perugino, who long taught in Tuscany, we may here mention the pupils who retained his manner. These were Rocco Zoppo, whose Madonnas remain in many houses in Florence, I believe, to this day, and are in the manner of Pietro; Baccio Ubertini, a great colourist, and on that account adopted as an assistant of his master; Francesco, the brother of Baccio, surnamed Bacchiacca, known at S. Lorenzo by the Martyrdom of S. Arcadius, executed in small figures, in which, as well as in the grotesque, he was very eminent, and nearly approached the modern style. To these artists, who lived in Florence, their native country, we may add Niccolo Soggi, likewise a Florentine, who, to shun the concourse of more able painters, fixed his residence in Arezzo, where he had sufficient employment. His accuracy, his studious habits, and his high finish, may be there contemplated in the Christ in the Manger, in the church of Madonna delle Lagrime, and in many other places in the city and its environs. It would have been fortunate had he possessed more genius; but this gift of nature, which, to use the words of a poet,\* confers immortality on books, and I would

\* *Victurus genium debet habere liber.*—Martial.



add pictures, was not granted to Soggi. Vasari has given this character of a diligent, but meagre, and frigid painter, also to Gerino da Pistoia, in which place one of his pictures, now in the royal gallery, was painted for the monks of S. Pier Maggiore; others are in the city of S. Sepulero, and some even in Rome, where he assisted Pinturicchio. With the two preceding, I class Montevarchi, a painter so named from his own country, beyond which he is almost unknown. Among these artists, though scholars of Pietro, we find imitators of the Florentines of the fourteenth century. I omit the name of Bastiano da S. Gallo, who continued with him only a short time, and left him on account of the aversion he had conceived to the dryness of his style. In the Florentine history, by Varchi (book 10), we find mention of a Vittorio di Buonaccorso Ghiberti, who, on occasion of the siege of Florence by the family of the Medici, in 1529, painted the figure of the Pontiff, Clement VII., on the façade of the principal chamber of the Medici, in the last act of hanging from the gallows. But neither of this, nor of any other production from so infamous a hand, do there remain any traces in Florence, from which to judge either of the manner or the master of Vittorio.

I close the catalogue of old Tuscan painters with an illustrious native of Lucca, named the elder Zacchia, who was educated at Florence, though not invariably adhering to the taste of that ancient school, either in design, his chief excellence, or in an outline somewhat harsh and cutting, which was his greatest defect. He obtained the name of the elder, to distinguish him from another Zacchia, who shewed more softness of contour, and more strength of colouring, but in design, and in every other respect, was held in less estimation. I know only of one picture by the latter artist, which is in the chapel of the Magistrates; but several altar-pieces by the former are to be seen in the churches of Lucca, and among them an Assumption in that of S. Augustine; a picture displaying much study and elegance, and, by its bearing the date 1527, among his last works. One of his Madonnas, surrounded by saints, formerly in the parish church of S. Stefano, is now in the house of Sig. March. Jacopo Sardini, which is enriched by other paintings, by a valuable collection

of drawings, and still more by the presence of its learned possessor, to whom I am indebted for many notices interspersed throughout this work.

Such was the state of the art in Tuscany, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Much was then attained, because nature began to be imitated, especially in the heads, to which the artists imparted a vivacity, that even at this day is surprising. On viewing the figures and portraits of those times, they actually appear to look at, and to desire to enter into conversation with the beholder. It still remained to give ideal beauty to the figure, fulness to design, and harmony to colouring, a true method to aerial perspective, variety to composition, and freedom to the pencil, on the whole still timid.

Every circumstance conspired to this melioration of the art in Florence as well as in other places. The taste for magnificent edifices had revived throughout Italy. Many of the finest churches, many public edifices, and ducal palaces, which still remain at Milan, Mantua, and Venice, in Urbino, Rimini, Pesaro, and Ferrara, were executed about this period: not to mention those buildings in Florence and in Rome, where magnificence contended with elegance. It became necessary to ornament them, and this produced that noble emulation among artists, that grand fermentation of ideas, which invariably advances the progress of art. The study of poetry, so analogous to that of painting, had increased to a degree which conferred on the whole age the epithet of *Golden*; a name

which it certainly did not merit on the score of more severe studies. The design of the artists of that period, though somewhat dry, was yet pure and correct, and afforded the best instruction to the succeeding age. It is very justly observed, that scholars can more easily give a certain fulness to the meagre outline of their models, than curtail the superfluity of a heavy contour. On this account, some professors of the art incline to believe, that it would be more advantageous to habituate students in the beginning, to the precision characteristic of the fifteenth century, than to the exuberance introduced in after-times. ¶ Such circumstances produced the happiest era that distinguishes the annals of painting. The schools of Italy, owing to mutual imitation, before that period strongly resembled each other; but having then attained

maturity, each began to display a marked and peculiar character.

That of the Florentine school I shall describe in the next Epoch ; but I first propose to treat of several other arts analogous to that of painting, and in particular of engraving upon copper, the discovery of which is ascribed to Florence. To this the art is indebted for an accession of new aids ; the work of an artist, before confined to a single spot, was diffused through the world, and gratified the eyes of thousands.

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## ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF ENGRAVING ON COPPER AND WOOD.

### SECTION III.

THE subject of which I propose here to treat ought to be more carefully examined than any other portion of this work. The age in which I write is, we know, by many called the age of brass, inasmuch as it has been less productive of great names and great pictoric works ; yet I believe we might better denominate it such from the number of engravings, which have recently been carried to a high degree of excellence. The number of their connoisseurs has increased beyond calculation ; new collections everywhere appear, and the prices have proportionably advanced, while treatises upon the art are rapidly multiplied. It has become a part of liberal knowledge to discern the name and hand of a master, as well as to specify the most beautiful works of each engraver. Thus, during the decline of painting, the art of engraving on copper has risen in estimation ; modern artists in some points equal or surpass the more ancient ; their reputation, their remuneration, and the quick process of their labours, attract the regard of men of genius born to adorn the arts, who to the loss of painting, devote their attention to the graver.

The origin of this art is to be sought for in that of cutting on wood, just as in printing, the use of wooden types led to the adoption of metal. The period of the first invention of wood



engraving is unknown; the French and the Germans tracing it to that of playing-cards, which the former affirm were first used in France in the time of Charles V.; while the latter maintain they were in use much earlier in Germany, or before the year 1300.\* Both these opinions were attacked by Papillon, in his "Treatise upon cutting in Wood," where he claims the merit of the discovery for Italy, and finds the most ancient traces of the art about the year 1285, at Ravenna. His account of it is republished in the preface to the fifth volume of Vasari, printed at Siena; but it is mixed up with so many assertions, to which it is difficult to give credit, that I must decline considering it. The Cav. Tiraboschi is a far more plausible and judicious advocate in favour of Italy.† On the subject of cards, he brings forward a MS. by Sandro di Pippo di Sandro, entitled "Trattato del Governo della Famiglia." It was written in 1299, and has been cited by the authors of the Della Cruscan dictionary, who quote, among other passages, the following: "If he will play for money, or thus, or at cards, you shall provide them," &c. We may hence infer, that playing-cards were known with us earlier than elsewhere, so that if the invention of stamping upon wood was derived from them, we have a just title to the discovery. In all probability, however, it does not date its origin so early; the oldest playing-cards were doubtless the work of the pen, and coloured by the old illuminators, first practised in France, and not wholly extinct in Italy at the time of Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan.‡

The first indication we meet with of printed play-cards is in a public decree issued at Venice in 1441; where it says that "the art and trade of cards and printed figures, that is carried on at Venice," was on the decline, "owing to the great increase of playing-cards with coloured figures stamped," which were introduced from abroad; and that such importa-

\* See Baron d'Heineken's "Idée générale d'une Collection," &c. p. 239. See likewise the same work, p. 150, in order to give us a proper distrust of the work of Papillon. Sig. Huber agrees with Heineken: see his Manuel, &c. p. 35.

† Storia Letter. tom. vi. p. 1194.

‡ Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scriptores, vol. xx. Vita Phil. M. Visconti, chap. lxi.

tion should be prohibited for the future. Sig. Zanetti, to whom we are indebted for this information,\* is of opinion that they were in use long before 1441; because the art is seen to have first flourished there, afterwards to have fallen into disuse, and again revived, owing to the protection afforded it by the state. These vicissitudes, that suppose the lapse of many years, will carry us back to the commencement of the fifteenth century. To this period, it appears, we ought to refer those ancient specimens of play-cards, which were collected for the cabinet of Count Giacomo Durazzo, formerly imperial ambassador at Venice, and are now to be seen in that of the Marquis Girolamo, his nephew. They are of larger dimensions than those now in use, and are of a very strong texture, not unlike that of the paper made of cotton, found in the ancient manuscripts. The figures are exhibited on a gold ground in the manner before described; † there are three kings, two queens, and two knaves, one on horseback; and each has a club, or sword, or money. I could perceive no trace of suits, either because they had not then come into use, or more probably because so limited a number of cards can convey no complete idea of the whole game. The design approaches very nearly to that of Jacobello del Fiore; to the best judges the workmanship appears the effect of printing, the colours being given by perforations in the die. I know of no other more ancient specimen of its kind.

In the meanwhile printing of books being introduced into Italy, it was quickly followed by the practice of ornamenting them with figures in wood. The Germans had afforded examples of cutting sacred images in this material, ‡ and the same was done in regard to some of the initial letters during the early progress of typography, a discovery which was extended at Rome, in a book published in 1467, and at Verona in another, with the date of 1472. The former contains the

\* *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. v. p. 321.

† Vide ante, p. 58.

‡ In the ancient monastery of Certosa, at Buxheim, remains a figure of S. Cristoforo in the act of passing the river, with Jesus upon his shoulders; and there is added that of a hermit lighting the way with a lantern in his hand. It bears the date 1423. A number of other devout images are seen in the celebrated library at Wolfenbittel, and others in Germany, stamped upon wood in a manner similar to that of playing-cards.—Huber, *Manuel*, tom. i. p. 86.

Meditations of Card. Turrecremata, with figures also cut in wood, and afterwards coloured: the latter bears the title of "Roberti Valturii opus de re militari," and it is adorned with a number of figures, or drawings of machines, fortifications, and assaults; a very rare work, in the possession of Count Giuseppe Remondini, along with many other specimens of the earliest period, collected for his private library, where I saw it. It is worth remarking, that the book of Turrecremata was printed by Ulderico Han, that of Valturio by Gio. da Verona, and that in this last the woodcuts are ascribed to Matteo Pasti, the friend of Valturio, and a good painter for those times.\* After this first progress the art of wood engraving continued gradually to advance, and was cultivated by many distinguished men; such as Albert Durer in Germany; in Italy by Mecherino di Siena, by Domenico delle Greche, by Domenico Campagnola, and by others down to Ugo da Carpi, who marks a new epoch in this art, by an invention, of which we shall speak in the school of Modena.

If it be the progress of the human mind to advance from the more easy to more difficult discoveries, we may venture to suppose that the art of engraving on wood led to that of engraving on copper; and, to a certain extent, it probably did. Vasari, however, who wrote the history of Tuscan professors, rather than of painting itself, refers its origin to works in *niello*, or inlaid modelling work, a very ancient art, much in use, more especially at Florence, during the fifteenth century; though it was quite neglected in the following, in spite of the efforts of Cellini to support it. It was applied to household furniture, silver ornaments, and sacred vessels, such as holy cups and vases, to missals and other devotional books, and to reliquaries; as well as to profane purposes, as adorning the hilts of swords, table utensils, and many kinds of female ornaments. In some kinds of ebony desks and escrutoires it was held in great request, for its little silver statues, and modelled plates, representing figures, histories, and flowers. In the cathedral of Pistoia there still remains a large silver palliotto, adorned in places with plates, on which are figured

\* See Maffei, Verona Illustrata, Part iii. col. 195, and Part ii. col. 68, 76.



images in niello, and little scripture histories. The method was to cut with the chisel upon the silver whatever history, portrait, or flowers were required,\* and afterwards to fill up the hollow part of the engraving with a mixture of silver and lead, which, from its dark colour, was called, by the ancients, *nigellum*, which our countrymen curtailed into niello; a substance which, being incorporated with the silver, produced the effect of shadow, contrasted with its clearness, and gave to the entire work the appearance of a chiaroscuro in silver. There were many excellent *niellatori*, or inlayers, who cast models with this substance; such as Forzore, brother to Parri Spinelli of Arezzo, Caradosso and Arcioni of Milan,† and three Florentines, who rivalled each other at S. Giovanni, Matteo Dei, Antonio del Pollaiuolo, and Maso Finiguerra; specimens of whose *pieces*, cut with wonderful accuracy, acquired for them the highest reputation.

We are to attribute to Maso, says Vasari, “the beginning of engraving upon copper,” an art which, for the sake of greater perspicuity, I shall distinguish into three different states; the first of which will be found as follows. Finiguerra was in the habit of never filling the little hollows or cuts prepared in the silver plate until he had first made proof of his work. “For this purpose, as in taking a cast, he impressed them with earth, upon the top of which having

\* There was collected for the ducal gallery in 1801, a silver *piece* that had been made for the company of S. Paolo, and sold upon the suppression of that pious foundation. It represents the saint’s conversion, with many tolerably executed figures, from an unknown hand, though less old and valuable than that of Maso. He had ornamented it with niello; but in order to ascertain the workmanship, it was taken to pieces some years since, and the plate examined in the state it came from under the tools of the silversmith. The cuts were found not at all deep, resembling those of our engravers upon sheets of copper, upon the model of which the silver plate, being provided with the ink, was put into the press, and from it were taken as many, perhaps, as twenty fine proofs. One of these is in the collection of the Senator Bali Martelli; and upon this a foreign connoisseur wrote that it was the work of Doni, I know not on what authority, unless, from an error of memory, the name Doni was inserted instead of Dei.

† Ambrogio Leone mentions both, “De Nobilitate rerum,” cap. 41, and he particularly praises, for his skill in working niello, the second, who is so little known in the history of the arts.—See Morelli, *Notizia*, p. 204.

thrown a quantity of liquid sulphur, they became imprinted, and filled with smoke; which, with the aid of oil, gave him the effect of the work in silver. He also produced the same with moistened paper, and with the same tint or ink, pressing it sufficiently hard with a round roller, with a smooth surface throughout. This gave them not only the effect of being printed, but that of having been designed with ink." \* So far we quote Vasari in the preface to his *Life of Marc Antonio*. He adds, that in this plan Finiguerra was followed by Baldini, a Florentine goldsmith; next to whom he mentions Botticelli; and he might have added the name of Pollaiuolo. Finally, he concludes that the invention was communicated from Florence to Mantegna at Rome, and to Martino, called De Clef, in Flanders.

These proofs, the first of their kind, made by Finiguerra, have, for the most part, perished. Some, which are attributed to him, in possession of the fathers of Camaldoli, are not ascertained to be his.† We are assured, however, that

\* Vasari, who is difficult to understand, at least by many, on account of his brevity, touches upon the different processes used by Maso, which are these: When he had cut the plate, he next proceeded to take a print of it, before he inlaid it with niello, upon very fine earth; and from the cut being to the right hand, and hollow, the proof consequently came out on the left, shewing the little earthen cast in relief. Upon this last he threw the liquid sulphur, from which he obtained a second proof, which, of course, appeared to the right, and took from the relief a hollow form. He then laid the ink (lamp-black or printer's ink) upon the sulphur, in such a way as to fill up the hollows on the more indented cuts, intended to produce the shadow; and next, by degrees, he scraped away from the ground (of the sulphur) what was meant to produce the light. And this is also the plan pursued in engraving on copper. The final work was to polish it with oil, in order to give the sulphur the bright appearance of silver.

† They are to be seen in a little portable altar; and are most probably the proofs of some niello worker of the time; who had executed those histories in silver to ornament some similar little altar, or the place in which sacred relics were laid. Before introducing the niello, he had cast proofs of his work in these zolfi (sulphurs), which were subsequently inlaid with great symmetry and taste in the altar-piece. They consist of various forms and sizes, and are adapted to the architecture of the little altar, and to its various parts. Many of them have now perished, though several are yet in existence, the smallest of which chiefly represent histories from Scripture, and the largest of them the acts of the Evangelists, to the number of fourteen, and about one-sixth of a braccio (an arm, two-thirds of a yard) in height.

the sulphur of the pax\* cut for S. Giovanni in 1452, upon which he represented the Assumption of our Lady, in a variety of minute figures, is from his hand. It was formerly in the museum of the Proposto Gori, who gave a description of it in his *Dittici* (a treatise upon a particular kind of altarpieces, tom. iii. p. 315), and it is now in the Durazzo cabinet, with a memorandum in Gori's own hand, in which he declares that he had compared it with the original.† Of the proofs made on paper none are ascertained to exist, with the exception of that of the Assumption recognised by the Ab. Zani, in the national collection at Paris. It was made known by him in the year 1803; and to this I may add the Epiphany, in an inferior style, but more exactly finished, which

\* Pax, a sort of sacred vessel borne in procession by the priests; literally, it means peace.

† In this edition I ought to mention another zolfo (a sulphur cast) of the same pax of S. Giovanni, in possession of his excellency the Senator Prior Seratti. This, when compared with the model, corresponds line for line; there is a full display of the very difficult character of Maso's heads, and what is still more decisive, is, that it is cut, or indented, an effect that must have been produced according to the manner already described. The zolfo Durazzo, as appears from the impression, does not correspond so well; some of the flowers and ornaments of drapery are wanting; it is not equally finished, and it seems smooth on the surface. This does not derogate from its genuineness, for as several proofs were taken of the same pax, which was cut by degrees, if we find less completeness in the Durazzo proof, it is only an indication of its having been taken before the rest. And if the impressions of the cuts are not so plainly traced as in the other, I do not, therefore, conjecture that they do not exist. The zolfi of the fathers of Camaldoli, already cited, seem as is if they were printed, and smooth. A fragment breaking off, highly polished on the surface, the cuts were then discovered, even to the minutest lines, as many professors, even the most experienced in the art of printing, to their surprise, have witnessed; and they conjectured that the ocular illusion might arise, 1st, from the fineness of cut made with the style, or possibly with the graver, which was diminished in proportion as it passed from the sheet to the earthen mould, and from this to the zolfo; 2nd, from the density of the ink, when hardened between the cuts or hollows of the zolfo; 3rd, from a coat of bluish colour, laid on the work, of which there remain traces, and from that which time produces both in paintings and on cards. I have not a doubt, that, if the experiment were tried on the Durazzo zolfo, the result would appear exactly the same. The extrinsic proofs of its origin, also adduced by Gori, together with the aspect of the monument, which is fresh in my memory, do not authorize me to suspect the existence of a fraud.



I found in the possession of the senator Martelli, besides a duplicate belonging to S. E. Seratti. It appears from its style, the work of Finiguerra, and to have been executed before the Assumption. It is doubtful whether specimens exist in the ducal gallery, a question which I leave to the solution of abler pens than mine. We have in the Durazzo collection the proofs or models of many silversmiths, whose names are unknown; and for many we are indebted to Sig. Antonio Armanno, an excellent connoisseur in prints, to whom I shall have occasion to recur. Following the ideas thrown out by Vasari, he concluded that these impressions might happen to have been confounded with pen designs, owing to the resemblance between them; he therefore sought for them in collections of designs, and, having recognised them, purchased them for Count Giacomo, his patron.

Many of these were met with in the ancient Gaddi gallery at Florence; the work of artificers much inferior to Finiguerra, at least if we except two specimens not unworthy even of his hand. To these a number of others were afterwards added from different schools of Italy. Sometimes we may gather their origin from the design; sometimes with more certainty from inscriptions, and other unequivocal signs of the period. For instance, we read the following words in a Presepio,\* engraved in reversed characters: "Dominus Philippus Stancharius fieri fecit;" where the family which is named, along with other circumstances, shew it to have been executed at Bologna. One small print represents a woman turning towards a cat; and on it is written, also in reverse, "Va in là Caneva;" in another we read "Mantengave Dio;" both which are either Lombard or Venetian, if we may judge from the dialect. From all this we have a right to conclude that Vasari's words, which ascribe to Finiguerra the practice of proving his works before he inserted the niello, are not to be limited to him only, or to his school. On the contrary, it appears that Caradosso, as well as all the best Italian artificers, considered it as no small portion of their art, and that they only attained correctness in the process of inlaying and modelling by dint of such proofs, and not by mere chance.

\* Christ in the manger.

Nor does Vasari's silence militate against this. He repeatedly complains that he could not obtain sufficiently full and satisfactory information regarding the Venetian and Lombard schools; and if he confesses his ignorance of so many things pertaining to their schools of painting, it is not surprising that he should know less of their engraving.

The proofs, therefore, of the *niellatori* on paper are to be found in all parts of Italy, and they may be particularly known from the position of the letters, which being written on the original models in the ordinary way, appear in the impression like the eastern characters, from right to left; and in like manner the other part of the impression is seen in reverse; as for instance, a saint is seen standing on the left hand, who, from his dignity, ought to have occupied the right, and the actors all write, play music, and do every thing with the left hand. Other signs serve to distinguish them; because, having been pressed by hand, or with a roller, they leave no mark or furrows in the outlines; nor are we to look for that delicacy and precision in the lines that appear in impressions from under the press. They are characterized too by their colour, which merely consisted of lamp-black and of oil, or of some other very slight tint; though both are dubious signs, as we shall shew. It is conjectured that proofs of a similar\* nature were made by silver carvers, in regard to their graphic labours, and to others in which the *niello* was not employed. At all events, they preserved them in their studies; and in those of their pupils, to whom they afforded a model; and in this way several have been handed down to our own times.

From these early efforts, the art gradually advanced, until it attained what I call the second state of the impression. When the pleasing effect of these proofs was seen, the idea was struck out, of forming works in the same delicate and finished taste, and for this purpose to make use of the same means as had been adopted for impressions in wood. We might thus observe, that in the workshop of the goldsmith was prepared the art of chalcography, and the first labours were

\* Heineken gives a general nomenclature of the works of these silver carvers.—*Idée*, &c. p. 217.

executed upon silver, upon tin, or, as Heineken observes, upon some composition less hard than copper. Such was the practice of the Italians, before they cut their subjects in copper; but whatever material the first goldsmiths might adopt, it was not difficult for them to substitute for the shadow they produced by the *niello*, the shadow of the cut itself, and to execute the subject on the reverse, in order to receive the impression right. From that time, they proceeded gradually to refine the art. Both the roller and the press which they had then in use were very imperfect, and, to improve the impression, they first inclosed the plate in a frame of wood, with four small nails to prevent its slipping; upon this they placed the paper, and over it a small moist linen cloth, which was then pressed down with force. Hence, in the first old impressions, we may plainly trace on the reverse the marks of the linen, for which felt was next substituted, which leaves no trace behind it.\* They next made trial of various tints; and gave the preference to a light azure or blue, with which the chief part of the old prints are coloured.† The same method was adopted in forming the fifty cards, which are commonly called the game of Mantegna. I saw them, for the first time, in possession of his excellency the Marchese Manfredini, major-domo to the duke of Tuscany, whose cabinet is filled with many of the choicest prints. Another copy I found in the possession of the Ab. Boni, and a third, formerly belonging to the duke of Cassano, was afterwards transferred to the very valuable collection made by the senator Prior Seratti. There is also a copy of this game on a large scale, with some alterations; as, for instance, La Fede bears a large instead of a small cross, as in the original, and is of a much later date. A second copy, not so very rare, with a number of variations, is in existence; and in this the

\* I must remark that some copper of the earliest age may have been preserved and made use of after the introduction of felt and of the press. In this case there will remain no impression of the linen cloth, but the print will be poor and faint.

† In the prints of Dante, and other Florentine books, a yellowish colour prevails; and we may observe stains of oil and blots at the extremities. A pale ash-colour was also used for wood prints by the Germans, and Meerman remarks that it was employed to counterfeit the colour of designs.



first card bears the Venetian lion as ensign, with the two letters C. and E. united. The card of the Doge is inscribed the *Doge*; and elsewhere we read in the same way, *Artixan*, *Famejo*, and other words in the Venetian idiom, which proves that the author of so large and fine a work must have belonged to the city of Venice or to the state. The design displays much of Mantegna, and of the Paduan school; though the cut is not ascertained to be that of Andrea, or of any known master of that age. A careful but timid hand is discernible, betraying traces of a copyist of another's designs, rather than of an original invention. Time only may possibly clear up this doubt.

Proceeding from cards to books, we are made acquainted with the first attempts at ornamenting them with cuts in metal. The most celebrated of these consist of the "Monte Santo di Dio," and the "Commedia of Dante," both printed at Florence, and the two editions of "Ptolemy's Geography," at Rome and Bologna; to which we may add the "Geography of Berlinghieri," printed at Florence; all the three accompanied with tables. The authors of these engravings are not well known; except so far as we learn from Vasari, that Botticelli was one who acquired the most reputation. He represented the *Inferno*, and took the impression; and the two histories, executed by Gio. de Lamagna in his Dante, display all the design and composition of Sandro, so as to leave no doubt of their being his.\* Other prints are found pasted in a few of the copies of the same edition, amounting to nineteen; and their manner is more coarse and mean,† as we are informed by the Cav. Gaburri, who collected them for his cabinet. They must have been executed by some inferior hand, and with the knowledge of the printer, who had left blank spaces in parts of the work intended to receive the engravings, not yet completed, on the publication of the work. Of a similar cast were other anonymous engravers of that period, nor is there any name, except those of Sandro and of Pollaiuolo, truly distinguished in the art among the Florentines. In Upper Italy, besides Mantegna, Bartolommeo

\* See Lettere Pittoriche, tom. ii. p. 268.

† Ibid. p. 169. I should add, that the twenty others are now known obtained for the Riccardi library at Florence.

Montagna, his pupil, from Vicenza (to whom some add Montagna, his brother), and Marcello Figolino, their fellow-citizens, were both well known. Figolino is asserted to have been the same artist as one *Robetta*, or rather one who subscribes himself so, or R. B. T. A.; yet he ought not to be separated from the Florentine school, to which Vasari refers him, which the character of his design confirms. The names of Nicoletto da Modena, F. Gio. Maria da Brescia, a Carmelite monk, and of his brother Gio. Antonio, have also survived; as well as Giulio and Domenico Campagnola of Padua. There are not a few anonymous productions which only announce that they were executed in the Venetian or Lombard manner. For such artificers as were in the habit of taking impressions from the roller, either wholly omitted names, or only affixed that of the designer, or merely gave their own initials, which are now either doubtful, or no longer understood. For instance, they would write M. F., which Vasari interprets into *Marcantonio Francia*, while others read *Marcello Figolino*, and a third party, *Maso Finiguerra*; this last quite erroneously, as, after the most minute researches, made by the very able Cavaliere Gaburri, throughout Florence, there is no engraving of that artist to be found.\* In the Durazzo collection, after twelve plates, which are supposed to be proofs of the silver engravers, printed in reverse, we find several others of the first impressions taken with the roller, and appearing to the right; but not unlike the proofs in the mechanical part of the impression, and in regard to the uncertainty of their artists. For this, and other information on the subject, I am indebted to the kindness of the Ab. Boni, who having enjoyed the familiar acquaintance of Count Giacomo, is now engaged in preparing a full account of his fine collection.

The last state of engraving on copper I consider that in which, the press and the printing-ink being now discovered, the art began to approach nearer perfection; and it was then it became first separated from the goldsmith's art, like the full-grown offspring, received pupils, and opened its studio apart.

\* *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. ii. p. 267. It is ascertained that Maso flourished less recently; and the Dante prints, inferior to those of Botticelli, were ascribed to him only on account of their coarseness, as we gather from Gaburri.

It is difficult to fix the precise epoch when it attained this degree of perfection in Italy. The same artificers who had employed the roller, were some of them living, to avail themselves of the press, such as Nicoletto da Modena, Gio. Antonio da Brescia, and Mantegna himself, of whose prints there exist, as it were, two editions; the one with the roller, exhibiting faint tints, the other in good ink, and from the press. Then engravers first becoming jealous lest others should appropriate their reputation, affixed their own names more frequently to their works; beginning with their initials, and finally attaching the full name. The Germans held out the earliest examples, which our countrymen imitated; with one who surpassed all his predecessors, the celebrated Marc Antonio Raimondi, or del Francia. He was a native of Bologna, and was instructed in the art of working in niello by Francesco Francia, in which he acquired singular skill. Proceeding next to engravings upon metal, he began with engraving some of the productions of his master. At first he imitated Mantegna, then Albert Durer, and subsequently perfected himself in design under Raffaello d'Urbino. This last afforded him further assistance; he even permitted his own grinder of colours, Baviera, to manage the press, in order that Marc Antonio might devote himself wholly to engraving Raffaello's designs, to which we owe the number we meet with in different collections. He pursued the same plan with the works of antiquity, as well as those of a few moderns, of Bonarruoti, of Giulio Romano, and of Bandinelli, besides several of which he was both the designer and engraver. Sometimes he omitted every kind of mark, and every letter; sometimes he adopted the little tablet of Mantegna, either with letters or without. In some engravings of the Passion he counterfeited both the hand and mark of Albert Durer: and not unfrequently he gave the initial letters of his own and of Raffaello's name, and that of Michel Angiolo Fiorentino upon those he engraved after Bonarruoti. He was assisted by his two pupils, Agostin Veneziano and Marco Ravignano, who succeeded him in the series of engravings from Raffaello; which led Vasari to observe, in his *Life of Marc Antonio*, that, "between Agostino and Marco nearly all Raffaello's designs and paintings had been engraved." These two executed



works conjointly; till at length they parted, and each affixed to his productions the two initial letters of his name and country.

It was thus the art of engraving in the studio of Raffaello, and by means of Marc Antonio, and of his school, in a few years rose to a high degree of perfection. Since that period no artist has appeared capable of treating it with more knowledge of design, and with more precision of lines and contour; though in other points it has acquired much from the hand of Parmigianino, who engraved in aqua-fortis,\* from Agostino Caracci, and from different foreigners of the last century, among whom we may notice Edelink, Masson, Audran, Drevet, and, in the present age, several, both Italians and strangers, of whom we must not here speak.

I may be permitted, in this place, to enter into a brief investigation of the long-contested question of engraving upon copper, whether its discovery is to be attributed to Germany or to Italy; and if to Italy, whether to Florence or to some other place. Much has been written upon the subject, both by natives and foreigners, but, if I mistake not, it has scarcely been treated with that accuracy which is necessary for the attainment of truth. That it is quite requisite to divide this branch of art into three several states or stages, I trust I have already sufficiently shewn. In following up this division, we shall have a better chance of ascertaining what portion of merit ought to be awarded to each country. Vasari, together with Cellini, in his "Treatise upon the Goldsmith's art," as well as most other writers, are inclined to refer its commencement to Florence, and to the artist Finiguerra. Doubts have since arisen; while so recent an author as Bottari, himself a Florentine, mentions it as a circumstance not yet ascertained. The epoch of Maso was altered through mistake, by Manni, who speaks of his decease as happening previous to 1424.† This has been corrected by reference to the authentic books of the *Arte de' Mercanti*, in which the *pax* already cited is mentioned as being paid for in the year 1452. About the

\* It is denied that he was the inventor of this mode of engraving by many learned Germans, who give the merit of it to Wolgemuth.—Meerman, L. C. p. 256.

† Notes to Baldinucci, tom. iv. p. 2.

same time, Antonio Pollaiuolo, still a youth, as we learn from Vasari, in his life, was the rival of Finiguerra in the church of S. Giovanni; and as Maso had at that period already acquired great celebrity, we may conclude that he was of a mature age, and experienced in the art. We have further a right to suppose, with Gaburri and Tiraboschi, that having then taken proofs "of all the subjects which he had engraved on silver," he had observed this custom from the year 1440, and perhaps earlier; and we thus discover the elements of chalcography in Florence, satisfactorily deduced from history.\* For neither with the aid of history, monuments, nor reasoning, am I enabled to discover an epoch equally remote belonging to any other country; as we shall shew in regard to Germany. It possesses no annals so far back as that period. The credulity of Sandrart† led him to question the truth of this, by referring to a small print of uncertain origin, on which he believed he could read the date 1411, and upon another that of 1455. At this period, however, when the authority of Sandrart is of small account, no less from his frequent contradictions than his partiality, we may receive his two engravings as false coin, not valuable enough to purchase the credit of the discovery from us. Those two distinguished writers, Meerman‡ and the Baron Heineken,§ were equally bent upon refuting him. They do not pretend to trace any engraver in Germany earlier than Martin Schön, called by others Bonmartino, and by Vasari, Martino di Anversa,|| who died in 1486.

\* It was observed, at p. 102, that the Epiphany of Maso is anterior to the work of the Assumption. The progress from the minute and careful, to the free and great style, is very gradual. The present work contains many examples of this, even in the loftiest geniuses, in Correggio, and in Raffaello himself.

† A sample of his ignorance appears in what he wrote of Demone; not well understanding Pliny, he did not believe Demone to be the fabulous genius of Athens; but set him down as a painter of mortal flesh and blood, and gave his portrait with those of Zeuxis, Apelles, and other ancient painters.

‡ *Origines Typographicæ*, tom. i. p. 254.

§ *Idée générale d'une Collection complète d'Estampes*, pp. 224, 116, where he gives his opinion on Sandrart's work. See also *Dictionnaire des Artistes*, vol. ii. p. 331.

|| He says that his cipher was M. C., which P. Orlandi reads Martinus de Clef, or Clivensis Augustanus. But he was not from Anversa; but

Some are of opinion that he had two brothers, who assisted him, but who are unknown; and not long after appear the names of Israel Meckeln,\* Van Bockold, Michael Wolgemuth, master to Albert Durer, with many others who approach the sixteenth century. It is contended, however, that engraving on copper was known in Germany anterior to these; as there exist specimens by doubtful hands, which *have the appearance* of being much earlier. Meerman, on the authority of Christ,† adduces one with the initials C. E. and the date 1465, besides two described by Bar. Heineken, dated 1466, the first of which is signed *f. † s*, the second *b x s*, and both the artists unknown. He declares that he had never seen older engravings that bore a name (p. 231), and observes that their manner resembles that of Schön, only coarser, which leads him to suspect that the authors must have been his masters (p. 220). But whoever was Schön's master, Heineken concludes he must have flourished more than ten years earlier than his time, so as to bring it back to 1450, when the art of engraving by the burin was undoubtedly practised in Germany (p. 220). And as if this appeared too little to be granted, he adds, about four pages further on, "that he was *tempted* to place the epoch of its discovery at least towards the year 1440."

The cause is well pleaded, but it is not carried. Let us try to confront reasons with reasons. The Italians have the testimony of history in their favour; the Germans have it against them. The former, without any attempt at exaggeration, proceed so far back as 1440, and even farther;‡ the latter, by dint of conjecture, reach as far as 1450, and are only *tempted* to anticipate it by ten years' date. The Italians commence the art with Maso, not from his master; the Germans are not content to date from Schön, but from his master, an advan-

was, according to Meerman, Calembaco-Suevus Colmarie, whence we may explain the cipher to mean Martinus Colmariensis. In many of his prints it is M. S.

\* Called by Lomazzo "Israel Metro Tedesco, painter and inventor of the art of engraving cards in copper, master of Bonmartino," in which I think we ought rather to follow the learned natives already cited, than our own countryman.

† Diction. des Monogram. p. 67.

‡ See Tiraboschi, 1st Lett. tom. vi. p. 119.



tage they either deny to Italy, and thus fail to draw an equal comparison ; or if they concede the master, we still anticipate by ten years their origin of chalcography. The Italians, again, confirm the truth of their history by a number of authentic documents, proofs in niello, first impressions, and the progress of the art from its earliest stages to maturity. The Germans supply their historic deficiency by monuments, in part proved to be false, in part doubtful, and which are easily convicted of insufficiency for the proposed object. Because who can assure us that the prints of 1465 or 66 are not the production of the brothers or the disciples of Schön, since Heineken himself confesses that they were possibly the work of some contemporary artists, his inferiors? Do we not find in Italy that the followers of Botticelli are inferior to him, and appear to be of earlier date? Moreover, who can assure us that Schön was instructed by a master of his own nation ; when all his engravings that have been hitherto produced, appear already perfect in their kind?\* nor do we find mentioned in Germany either proofs in niello, or first essays in metals of a softer temper. The fact most probably is, what has invariably obtained credit,—that the invention was communicated from Italy to Germany, and as a matter not at all difficult to the goldsmiths, was speedily practised there with success ; I might even add, was greatly improved. For both the press and printer's ink being well known there, artists were enabled to add to the mechanic part of the art, improvements with which Italy was unacquainted. I will produce an example of what I mean, that cannot fail to convince. Printing of books was discovered in Germany : history and monuments alike confirm it, which are to be traced gradually from tabular prints to moveable types, still of wood, and from these to characters of metal. In such state was the invention brought to Italy, where, without passing through these intermediate degrees, books were printed not only in moveable characters of metal, but with tables cut in copper, thus adding to the art a degree of perfection which it wanted. Heineken objects that the Germans at that period had very

\* The prints of Schön, even such as represent works in gold and silver, are executed with admirable knowledge and delicacy.—Huber, tom. i. p. 91.

little correspondence with the cities of Italy, with the exception of Venice (p. 139). To this I answer that our universities of Pisa and Bologna, besides several others, were much frequented by young men from Germany at that period, and that, for the convenience both of strangers and of natives, a dictionary of the German language was printed at Venice in 1475, and in 1479 at Bologna; a circumstance sufficient of itself to prove that there was no little communication between the two nations. There are besides so many other reasons to believe that a great degree of intercourse subsisted, more particularly between Germany and Florence,\* during the period we treat of, that we ought not to be at all surprised at the arts belonging to the one being communicated to the other. Hitherto I have pleaded, as far as lay in my power, the cause of my country, though without having been able to bring the question to a close. Some time, it is possible, that those earliest essays and proofs of the art, which have hitherto eluded research, may be discovered: it is possible that some one of their writers, who are at once so truly learned and so numerous, may improve upon the hint thrown out by Heineken (p. 139), that the Germans and the Italians, without any kind of corresponding knowledge on the subject, struck out simultaneous discoveries of the modern art. However this may chance to be, it is my part to write from the information and authorities which I have before me.

It remains to be seen whether, on the exclusion of Germany, there is any other part of Italy that may have anticipated the discovery of Finiguerra at Florence. Some of his opponents have ventured to question his title, on the strength of metallic impressions of seals, which are met with on Italian parchments from the earliest periods. This shews only that the art advanced during several ages on the verge of this invention, but it does not prove that the very origin of the discovery is to be sought for in seals; otherwise we should be

\* The Florentine merchants, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially such as advanced money upon interest, abounded in Germany; insomuch, that part of a town was called Borgo Fiorentino. This I learn from Dottore Gennari, a Paduan gentleman, not long since lost to the republic of letters. The number of German princes who coined money in Florence may be gathered from the work of Orsini, and other writers upon our modern coinage.

bound to commence the history of modern typography from the seals of earthenware, with which our museums abound. No one will contend that certain immemorial and undigested elements that lay for many ages neglected and unformed, ought to have a place in the history of art; and this we are now treating on, ought not to date its commencement beyond the period when silversmiths' shops had been established, where, in fact, it took its origin and grew to maturity. We must compare the proofs remaining to us of their labours, and see whether such proofs were in use at any other place, before the time of Finiguerra. There are two threads which may serve as a clue to this labyrinth, until we may somewhere or by some means ascertain the actual date; and these two are the character and the design. The character in all the proofs I have examined is not at all of a Gothic description; it is round and Roman, and does not lead us farther back than the year 1440. The design is more suspicious: in the Durazzo collection I have seen proofs of nielli with more coarse designs than are displayed in the works of Maso, but they are perhaps not the offspring of the Florentine school. I shall not anticipate the judgment of those who may engage to illustrate these ancient remains; nor that of the public, in regard to the engravings correctly taken from them, which must pronounce their definitive sentence. True connoisseurs will be cautious how they pass a final opinion. It will not be difficult to discern a Bolognese from a Florentine artist, in modern painting, after it is seen that each school formed its peculiar character both in colouring and in design; but in regard to proofs of nielli,\* to distinguish school from school, will not be so easy a task. For though it may be ascertained that such a proof came from Bologna; can we pronounce from its being coarser than the designs of Finiguerra, that it is so far more ancient? Maso and the Florentines, after the time of Masaccio, had already softened their style towards the year

\* The direction given by the Ab. Zani for similar specimens is this: "The engravings of the Venetian school generally are of a soft and full design, the figures large, few, and beautiful in the extremities. Those of the Florentines are engraved in a stronger manner, less soft and round; sometimes even harsh; the figures small, pretty numerous, with the extremities less highly finished."—*Materiali*, p. 57.



1440 ; but can we assert the same of other schools of Italy ? Besides, is it certain that the silversmiths, from whose hands proceeded the proofs, sought the best designers ;\* and did not copy, for instance, the Bolognese, the design of a *Pietà* by Jacopo Avanzi, or the Venetians, a *Madonna* by Jacobello del Fiore ? The more dry, coarse, and clumsy specimens, therefore, cannot easily be adduced against Finiguerra as a proof of greater antiquity ; otherwise we should run into the whimsical sophistry of Scalza, who affirmed that the Baronci were the most ancient men in Florence, and in the world, because they were the ugliest.† We must therefore permit Maso to rest quietly in possession of the discovery, until more ancient proofs are adduced than are to be found in his cards and his zolfi.

In my account of the second state of engraving, I shall not mention the German masters, in regard to whom I have not dates that may be thought sufficient ; I shall confine my attention to those of Italy. I shall compare the testimony of Vasari and Lomazzo ; one of whom supposes the art to have originated in Upper, the other in Lower Italy. In his life of Marc Antonio, Vasari observes, that Finiguerra “was followed by Baccio Baldini, a Florentine goldsmith, who being little skilled in design, every thing he executed was after designs and inventions of Sandro Botticello. As soon as Andrea Mantegna learned this circumstance at Rome, he first began to turn his attention to the engraving of his own works.” Now, in the life of Sandro he makes particular mention of the time when he applied himself to the art, which was at the period he had completed his labours in the Sistine chapel. Returning directly after to Florence, “he began to comment upon Dante, he drew the *Inferno*, and engraved it, which, occupying a large portion of his time, was the occasion of much trouble in his future life.” Botticelli is here considered an engraver from about 1474, at the age of thirty-seven years ; and Baldini, who executed every thing from the designs of Sandro, also practised the art. At the same period

\* Cellini, in his preface to his *Treatise upon the Art of Working in Gold*, asserts that Maso himself copied from designs of Pollaiuolo, which has been completely refuted by the Ab. Zani.—*Materiali*, p. 40.

† Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, Giorn. vi. Nov. 6.

flourished Antonio Pollaiuolo, who acquired a higher reputation than either. Few of his impressions remain, but among these is the celebrated battle of the naked soldiers, approaching nearest to the bold style of Michelangelo. The epoch of these productions is to be placed about 1480, because, having acquired great celebrity by them, he was invited to Rome towards the close of 1483, to raise the monument of Sixtus IV., who died in that year.

According to Vasari, Mantegna, having decorated the chapel of Innocent VIII. at Rome, about 1490,\* from that date is entitled to the name of engraver, computing it from about his sixtieth year. He flourished more than sixteen years after this period; during which is it to be believed that he produced that amazing number of engravings,† amounting to more than fifty, of which about thirty appear to be genuine, on so grand a scale, so rich in figures, so finely studied and Mantegnesque in every part; that he executed these when he

\* See Taia, Description of the Vatican Palace, p. 404.

† Forty of these I find cited, and I am informed of some others not yet edited. The Ab. Zani (p. 142) assures us "that the genuine impressions which are now acknowledged to be from the hand of Mantegna do not amount to twenty, and nearly all of them executed with few figures." Such an assertion appears no less singular to me than to others on whose judgment I could rely. How can we admit its accuracy—when confronted with the account of Mantegna's fellow-citizen Scardeone, who collected his works, and who expressly declares, as cited by the Ab. Zani, "that Mantegna engraved Roman triumphs, Bacchanalian festivals, and marine deities: also the descent of Christ from the cross, and the burial," engravings exhibiting a variety of figures, in number more than a dozen. After this enumeration the historian adds, "et alia permulta," and many others. To confute this testimony, the Ab. Zani refers only to the words of the same Scardeone: "Those plates are possessed by few, and held in the highest esteem; nine of them, however, belong to me, all of them different." This writer, therefore, in spite of his expression "et alia permulta," confesses that he had only nine specimens from the hand of his fellow-citizen. Yes, I reply, he confesses his scanty portion, but admits the superior number that exists, and what reason have we for believing the first assertion and not the second? For my part, I give credit to the historian; and if any one doubt, from a diversity of style between the plates, that there is any exaggeration in his statement, I should not hence conclude that they are from different hands, but executed by the same hand, the works of the artist's early life being inferior to his last. For what artist ever devoted himself to a new branch, and did not contrive to improve it? It is sufficient that the taste be not wholly opposite.

was old, new to the art, an art fatiguing to the eye and the chest even of young artists? that he pursued it amidst his latest occupations in Mantua, which we shall describe, and that he produced such grand results within sixteen or seventeen years? Either Vasari must have mistaken the dates, or wished to impose upon our credulity by his authority. Lomazzo leads us to draw a very different conclusion when, in his Treatise (p. 682), he adds this short eulogy to the name and merits of Mantegna, "a skilful painter, and the first engraver of prints in Italy;" but wherein he does not mention him as an inventor, meaning only to ascribe to him the merit of introducing the second state of the art at least in Italy, because he believed that it had already arisen in Germany. Such authority as this is worth attention. I shall have occasion in the course of my narrative to combat some of Lomazzo's assertions, but I shall also feel bound to concur with him frequently in the epochs illustrated by him. He was born about twenty-five years subsequent to Vasari; he had more erudition, was a better critic, and on the affairs of Lombardy in particular, was enabled to correct him, and to supply his deficiencies. I am not surprised, then, that Meerman (p. 259) should suppose Andrea to have been already an engraver before the time of Baldini and Botticelli; I could have wished only that he had better observed the order of the epochs, and not postponed the praise due to him until the pontificate of Innocent VIII. In fact, it is not easy to ascertain the exact time when Mantegna directed his attention to the art of engraving. It appears that he commenced at Padua; for the confidence he displays in every plate shews that he could be no novice; nor is it credible that his noviciate began only in old age. I suspect he received the rudiments of the art from Niccolo, a distinguished goldsmith, as he gave his portrait, together with that of Squarcione, in a history piece of S. Cristoforo, at the Eremitani in Padua; each probably being a tribute of respect to his former master. It is true that we meet with no specimens of his hand at that, or even a later period of his early life, though we ought to recollect that he never affixed any dates to his works. So that it is impossible to say that none of them were the production of his earlier years, however equal and beautiful they appear in regard to their style;



inasmuch, as in his paintings we are enabled to detect little difference between his history of S. Cristoforo, painted in the flower of youth, and his altar-piece at S. Andrea of Mantua, which is considered one of his last labours. A specimen of his engraving with a date is believed, however, by some to be contained in a book of Pietro d'Abano, entitled "*Tractatus de Venenis*," published in Mantua, 1472, "*in cujus paginâ prima littera initialis aeri incisa exhibetur, quæ integram columnæ latitudinem occupat. Patet hinc artem chalcographicam jam anno 1472 extitisse.*" Thus writes the learned Panzer,\* but whether he saw the work that exists in folio, and of seven pages, I am not certain.† A quarto edition was likewise edited in Mantua, 1473, and a copy is preserved in the public library, but without plates.

It is certain, however, that about this period copper engraving was practised, not only in Mantua, where Mantegna resided, but also in Bologna. The geography of Ptolemy, printed in Bologna by Domenico de Lapis, with the apparently incorrect date of 1462, is in the possession of the Corsini at Rome, and of the Foscari at Venice.‡ It contains twenty-six geographical tables, engraved very coarsely, yet so greatly admired by the printer, that he applauds this new discovery, and compares it to the invention of printing, which not long before had appeared in Germany. We give his words as they are quoted from the Latin without being refuted, by Meerman, at p. 251: "*Accedit mirifica imprimendi tales tabulas ratio, cujus inventoris laus nihil illorum laude inferior, qui primi litterarum imprimendarum artem pepererunt, in admirationem sui studiosissimum quemque facillime convertere potest.*" The same writer, along with other learned men, contends that the date ought to be corrected, on the authority of the catalogue of the correctors of

\* Panzer, *Ann. Typogr.* tom. ii. p. 4.

† The Catalogue of the Libreria Heideggeriana is cited as the first source; but after fresh research, nothing certain has been discovered. Volta conjectures that this edition de Venenis was not a separate book, but a part of the Conciliatore of Pietro d'Abano, printed in folio at Mantua, 1472.

‡ This splendid copy has been transferred from the Biblioteca Foscari, into the selection of old prints and books illustrated by the Ab. Mauro Boni.

the work, among whom we find Filippo Beroaldo, who, in 1462, was no more than nine years of age. Hence Meerman infers, that we ought to read 1482; Audifredi and others, 1491; neither of which opinions I can agree with. For the work of Ptolemy being published at Rome, accompanied by twenty-seven elegant charts in 1478, what presumption, or rather folly, in the publisher of the Bolognese edition, to think of applauding its beauty, after the appearance of one so incomparably superior! I am therefore compelled to refer the former to an earlier period. Besides, I ought to inform the reader, that the engraving of twenty-six geographical plates, full of lines, distances, and references, must have been a long and difficult task, particularly during the infancy of the art; as we are certain that three or four years were devoted to the same purpose at Rome by more modern engravers, far more expert. We are, therefore, bound to antedate the epoch of the Bolognese engraving several years before the publication of the book, which belongs perhaps to the year 1472.\* I shall not, however, set myself up as an umpire in this dispute, expecting, as I do, an excellent treatise from the pen of Sig. Bartolommeo Gamba, which will not fail to gratify the public.† In regard to Bologna, therefore, I shall only seek to prove that the progress of the goldsmith's art to that of engraving upon metal, was more rapid than it has been supposed. Heineken himself observes, in describing the Ptolemy, that it is evident, from the traces of the zigzag, which the goldsmiths are in the habit of putting on the silver plates, the work is the production of one belonging to that art. The earliest works that can be pointed out with certainty at Florence, are the three elegant engravings of the

\* See de Bure, *Bibliographie Instructive*, Histoire, tom. i. p. 32. From the tenor of this opinion we are authorized in adding to the inscription, ANNO MCCCCLXII another X, omitted by inadvertency, if not purposely; instances of which are to be found in the dates of books belonging to the fifteenth century. In 1472, Beroaldo was already a great scholar, and in 73 he opened his academy.

† This little work, whose title will be found in the second Index, is now published, and has been well received by scholars on account of its learning and bibliographical research. The author approves the supposition that we ought to read 1472. We wish him leisure to produce more such works, which, like those of the Manuzi, combine the character of the elegant typographer and the erudite scholar.

Monte Santo di Dio, published in 1477, and the two in the two cantos of Dante, 1481; one of which, as if a third engraving, was repeated in the same book, while all of them seem to have been drawn from the roller, the art of inserting the plates in the letter-press being then unknown. We have yet to notice the thirty-seven geographical charts, in whatever way executed, affixed to the book of Berlinghieri, which was printed about the same period, without any date. These also contain several heads with the names Aquilo, Africus, &c., but they are all of youthful appearance, and tolerable in point of design; whereas the same heads in Bologna are of different ages, with long beards and caps, and in a coarser manner. The three before-mentioned works appeared from the press of Niccolo Tedesco, or Niccolo di Lorenzo de Lamagna, the first who printed books at Florence with copper-plates.

The last and most complete state of engraving upon copper, comes next under our notice. For this improvement, we are as much indebted to Germany as for the art of printing books. The press there first discovered for typography, opened the way for that applied to copper-plates. The mechanical construction, to be sure, was different, in the former the impression being drawn from cast letters which rise outwards; in the latter from plates cut hollow within by the artist's graver. A kind of ink was at the same time adopted, of a stronger and less fuliginous colour, than had been used for engravings in wood; but as it is termed by Meerman (p. 12), "*singulare ac tenuius*." The same author fixes the date of this improvement in the art at about 1470; and probably he meant to deduce it from the earliest copper engravings which appeared in Germany. Of this I cannot venture to speak, not having seen the two specimens cited by Heineken, and the others that bear a date; nor is it at all connected with our present history of Italian art, as far as regards engraving. We gather from it, that such improvement was brought to us from Germany by the same Corrado Sweyneym, who prepared the beautiful edition of Ptolemy at Rome. We learn from the preface prefixed, that Corrado devoted three years to the task, and left it incomplete; and it was continued by Arnold Buckinck, and published by him, as



I already observed, in 1478. The tables are engraved with a surprising degree of elegance, and are taken from the press, as Meerman, adopting the opinion of Raidelio, and of such bibliographers as have described it, has clearly shewn (p. 258). It is conjectured that Corrado commenced his labours about 1472, a fact ascertained no less from the testimony of Calderino, the corrector of the work, than from the tables, impressions of which were taken in 1475.\* Some are of opinion that the engraving was from the hand of Corrado, although the author of the preface simply observes, "*animum ad hanc doctrinam capessendam applicuit (that is, to geography) subinde mathematicis adhibitis viris quemadmodum tabulis æneis imprimerentur edocuit,† triennioque in hac curâ consumpto diem obiit.*" And it seems very probable, that as he employed Italians in the correction of the text, he was also assisted by some one of the same nation in the engravings. Botticelli was, perhaps, attracted by this novel art at Rome, since on his return, about the year 1474, he began to engrave copper-plates with all the ardour that Vasari has described, and was, in fact, the first who represented full figures and histories in the new art. Perhaps the cause or his impressions being less perfect than others arose from his ignorance of the method of printing upon a single page both the plates and the characters, as well as from the want of the press, and that improved plan derived from the office of the German printers. From whatever cause, it is certain that our engravers long continued to labour under this imperfection in the art. In the time of Marc Antonio, who rose into notice soon after the year 1500, the art, in its perfect state, had been introduced into Italy, insomuch that he was enabled to rival Albert Durer and Luca d'Ollanda, equalling them in the mechanism of the art, and surpassing them in point of design. From this triumvirate of genius the more finished

\* Maffei, Verona Illustrata, p. ii. col. 118.

† That is, in Rome, where he also taught the art of printing books, as we are informed in the same preface. This last is wholly devoted to Roman matters, and it would be vain to look in it for the general history of typography and engraving in Italy. It appears then, that Sweyneyne instructed the artists of Rome in the best manner of printing from copper-plates with the press; though others may have taught the art of printing them more rudely and in softer metal at Bologna.

age of engraving takes its date ; and nearly at the same period we behold the most improved era in the art of painting. The completion of the new art soon diffused good models of design through every school, which led the way to the new epoch. Following the steps of Durer, the imitators of nature learned to design more correctly ; while they composed, if not with much taste, at least with great variety and fertility, examples of which appear in the Venetian artists of the time. Others, of a more studied character, formed upon the model of Raffaello and of the best Italian masters, exhibited by Marc Antonio, applied with more diligence to compose with order, and to attain elegance of design, as we shall further see in the progress of this History of Painting.

# FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH II.

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Vinci Bonarruoti, and other celebrated artists, form the most flourishing era of this School.

NATIONS have their virtues and their vices, and it is the duty of the historian to give them credit for the one, and to confess the other. Thus it is with the Schools of Painting ; no one of which is so perfect as to leave us nothing to desire ; no one so faulty that it has not much in it to commend. The Florentine school (I do not speak of its greatest masters, but of the general practice of the others) had no great merit in colouring, from which Mengs was induced to denominate it a melancholy school ; nor did it excel in its drapery, from which arose the saying, that the drapery of figures appeared to be fashioned with economy in Florence.

It did not shine in power of relief, a study not generally cultivated till the last century, nor did it exhibit much beauty, because, long destitute of fine Grecian statues, Florence was late in possessing the Venus ; and only through the attention of the Grand Duke Leopold, has been enriched by the Apollo, the group of Niobe, and other choice specimens. From these circumstances this school aimed only at a fidelity of representation that resembles the works of those who copied exactly from nature, and in general made a judicious selection of its objects. It could not boast of superior grouping in the composition of a picture, and it more inclined to erase a superfluous figure, than to add one unnecessarily to the rest. In grace, in design, and in historic accuracy, it excels most other schools ; chiefly resulting from the great learning that always adorned this city, and invariably gave a bias to the erudition of her artists.

Design forms the peculiar excellence of this school, and its



hereditary patrimony, to which the national characteristic of minute correctness has greatly contributed ; and it may justly be observed, that this people has excelled others no less in the symmetrical delineation of the figure, than in purity of idiom.\* It may also boast of having produced many excellent painters in fresco ; an art so superior to that of painting in oil, that Bonarruoti looked on the latter as mere sport when compared with the former, as it necessarily requires great dexterity, and the talent of executing well and with rapidity, very difficult attainments in any profession. This school had but few engravers on copper, from which circumstance, though abounding in historians,† and rich in paintings, it has not a sufficient number of prints to make it known in proportion to its merit, a defect which the “Etruria Pittrice” has, in some measure, supplied. Finally, the reader may indulge in this very just reflection, that the Florentine school first taught the method of proceeding scientifically, and according to general

\* At the epoch of which the author writes, the Venetian school, in point of correctness of design, was in no degree inferior to that of Florence. Lionardo himself, when called by Il Moro into Lombardy, with a court distinguished by men of letters, found also a school of art highly flourishing, and which gave birth to admirable artists. Bernardo Zenale, an excellent painter, more especially in fresco, equal to any of his age, was esteemed and consulted by Lionardo himself. There were Civerchio, Montorfano, Butenone, Borgognone, and others worthy of lasting fame, not less than those so extolled by Vasari, Borghini, Baldinucci, and other municipal writers.—A.

† Although Vasari, Borghini, and Baldinucci have also treated of other schools, they have chiefly illustrated that of Florence, with which they were best acquainted. To them succeeded the respectable authors of the “Florentine Museum,” and the “Series of the most celebrated Painters,” containing choice anecdotes of those masters, which are now republished, and accompanied by a print from the work of each painter, in the “Etruria Pittrice” of the learned Sig. Ab. Lastri. Other anecdotes are to be found in the work of P. Richa, “On the Churches of Florence” and in Sig. Cambiagi’s “Guide” to that city. Pisa too, has its “Guide” by the Cav. Titi ; to which has succeeded the much larger work of Sig. da Morrona, above noticed. Siena has one by Sig. Pecci, Volterra another by Ab. Giachi, and Pescia and Valdinievole by the Ab. Ansaldi. Sig. Francesco Bernardi, an excellent connoisseur in the fine arts, prepared a guide to Lucca after Marchiò : it remains inedited since his death, together with his anecdotes of the painters, sculptors, and architects of his native country. Meanwhile the “Diario” of Mons. Mazzi affords considerable information.

rules. Other schools have originated in an attentive consideration of natural effects, by mechanically imitating (if we may be allowed the expression) the external appearances of objects. But Vinci and Bonarruoti, the two great luminaries of this school, like true philosophers, pointed out the immutable objects and established laws of nature, thence deducing rules which their successors, both at home and abroad, have followed with great benefit to the art. The former has left a Treatise on Painting, and the public were induced to look for the publication of the precepts of the latter, which have, however, never yet been produced;\* and we obtain some idea of his maxims only from Vasari, and other writers. About this time also flourished Fra Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto, Rosso, the young Ghirlandaio, and other artists, whom we shall name in the sequel of this grand epoch, unfortunately of short duration. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when Michelangelo, who survived the other great artists, was still living, a less auspicious era began;—but we must proceed with this epoch.

Lionardo da Vinci, so called from a castle in Lower Valdarno, was the natural son of one Pietro, notary to the Florentine republic, and was born in 1452.† He was endowed by nature with a genius uncommonly elevated and penetrating, eager after discovery, and diligent in the pursuit, not only in what related to the three arts dependent on design, but in mathematics, in mechanics, in hydrostatics, in music, in poetry, and also in the accomplishments of horsemanship, fencing, and dancing. He was so perfect in all these, that when he performed any one, the beholders were ready to imagine that it must have been his sole study. To such vigour of intellect he joined an elegance of features and of manners, that graced the virtues of his mind. He was affable with strangers, with citizens, with private individuals, and with princes, among whom he long lived on a footing of familiarity and friend-

\* Condivi promised to publish them, but this was never performed.—See Bottari's Notes on the life of Michelangelo, p. 152, in Florent. edit. 1772.

† See the fine eulogy on him by Sig. Durazzini, among his Panegyrics on illustrious Tuscans, where he corrects Vasari, his annotators and others, who have fixed the birth of Lionardo before this year.—Tom. iii. n. 25.

ship. On this account, says Vasari, it cost him no effort to behave and live like a man of high birth.

Verrocchio taught him painting; and while still a youth, he surpassed his master. He retained traces of his early education through his whole life. Like Verrocchio, he designed more readily than he painted; he assiduously cultivated mathematics; in his design and in his countenances, he prized elegance and vivacity of expression, more than dignity and fulness of contour; he was very careful in drawing his horses, and in representing the skirmishes of soldiers; and was more solicitous to improve the art than to multiply his pictures. He was an excellent statuary, as is demonstrated by his *S. Tommaso* in Orsanmichele at Florence, and by the horse in the church of *S. John and S. Paul* at Venice. Vinci not only modelled in a superior manner the three statues cast in bronze by Rustici, for the church of *S. John* at Florence, and the colossal horse at Milan, but, assisted by this art, he gave that perfect relief and roundness, in which painting was then wanting. He likewise imparted to it symmetry, grace, and spirit, and these and his other merits gave him the title of the father of modern painting,\* though some of his works participate in the meanness of the old school.

He had two styles, the one abounded in shadow, which gives admirable brilliancy to the contrasting lights; the other more quiet, and managed by means of middle tints. In each style, the grace of his design, the expression of the affections, and the delicacy of his pencil, are unrivalled. Every thing is lively, the foreground, the landscape, the adventitious ornaments of necklaces, flowers, and architecture; but this gaiety is more apparent in the heads. In this he purposely repeats the same idea, and gives them a smile which delights the mind of a spectator. He did not, however, consider his pictures as complete, but from a singular timidity,† often left them imper-

\* See Sig. Piacenza, in his edition of Baldinucci, t. ii. p. 252. He has dedicated a long appendix to Vinci, and collected all the anecdotes scattered through Vasari, Lomazzo, Borghini, Mariette, and other modern authors.

† “Lionardo seems to have trembled whenever he sat down to paint, and never finished any of the pictures he began; by meditation on the perfection of art, he perceived faults in what to others appeared admirable.”—Lomazzo, “*Idea del Tempio della Pittura*,” p. 114.



fect, as I shall more fully state under the Milanese school. There he will appear with the dignity of a consummate master, and a portion of his fame must at present suffice for his native school.

The life of Lionardo may be divided into four periods, the first of which includes the time he remained at Florence. To this era may be referred the *Medusa* of the royal gallery, and the few pieces mentioned by Vasari; others also, less powerful in the shadows, and less diversified in the folds of the drapery, present heads more delicate than select, apparently derived from the school of Verrocchio. Such is the *Magdalen* of the Pitti palace at Florence, and that of the *Aldo-brandini* palace at Rome; some *Madonnas* and *Holy Families* in the *Giustiniani* and *Borghese* galleries; and some heads of the *Redeemer* and of the *Baptist* in various places; although it is often reasonable to suspend our judgment in regard to the genuineness of such pieces, on account of the great number of Lionardo's imitators. The child, in a bed richly ornamented, enveloped in its clothes, and adorned with a necklace, in the house of his excellency the *Gonfaloniere* of Bologna, is of a different class, and of undoubted originality.

After this first period, Lionardo was brought to Milan by Lodovico Sforza, "whom he highly gratified by his performance on the lyre, a curious and new instrument, almost entirely of silver," which Lionardo carried with him, and had constructed with his own hands. All the musicians there assembled were vanquished, and the whole city being struck with admiration of his extemporaneous poetry, and his eloquence, he was retained by the prince, and remained there till 1499, engaged in abstruse studies, and in mechanical and hydrostatical labours for the service of the state. During this time he painted little, except the celebrated *Last Supper*; but by superintending an academy of the fine arts, he left a degree of refinement in Milan, so productive of illustrious pupils, that this period may be reckoned the most glorious era of his life.

After the misfortunes of Lodovico Sforza, he returned to Florence, where having remained thirteen years, he went to Rome at the time his patron Leo X. ascended the papal chair; but his stay was short. Some of his best works at Florence

may be referred to this period; the celebrated portrait of Mona Lisa, which was the labour of four years, and yet left unfinished; the cartoon of S. Anna, for a picture in the church of the Servi, which was never executed in colours;\* the cartoon of the battle of Niccolo Piccinino, intended to dispute the palm of excellence with Michelangelo in the council-chamber at Florence,† but never executed, after his failing in an attempt to paint it in a new method in oil on the wall. He probably employed another method in painting the Madonna with the child in her arms, in the monastery of S. Onofrio, of Rome, a picture in the style of Raffaello, now peeling off the walls in many places. There are some other fine pieces, which might be with propriety assigned to this period, in which Lionardo, having attained his highest skill, and unoccupied by other pursuits, painted in his best manner. Such is the specimen that was preserved at Mantua, but which was stolen, and concealed during the sack of the city; after many vicissitudes, it was sold for a high price to the imperial court of Russia. The subject is a Holy Family; in the background is seen a woman of a beautiful and majestic countenance in an upright position. It bears the cipher of Lionardo, consisting of a D interlaced with an L and a V, as it is seen in the picture of the Signori Sanvitali, at Parma. The Consigliere Pagave, who left a memorandum of it in his MSS. was the first to recognise it, upon its being brought to Milan in 1775, where it was also kept concealed. The same judicious critic has conjectured that this production was executed in Rome, for one of the princesses of Mantua, or rather for the sister-in-law of Leo X.; inasmuch as it displayed a decided emulation of Raffaello's manner, at that time highly extolled in Rome. Such a conjecture might receive support from his picture of a Madonna, which ornaments San Onofrio, also in the Raffaello manner; and in order that this picture and that of Mantua might not be confounded by poste-

\* It was represented in a painting by Lucini, which is in the Ambrosian library at Milan, esteemed one of the chefs-d'œuvre of that collection.

† Both have perished, after serving as models to the best painters of that age, and even to Andrea del Sarto. See what has been written by Vasari, and by M. Mariette, in the long letter concerning Vinci, which is inserted in tom. ii. of "*Lett. Pittoriche*."

rity with the works of Raffaello, Lionardo, according to Signor Pagave, took care to affix the cipher of his name. This is not at all improbable: both writers and painters are impelled by their natural genius to adopt a peculiar style. Whoever will compare the portraits that remain, expressive of the elevated, touching, penetrating, and beautiful spirit, incessantly bent upon acquiring something still more exquisite in art, which inspired these two prodigies, will find little difficulty in believing that both produced works which, owing to a similarity of natural taste, selection and admiration of the same object, might be mistaken for specimens of the same hand.\* Of this number is his own portrait, at an age which corresponds with this period, in the ducal gallery, a head that surpasses every other in that room for energy of expression; also another head, which is in a different cabinet, and is called a portrait of Raffaello; together with the half-length figure of a young nun so much commended by Bottari, and which he points out as one of the greatest treasures in the splendid mansion of the Marchese Niccolini. In the same rank we may include the much admired specimens in the possession of some of the noble families† at Rome; as the picture of Christ disputing in the Temple, and the supposed portrait of Queen Giovanna, ornamented with fine architecture, in the Doria palace; the Vanity and Modesty in the Barberini palace, the tints of which no pencil has been able to imitate; the Madonna of the Albani palace, that appears to be requesting the lily which the infant Jesus holds in his hand, while he draws back, as if unwilling to part with it; a picture of exquisite grace, and preferred by Mengs to every other painting contained in that fine collection. It would, however, be presumptuous to assign a date to every picture of an artist who became early a distinguished painter, and who frequently discontinued a work before it was completed.

\* Amoretti, "Memorie Storiche" di Lionardo da Vinci, p. 105. Whoever has not studied design may be of this opinion. The eye accustomed to distinguish colours can make no mistake in regard to a painting by Lionardo and one by Raffaello.—A.

† To one acquainted with the style and design of the drapery and colouring of Bernardino Luini, the cited "Dispute of Christ" in the Doria palace, and the "Vanity and Modesty" in that of the Barberini, will appear clearly by his hand.



When this celebrated artist had attained his sixty-third year, he appears to have renounced the art for ever. Francis I., who saw his Last Supper at Milan, about the year 1515, attempted to saw it from the wall, that it might be transported to France; and not succeeding in his project, was desirous of possessing the artist, though now an old man. He invited Vinci to his court, and the artist felt little regret at leaving Florence, where, since his return, he found in the young Bonarruoti a rival that had already contended with him, and was even employed in preference to Vinci both in Florence and in Rome; because the former gave them works, if we may credit Vasari, while the latter amused them with words.\* It is known that they had a quarrel; and Lionardo consulting his repose, which their emulation embittered, passed over into France, where, before he had employed his pencil, he expired in the arms of Francis I., in the year 1519.

Though his style is highly worthy of imitation, it was less followed in Florence than in Milan; nor is this surprising. Vinci left in Florence no picture in public; he there taught no pupil; and it appears that he retained Salai, whom I shall notice among the Milanese artists, in the station of a dependant, during his residence at Florence. In Florence we meet with pictures in the possession of private individuals, that seem the work of Vinci; and sometimes the dealers extol them as his, gravely adding that they cost a large sum. Such pieces are, probably, the productions of Salai, or of other imitators of Lionardo, who availed themselves of his cartoons, his drawings, or his few paintings. We are informed that Lorenzo di Credi, whose family name was Sciarpelloni, made use of them more than any other Florentine. Educated, as well as Vinci, in the school of Verrocchio, he followed rules nearly similar; he was patient, and aimed at the same object; but he approached less closely to the softness of the moderns. He copied, with such precision, a picture of Lionardo, which was sent to Spain, that the copy was not distinguishable from the original. Private houses contain many of his circular

\* It was on account of the same procrastinating disposition that Leo X. withdrew the patronage he had conferred on him, and which he was accustomed to bestow upon all men of genius.

Holy Families, of which the invention and gracefulness remind us of Lionardo. I possess one which represents the Virgin sitting with Christ in her arms, and at her side the young S. John, to whom she turns as if to lay hold of him, at which the child seems timid, and draws back: it is in a lovely manner; but the style is not well suited to such a subject. Some of Credi's pictures, which Bottari did not meet with in public places, are now exhibited; as the Magdalen with S. Nicholas and S. Julian, adduced by Vasari as an example of a picturesque and highly-finished style. His Christ in the Manger may be also seen at S. Chiara; and it is one of his finest pictures, for the beauty of the faces, the vigour of expression, the finish of the back-ground, and the good colouring. Both in this, and in his other original pictures, we may discern some imitation of Vinci, and of Pietro Perugino, another friend of Credi: he possesses, however, some originality, which his scholar, Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, successfully imitated and improved.

This artist lived twenty-four years with Lorenzo; and, in imitation of his model, was contented to paint less than his contemporaries, that he might do it better. He likewise attempted to imitate Porta; but his natural disposition led him rather to follow the simple grace of his instructor, than the sublimity of his master. Few of his school can compare with him for the natural appearance he gave the naked as well as the clothed figure, or for the conception of "handsome, good-natured, sweet, and graceful features."\* Like Lionardo, he possessed the rare talent of representing images of virtue by the faces of his saints, and of vice by those of his wicked characters. This is exemplified in his Cain and Abel, in the cathedral of Pisa, where he has introduced a landscape that would do honour to any painter. With equal felicity in the figure and the back-ground, he painted the Crucifixion of S. Arcadius, which was brought from another church to that of S. Lorenzo at Florence, where it still remains. He entered into competition with Perino del Vaga, with Mecherino, and Andrea del Sarto, at Pisa, where he was noted for his dilatoriness, but admired for that happy simplicity and elegance

\* Vasari.

which he always preserved. Some have praised a few of his pictures as inclining to the manner of Raffaello, a commendation also bestowed on Luini, and other followers of Lionardo. He had pupils who afterwards followed other masters; but a Zanobi di Poggino, who painted many pictures for Florence, which are now unknown, appears to have had no other master.

One of the best imitators of Vinci, almost equal to Luini himself, may be recognised in the sacristy of S. Stephen, at Bologna, in which there is a S. John in the Desert, with the inscription *Jul. Flor.* If this be read *Julius Florentinus*, the artist is unknown; but perhaps we should read *Julianus*, and ascribe it to Bugiardini. We are informed by Vasari that he was at Bologna, and that he painted a Madonna between two Saints for the church of S. Francis, where it still is, and approaches the style of Lionardo. Both pictures seem the work of the same artist; and to this artist also belongs a Nativity, in the cloister of the canons of S. Salvatore; and various pictures found in private houses, with a similar epigraph. If we embrace the opinion of Vasari, we must consider Giuliano as a feeble painter, but uncommonly careful and slow. We should rather suppose him the imitator of any artist than of Vinci; for he is described as the fellow-student of Bonarruoti, the assistant of Albertinelli, and the colourist of some works of Fra Bartolommeo. One can readily perceive that Vasari was wrong in his slight estimation of this artist, on which account he has not paid a due attention to his works or to his style. He has represented this man as amiable in disposition, a picture of contented poverty, an unbounded admirer of his Madonnas, and very profuse in his own commendations; qualities which rendered him highly amusing even to Michelangelo. Intent on amusing his reader with the character of the man, he has not, perhaps, sufficiently rated the merits of the artist. This is proved by the little respect with which he mentions the Martyrdom of S. Catherine in S. Maria Novella, which Bottari has called "a work worthy of admiration," not only for the figures of the soldiers, which, as Giuliano found himself unequal to the performance, were outlined with charcoal by Michelangelo, and afterwards painted by Giuliano: but for other parts of



the story. The truth seems to be, that he had not much invention, and did not adhere to one style, but now and then borrowed a thought; as in the Nativity already noticed, where one may recognise the style of Fra Bartolommeo. On considering each figure separately, he appears on the whole happy in his imitations, especially in Bologna, where the S. John is held in the highest esteem. In Florence he painted many Madonnas and Holy Families, which, with the aid of the Bolognese pictures, may perhaps be recognised as his by their clearness, the masculine and somewhat heavy proportions, and the mouths sometimes expressive of melancholy, although the subject did not call for it. One of these is in the collection of the noble family of Orlandini.

Michelangelo Bonarruoti, of whom memoirs were published by two of his disciples while he was still living,\* was born twenty-three years after Lionardo da Vinci. Like him, he was endowed with a ready wit, and consummate eloquence. His bon-mots rival those of the Grecian painters, which are recorded by Dati, and he is even esteemed the most witty and lively of his race. He possessed not the polish and elegance of Vinci, but his genius was more vast and daring. Hence he attained the three sister arts in an eminent degree, and has left specimens in painting, sculpture, and architecture, sufficient to immortalize three different artists. Like Vinci, he gave proofs of talent in his boyish years, that compelled his master to confess his own inferiority. This master was Domenico Ghirlandaio, who sent his own brother Benedetto to paint in France, from jealousy of his pre-eminence; and, perhaps, fearing the wonderful powers of Bonarruoti, turned his attention to sculpture. Lorenzo the Magnificent, desirous of encouraging the statuary art, which was on the decline in his country, had collected in his gardens, adjacent to the monastery of S. Mark, many antique marbles, and committing the care of them to Bertoldo, a scholar of Donatello, he requested of Ghirlandaio some young man to be there educated as a sculptor, and this artist sent him Michelangelo. This transaction was disliked by his father, Lodovico, in whose mind the

\* Vasari, who published a life of him in 1550, and enlarged it in another edition; and Ascanio Condivi da Ripatransone, who printed one in 1553, ten years before the death of Bonarruoti.

art appeared degrading to his high birth ; but he had no reason to repent it. On obtaining his object, Lorenzo not only added to the fortune of Lodovico, but retained Michelangelo in his house, rather as a relation than a dependant, placing him at the same table with his own sons, with Poliziano, and other learned men who then graced his residence. During the four years that he remained there he laid the foundation of all his acquirements; he especially studied poetry, and thus was enabled to rival Vinci in his sonnets, and to relish Dante, a bard of a sublimity beyond the reach of vulgar souls.\* Bonarruoti studied design in the chapel of Masaccio, he copied the antiques in the garden of Lorenzo, and attended to anatomy, a science to which he is said to have dedicated twelve years, with great injury to his health, and which determined his style, his practice, and his glory.† To this study he owed that style from which he obtained the name of the Dante of the art. As this poet made choice of materials difficult to be reduced to verse, and from an abstruse subject extracted the praise of sublimity and grandeur, in like manner Michelangelo explored the untrodden path of design, and in pursuing it, displayed powers of execution at once scientific and magnificent. In his works, man assumes that form which, according to Quintilian,‡ Zeuxis delighted to represent; nervous, muscular, and robust: his foreshortenings and his attitudes are most daring; his expression full of vivacity and energy. The poet and the painter have other points of resemblance; a display of knowledge, from which Dante appears sometimes a disclaimer rather than a poet, Bonarruoti, an anatomist rather than a painter; a neglect of elegance, from which the first

\* He was very partial to this poet, whose flights of fancy he embodied in pen-drawings in a book, which, unfortunately for the art, has perished, and to whose memory he wished to sculpture a magnificent monument, as appears from a petition to Leo X. In it the Medicean Academy requests the bones of the divine poet; and among the subscribers we read the name of Michelangelo, and also his offer.—Gori *Illustraz. alla Vita del Condivi*, p. 112.

† He projected a tract on “all the movements of the human body, on its external appearances, and on the bones, with an ingenious theory, the fruit of his long study.”—Condivi, p. 117.

‡ “Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit, id amplius et augustius ratus; atque ut existimant Homerum secutus, cui validissima quæque forma etiam in foeminis placet.”—Inst. Orat. lib. xii. c. 10.

often, and if we subscribe to the opinions of the Caracci and of Mengs, the second sometimes, degenerated into harshness.\* On points like these, which depend wholly on taste, I shall content myself with warning the reader that such comparisons should not be pushed too far: for this poet, from his desire of surmounting difficulties in conception and versification, has sometimes so deviated from the usual path, that he cannot always be proposed as a model for imitation: but every design of Michelangelo, every sketch, as well as his more finished works, may be regarded as a model in art; if in Dante we trace marks of labour, in Michelangelo every thing exhibits nature and facility.† It was one of his observations, that the compasses ought to lie in the eyes, a principle apparently drawn from Diodorus Siculus, where he asserts that the Egyptians had the rules of measurement in their hands, the Greeks in their eyes.‡ Nor is such eulogy inapplicable to our artist; who, whether he handled his pen, his chisel, or a piece of charcoal, even in sport, still displayed infallible skill in every part of his design.

Bonarruoti was extolled to the skies by Ariosto for his painting, as well as for his sculpture;§ but Condivi and others prefer his chisel to his pencil, and he undoubtedly exercised it more professedly and with greater reputation. His Moses on the tomb of Julius II. in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, his Christ in the Minerva, his Piety in S. Pietro Vaticano, and the statues in the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence, and in the ducal palaces, must be acknowledged to be the finest

\* None, however, of these great men presumed to despise Michelangelo so much as to compare the picture of Christ, in the Minerva, to an executioner, like the author of the "Arte di Vedere." Mengs, whom he rather flatters than follows, would have disdained to use this and similar expressions; but it is the office of adulators not merely to approve the opinion of the object flattered, but greatly to exaggerate it. Juvenal, with his peculiar penetration into the vices of mankind, describes one of the race.—See Satire iii. v. 100.

† Bottari confesses "that he shews somewhat of mannerism, but concealed with such skill, that it is not perceptible," an art which very few of his imitators possess.

‡ See Winckelman in his "Gems of Baron Stochs," where he records and comments upon the text of the historian, p. 316.

§ "Duo Dossi e quel che a par sculpe e colora

Michel più che mortal Angiol divino."

Orl. Fur. Cant. xxxiii. 2.



specimens of sculpture, in themselves forming schools of the revived art. I will not extol them so highly as Vasari does the colossal David, placed near the Palazzo Vecchio, when he says "that it bore away the palm from every statue, modern or ancient, either Grecian or Roman;" nor shall I follow his annotator, Bottari, in whose judgment Bonarruoti has greatly surpassed the Greeks, who are not so successful in statues larger than the life. I have heard competent judges remark, that we do injustice to the Grecian masters, not only by preferring any modern to them, but even by comparing them; but my pen ought not to wander too far from the canvas and from colouring.\*

The few remaining drawings of Michelangelo demonstrate how little he painted. Conscious of his superiority in sculpture, he seems to have dreaded appearing as a second or third rate painter. The majority of his compositions that have reached our time, like those of Vinci, are mere outlines; and therefore, though many cabinets are rich in his drawings, none can boast the possession of his paintings. The cartoon of the battle of Pisa, prepared for a competition with Vinci in the saloon of the public palace at Florence, is said to have been a wonderful production in this species of art. Mariette supposes, in the letter above quoted, that the example of Vinci paved the way for this great undertaking, which he confesses surpassed the original. Michelangelo did not rest satisfied with representing the Florentines cased in armour, and mingling with their enemies; but choosing the moment of the attack upon their van, while bathing in the river Arno, he seized the opportunity of representing many naked figures, as they rushed to arms from the water, by which he was enabled to introduce a prodigious variety of foreshortenings, attitudes the most energetic, in a word, the highest perfection of his peculiar excellences. Cellini observes in the thirteenth

\* Nothing shews the immense distance between Bonarruoti and the ancients more than the statue "del Fiume," in the Clementine Museum, to which Michelangelo supplied the head, the right arm with the urn, and other small parts, but in a style which, at the side of the true "grand" in the ancient artist, appears heavy and forced. This is observed by the illustrator of that museum, in vol. i. p. 72. And a similar opinion was uttered by the celebrated Cav. Cavaceppi.—A.

chapter of his life, that when Michelangelo "painted the chapel of Pope Julius, he reached not half that dignity;" and Vasari adds, that "all the artists who studied and designed after this cartoon, became eminent;" among these he reckons the best Florentine artists of the second epoch, from the time of Frate, and to them he joined Raffaello d'Urbino. This is a point of critical disquisition not yet sufficiently cleared up, though much has been written both for and against the opinion of Vasari. I am not of the number of those who suppose that the labours of Bonarruoti had no influence on the style of Raffaello because it appears dissimilar. It would seem to me an act of injustice to this divine genius, to imagine that, profiting as he did by the finest productions of the art, he neglected those sources of information. I therefore firmly believe, that Raffaello likewise studied Michelangelo, which he himself appears to acknowledge, as I shall afterwards relate. I cannot, however, grant to Vasari that he saw this cartoon on his first short visit to Florence.\*

This cartoon has perished, and report accuses Baccio Bandinelli of tearing it, either that others might not derive advantage from viewing it, or because from partiality to Vinci, and hatred to Bonarruoti, he wished to remove a subject of comparison, that might exalt the reputation of the latter above that of Lionardo. This circumstance is not authenticated, nor are we much interested in the supposed criminal, who, though eminent as a designer and a sculptor, painted a very few pieces, that may almost all be reduced to an Ebriety of Noah, and the Imprisonment of the Fathers of the Church. Baccio soon renounced the pencil, and Michelangelo appears to have done the same, for he was called to Rome by Julius II.

\* Raffaello came to Florence towards the end of 1504. (Lett. Pitt. tom. i. p. 2.) In this year Michelangelo was called to Rome, and left his cartoon imperfect. Having afterwards fled from Rome, through dread of Julius II., he completed it in three months, in the year 1506. Compare the brief of Julius, in which he recalls Michelangelo (Lett. Pitt. tom. iii. p. 320), with the relation of Vasari (tom. vi. ed. Fiorent. p. 191). During the time that Michelangelo laboured at this work, "he was unwilling to shew it to any person (p. 182); and when it was finished it was carried to the hall of the pope," and was there studied (p. 184). Raffaello had then returned to Florence, and this work might open the way to his new style, which, as a learned Englishman expresses it, is intermediate between that of Michelangelo and of Perugino.

as a sculptor, and when the pope, about 1508, asked him to paint the ceiling of the chapel, he declined it, and wished to transfer the commission to Raffaello.

He was, however, constrained to undertake it, and, unaccustomed to work in fresco, he invited the best painters in this branch from Florence,\* that they might assist, or rather instruct him. When he had acquired what he deemed necessary, he effaced their labours, and set about the work without an assistant. When the task was about half finished, he exhibited it for a little time to the public. He then applied himself to the other part, but proceeding more slowly than the impatience of the pontiff could endure, he was compelled by threats to use quicker despatch, and without assistance finished the greater part, then incomplete, in twenty months. I have said that he was unaided, for such was the delicacy of his taste, that no artist could please him; and as in sculpture, every piercer, file, and chisel, which he used, was the work of his own hands, so in painting, “he prepared his own colours, and did not commit the mixing and other necessary manipulations to mechanics or to boys.”† Here may be seen those grand and finely-varied figures of the Prophets and the Sybils, the style of which is pronounced by Lomazzo, an impartial judge, because an artist of a different school, “to be the finest in the world.”‡ The dignity of the aspects, the solemn majesty of the eyes, a certain wild and uncommon casting of the drapery, and the attitudes, whether representing rest or motion, announce an order of beings who hold converse with the Deity, and whose mouths utter what he inspires. Amid this display of genius, the figure most admired by Vasari is that of Isaiah, “who, absorbed in meditation, places his right hand in a book, to denote where he had been reading; and with his left elbow on the book, and his cheek resting on that hand, he turns round his head, without

\* He chose the companions of those who had painted in the Sistine, Jacopo di Sandro (Botticelli), Agnolo di Donnino, a great friend of Rosselli, and the elder Indaco, a pupil of Ghirlandaio, who were but feeble artists. Bugiardini, Gianacci, and Aristotile di S. Gallo, of whom we shall take further notice in the proper place, were there also.

† Varchio, in his Funeral Oration, p. 15.

‡ Idea del Tempio della Pittura, p. 47. Ed. Bologna.



moving his body, on being called by one of the children that are behind him ; a figure which, if attentively studied, might fully teach the precepts of a master." No less science is displayed in his pictures of the Creation of the World, of the Deluge, of Judith, and in the other compartments of that vast ceiling. All is varied and fanciful in the garments, the foreshortenings, and the attitudes ; all is novel in the composition and the designs. He that contemplates the pictures of Sandro and his associates on the walls, and then, raising his eyes to the ceiling, beholds Michelangelo "soaring like an eagle above them all," can hardly believe that a man, not exercised in painting, in what may be considered as his first essay, should so nearly approach the greatest masters of antiquity, and thus open a new career to modern artists.

In the succeeding pontificates, Michelangelo, always occupied in sculpture and architecture, almost wholly abandoned painting, till he was induced by Paul III. to resume the pencil. Clement VII. had conceived the design of employing him in the Sistine Chapel on two other grand historical pictures ; the Fall of the Angels, over the gate, and the Last Judgment, in the opposite façade, over the altar. Michelangelo had composed designs for the Last Judgment, and Paul III. being aware of this, commanded, or rather entreated him, to commence the work ; for he went to the house of Michelangelo, accompanied by ten Cardinals, an honour, except in this instance, unknown in the annals of the art. On the suggestion of F. Sebastiano del Piombo, he was desirous that the picture should be painted in oil ; but this he could not procure, for Michelangelo replied, that he would not undertake it except in fresco, and that oil painting was employment only fit for women, or idlers of mean capacity. He caused the plaster prepared by Frate to be thrown down, and substituting a rough-cast suited to his purpose, he completed the work in eight years, and exhibited it in 1541. If in the ceiling of the chapel he could not fully satisfy himself, and was unable to retouch it as he wished after it was dry, in this immense painting he had an opportunity of fulfilling his intentions, and of demonstrating to the full the powers of his genius. He peopled this space, and disposed innumerable figures awakened by the sound of the last trumpet ; bands of

angels and of devils, of elected and condemned souls : some of them rising from the tomb, others standing on the earth ; some flying to the regions of bliss, while others are dragged down to punishment.

Bottari observes \* that there have been some who affected to depreciate this picture, on comparing it with the works of other artists, by remarking how much he might have added to the expression, to the colouring, or to the beauty of the contours : but Lomazzo, Felibien,† and several others, have not failed on that account to acknowledge him supreme in that peculiar branch of the profession, at which he aimed in all his works, and especially in this of his Last Judgment. The subject itself appeared rather created than selected by him. To a genius so comprehensive, and so skilled in drawing the human figure, no subject could be better adapted than the Resurrection ; to an artist who delighted in the awful, no story more suitable than the day of supernal terrors. He saw Raffaello pre-eminent in every other department of the art : he foresaw that in this alone could he expect to be triumphant ; and, perhaps, he indulged the hope also that posterity would adjudge the palm to him who excelled all others in the most arduous walk of art. Vasari, his confidant, and the participator of his thoughts, seems to hint at something of this sort in two passages in his *Life of Michelangelo*.‡ He informs us, “ that applying himself to the human figure, the great object of art, he neglected the attractions of colouring, all sporting of the pencil, and fantastic novelty :” and again, “ neither landscapes, trees, nor houses, are to be seen in it, and we even look in vain for some degree of variety and ornament, which are never attempted, probably because he disdained to submit his towering genius to such objects.” I cannot suppose in Michelangelo such arrogance, nor such negligence of his own improvement in an art which embraces every object in nature, that he would limit himself to the naked figure, which is a single branch, and to one only character, his own sublime and awful manner. I

\* Tom. vi. p. 398.

† See *Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres*, tom. i. p. 502.

‡ See pp. 245, 253.

rather imagine, that discovering his strength in this style, he did not attempt any other. There he proceeded as in his peculiar province, and, what one cannot wholly commend, he observed no limits, and wished for no control. This Last Judgment was filled with such a profusion of nudity, that it was in great danger of being destroyed: from a regard to the decency of the sanctuary, Paul IV. proposed to white-wash it, and was hardly appeased with the correction of its most glaring indelicacies, by some drapery introduced here and there by Daniel da Volterra, on whom the facetious Romans, from this circumstance, conferred the nick-name of the *Breeches-maker*.\*

Other corrections have been proposed in it by different critics, both with regard to the costume and the conception. The artist has been censured for confounding sacred with profane history; for introducing the angels of Revelation with the Stygian ferryman; Christ sitting in judgment, and Minos, who assigns his proper station to each of the damned. To this profanity he added satire, by portraying in Minos the features of a master of the ceremonies, who, in the hearing of the pope, had pronounced this picture more suitable for a bagnio than a church;† but Bonarruoti did not set the example in such composition. Scannelli has expressed a wish that there had been greater variety in the proportion, and muscularity according to the diversity of age;‡ although, by an evident anachronism, this criticism is attributed to Vinci, who died in 1519. Albani, as quoted by Malvasia,§ says, that “had Michelangelo contemplated Raffaello, he might have learned to dispose the crowd that surround the judgment-seat of Christ in a superior manner;” but here I am uncertain whether he blames the composition or the perspective.|| I can discover, however, an anachronism in his imagining the

\* Lett. Pitt. tom. iii. lett. 227. Rosa, Sat. iii. p. 85.

† Salvator Rosa in his third satire, p. 84, narrates the rebuke which the prelate gave Michelangelo for his indecency in painting the saints themselves without garments.

‡ Microcosmo, p. 6.

§ Tom. ii. p. 254.

|| He is also blamed for this part of the perspective by others. (See P. M. della Valle in the “Prosa recitata in Arcadia,” 1784, p. 260, of the Giorn. Pis. tom. liii.)



Last Judgment an earlier work than it really is by many years; as if it had been executed before Raffaello came to Rome.

I find that Albani rendered justice to the merit of Michelangelo; he reckoned not three great masters in painting only, as is now commonly done, but he added a fourth, and thought that Bonarruotì surpassed Raffaello, Titiano, and Correggio, "in form and in grandeur."\* We may here observe, that when Michelangelo was so inclined, he could obtain distinction for those endowments in which the others excelled. It is a vulgar error to suppose that he had no idea of grace and beauty; the Eve of the Sistine Chapel turns to thank her Maker, on her creation, with an attitude so fine and lovely, that it would do honour to the school of Raffaello. Annibale Caracci admired this, and many other naked figures in this grand ceiling, so highly, that he proposed them to himself as models in the art, and, according to Bellori,† preferred them to those of the Last Judgment, that appeared to him too anatomical. In *chiaro-scuro* Michelangelo had not the skill and delicacy of Correggio; but the paintings of the Vatican have a force and relief much commended by Renfesthein, an eminent connoisseur, who, on passing from the Sistine Chapel to the Farnesian gallery, remarked how greatly in this respect the Caracci themselves were eclipsed by Bonarruotì. Dolce speaks less favourably of his colouring,‡ for this author was captivated by Titiano and the Venetian school: no one, however, can deny that the colouring of Michelangelo in this chapel is admirably adapted to the design,§ and the same, also, would have been the case with his two pictures in the Pauline Chapel, the Crucifixion of S. Peter and the Conversion of S. Paul, but they have sustained great injury from time.

None of his paintings are to be seen in public, except in those two chapels; those described as his in collections, are almost all the works of other hands. During his residence at Florence he painted an exquisite Leda for Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, to whom however it was not sold. Michelangelo offended at the manner in which it was demanded by one of

\* Malv. tom. ii. p. 254.

† Vite de' Pittori, &c. p. 44.

‡ Dialogo sopra la Pittura.

§ Idea del Tempio della Pittura, p. 41.

the courtiers of that prince, refused to let him have it; but made a present of it to his pupil, Antonio Mini, who carried it to France. Vasari describes it as "a grand picture, painted in distemper, that seemed as if breathed on the canvas;" and Mariette affirms, in his notes on *Condivi*, that he saw the picture in a damaged state, and that it appeared as if Michelangelo had there forgot his usual style, and "approached the tone of Titiano." This expression inclines one to suspect that he is describing a copy taken in oil by some able painter, especially as D'Argenville informs us that this painting was burnt in the reign of Louis XIII. It is said there is also one of his pictures, representing the Virgin and the Divine Infant, in an upright position, standing near the cradle upon a rock, a figure of the size of nature, formerly in possession of the noble house of Mocci (Mozzi) at Florence; and afterwards transferred to the cathedral of Burgos, where it still remains.\* Michelangelo executed likewise a circular Holy Family, with some naked figures in the distance, for Agnol Doni. It is now in the tribune of the Florentine gallery, in a high state of preservation. It is praised by Richardson and some others for the vigour of its tints, and is painted in distemper. Placed among the works of the greatest masters of every school that vie with each other in this theatre of art, it appears the most scientific, but the least pleasing picture: its author seems the most powerful designer, but the feeblest colourist among them all. In it aerial perspective is neglected, as the figures are not indistinct in proportion to their diminution, a fault not uncommon in that age. I cannot readily decide whether his style appears in certain pictures that are described as his in several collections in Florence, Rome, and Bologna, so well as in the catalogue of the imperial gallery at Vienna, and in the royal collections in Spain, that represent the subjects of the Crucifixion,† the

\* Conca, *Descriz. Odeporica della Spagna*, tom. i. p. 24.

† The ignorant believed that Michelangelo "nailed a man to a cross and left him there to expire, in order to paint from the life a figure of our Saviour on the cross." See Dati, in his notes of the Life of Parrhasius, who is said to have committed a similar homicide. This story of the latter is probably a fable, and undoubtedly it is so of Michelangelo. The crucifixions of this artist are often repeated, sometimes with a single figure, sometimes with our Lady and S. John; at other times with two

Pietà,\* the Infant Jesus asleep, and the Prayer in the Garden. They resemble the design of Michelangelo, but their execution betrays another pencil. This is rendered probable by the silence of Vasari; their high finish seems incredible in an artist, who, even in sculpture, very rarely attempted it; and our scepticism is confirmed by the opinion of Mengs, and other competent judges, whom I have consulted. Some of them, in which the distribution of the tints was perhaps originally made under his inspection, resemble his style. These may have been copied by Fiamminghi, as the tints of some of them indicate, or by other Italian artists of the various schools, since they differ so much in their mode of colouring. Some copies may be the work of the scholars of Michelangelo, though Vasari informs us they were all but feeble artists. He gives us the names of those who dwelt in his house; Pietro Urbano of Pistoia, a man of genius, but very indolent; Antonio Mini of Florence, and Ascanio Condivi da Ripatransone, both eager in their profession, but of little talent, and therefore the authors of no work worthy of regard. The people of Ferrara include their countryman Filippi in this school, an artist unknown to Vasari, but worthy of notice. Lomazzi mentions Marco da Pino as one of the number. To these Palomino adds Castelli of Bergamo (whose master, while he was in Rome, is not noticed by any of our writers), and Gaspar Bacerra, of Andalusia, a celebrated Spanish painter. We may likewise add Alonzo Berrugese, who is reckoned by Vasari only among those that studied the cartoon of Michelangelo, at Florence, with Francia, and other strangers, not among his disciples. In the history of Spanish painting is mentioned by all the writers a Roman, of the name of Matteo Perez d'Alessio, or d'Alessi. They recount that he lived many years at Seville, and produced works there, among which his *S. Cristoforo*, in the cathedral, which cost 4,000 crowns, is the grandest. They add,

Angels, who collect the blood. Bottari mentions several of these pictures in different galleries. To these we may add the picture of the Caprara palace, and those in the possession of Monsignor Bonfigliuoli and of Sig. Biancani in Bologna. Sig. Co. Chiappini of Piacenza has a very good one, and there is another in the church of the college of Ravenna.

\* A name given by the Italians to pictures of a dead Christ on the knees of his mother.



that Luigi Vargas, a very able disciple of Perino del Vaga, having returned from Rome, Alessi was glad to leave the field open to him, and to return into Italy; where Preziado finds him. Indeed he rather finds him at Rome, and at the Sistine Chapel, where two histories, painted "opposite to the Last Judgment of his master," are ascribed to him; these, however, are the production of Matteo da Leccio, who aimed at imitating Michelangelo and Salviati; but he is only despised by Taia, and by every one who has a grain of sense. He executed this work in the time of Gregory XIII.; and neither he nor the supposititious Alessio,\* an imaginary name, had any connection with Michelangelo. The rest we refer to the note, in order to proceed without delay to names which may boast a better title to such a connection.

Other figures and historic compositions were designed by Michelangelo, and painted at Rome by F. Sebastiano del Piombo, an excellent colourist of the Venetian school. The Pietà in the church of S. Francis of Viterbo,† the Flagellation, and Transfiguration, with some other pieces at S. Pietro in Montorio, are of this number. Two Annunciations, de-

\* Bottari, in his *Notes* to the Letter of Preziado, doubts whether this supposed scholar of Michelangelo be Galeazzo Alessi, remarking, at the same time, that this last was rather an architect than a painter. I am inclined to think that the Matteo in question may have been the foregoing Matteo da Lecce, or da Leccio, and that, owing to one of those errors, which Clerche in his "*Arte Critica*," calls *ex auditu*, his name in Spain became D'Alessi, or D'Alessio, the letters *c* and *s* in many countries being made use of reciprocally. Besides, this *Leccese*, of whom we write in the fourth volume, flourished in the time of Vargas, went to Spain, affected the style of Michelangelo, and never settled himself in any place, from his desire of seeing the world. Memoirs of him appear to have been collected in Spain, by Pacheco, who lived in 1635 (Conca. iii. 252), who in his account, at this distance of time, must have been guided by vulgar report; a bad authority for names, particularly those of foreigners, as was noticed in the Preface. That he should further be called Roman instead of Italian, in a foreign country, and that he should there adopt the name of Perez, not having assumed any surname in Rome, can scarcely appear strange to the reader, and the more so as he is described as an adventurer—a species of persons who subsist upon tricks and frauds.

† Sebastiano painted it again for the Osservanti of Viterbo; and there is a similar one described in the Carthusian Monastery at Naples, painted in oil, and supposed to be the work of Bonarruoti.

signed by Bonarruoti, were coloured for altar-pieces by Marcello Venusti of Mantua, a scholar of Perino, who adopted the style of Michelangelo, without apparent affectation. The one was put up in the church of S. Giovanni Laterano, the other in the Della Pace. He is said to have painted also some cabinet pictures after designs of Bonarruoti; as the *Limbo*,\* in the Colonna palace; the Christ going to Mount Calvary, and some other pieces in the Borghese; also the celebrated copy of the Last Judgment, which he painted for Cardinal Farnese, that still exists in Naples. Although a good designer, and the author of many pieces described by Baglione, he obtained greater celebrity by clothing the inventions of Michelangelo in exquisite beauty, especially in small pictures, of which, Vasari says, he executed a great many. This writer, and Orlandi following him, have erroneously named him Raffaello, not Marcello. Batista Franco coloured the Rape of Ganymede, after a design of Bonarruoti, which was also done by the artist who painted the small picture which D'Argenville describes in France; and another on a larger scale, to be seen at Rome in the possession of the Colonna family: it was also painted in oil by Giulio Clovio. Pontormo employed himself in a similar manner at Florence, on the design of Venus and Cupid; and on the cartoon of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen, a work re-executed by him for Città di Castello, Bonarruoti having said, that none could perform it better. Francesco Salviati painted another of his designs, and Bugiardini executed some figures designed by him. Such is the information transmitted to us by Vasari; and he would have been justly reprehensible if he had written with such minuteness on the drawings of Michelangelo, and of those employed to finish them, and had neglected to inform us as to those pieces which Michelangelo himself executed. Hence it is not easy to avoid scepticism on the genuineness of the Annunciation, the Flagellation, or any other oil-painting ascribed to Bonarruoti by Bottari, D'Argenville, or the describers of collections. We have noticed his aversion to this method of painting. We are informed that

\* *Limbo*, among theologians of the Roman Church, is the place where the souls of just men, who died before the coming of our Saviour, and of unbaptized children, are supposed to reside.

he employed others in this branch ; and we know that after his death artists availed themselves of his designs ; as Sabbatini did in a *Pietà* for the sacristy of the church of S. Peter, a work copied by some other artist for the *Madonna de' Monti*, and others made known to us by Baglione. Can we then hesitate as to the originality of any picture, if we give credit to the oil-paintings of Michelangelo ? The portraits of Bonarruoti ascribed to his own hand, are also, in my opinion, supposititious. Vasari knew of no likeness of him except the figure cast in bronze by Ricciarelli, and two portraits, the one painted by Bugiardini, the other by Jacopo del Conte. From these are derived the very old and well-known portraits, preserved in the ducal gallery, in the collection of the Capitol, in the Caprara palace at Bologna, and that in the possession of Cardinal Zelada at Rome.

Franco, Marco da Siena, Tibaldi, and other foreign artists, who have imitated Michelangelo, shall be noticed under their respective schools. The Florentine school abounded in them, and these we shall consider all together in the succeeding epoch. I shall here only notice two, who lived on intimate habits with him, who executed works under his own eye, and for a long time received directions from his own lips ; circumstances which cannot be said of Vasari, of Salviati, nor of any other able artist of his school. One of these was Francesco Granacci of Florence, characterized by Vasari as an excellent artist, who derived much of his merit from his early intimacy with Michelangelo. He was the fellow-student of the latter, under Domenico Ghirlandaio, and also in the garden of Lorenzo ; and from his precepts, and by studying his cartoon, he enlarged his own manner, and approached near the modern style. After the death of his master, he remained with the brothers of that artist, to complete some of the works of the deceased, and was employed in painting some Holy Families, and cabinet pictures, in distemper, which might easily pass under another name, as they resemble the best productions of that school. In his new style he never entirely abandoned the simplicity of the old manner ; but there is a specimen in the church of S. Jacopo without-the-walls, more studied in design, and more determined in the colouring. In this picture S. Zanobi and S. Francis appear



near our Lady under a lofty canopy ; a subject then familiar in every school. His style seems more matured in an Assumption which was in S. Pier Maggiore, a church now suppressed : here he inserted, between two other figures, a S. Thomas, wholly in the manner of Michelangelo. Few other considerable paintings can be ascribed to this artist, who was left in easy circumstances by his father, and painted rather as a commendable amusement than from necessity.

Ricciarelli, usually known in history by the name of Daniele di Volterra, enjoys a greater name, and is generally described as the most successful follower of Michelangelo. Educated in Siena, according to report, by Peruzzi and Razzi, he became the assistant of Perino del Vaga, and acquired an astonishing talent for imitating Bonarruoti, who greatly esteemed him, appointed him his substitute in the labours of the Vatican, and brought him into notice, assisting and enriching him with designs. It is known that Michelangelo was often with Daniele when he painted in the Farnese palace, and it is said that Bonarruoti, during his absence, mounted the scaffold, and sketched with charcoal a colossal head that is still seen there. Volterra let it remain, that posterity might judge of the powers of Bonarruoti, who, without premeditation and in mere jest, had finished a work in such proportion and so perfect. Nor did Daniele execute, without the assistance of Michelangelo, the wonderful Descent from the Cross in the Trinità de' Monti, which, together with the Transfiguration by Raffaello, and the S. Girolamo of Domenichino, may be reckoned among the finest paintings in Rome.\* We seem to behold the mournful spectacle, and the Redeemer sinking with the natural relaxation of a dead body in descending ; the pious men engaged in various offices, and thrown in different and contrasted attitudes, appear assiduously occupied with the sacred remains which they seem to venerate ; the mother of Jesus having fainted between the sorrowing women, the beloved disciple extends his arms and bends over her. There is a truth in the naked figures that seems perfect nature ; a colouring in the faces and the whole piece that suits

\* This noble fresco was ruined during the revolutionary tumults at Rome.—Tr.

the subject, and is more determined than delicate; a relief, a harmony, and, in a word, a skill that might do honour to the hand of Michelangelo himself, had the picture been inscribed with his name. To this the artist, I believe, alluded when he painted Bonarruoti with a mirror near it; as if in this picture he might behold a reflection of himself. Volterra painted some other Crucifixions in the Orsini Chapel, where he was employed for seven years; but inferior to that described above. He employed his pupils in another chapel of that church (Michele Alberti, according to the Guide to Rome, and Gio. Paolo Rossetti), and supplied them with designs; one of which he himself executed in a picture, with figures of a moderate size. The subject is the Murder of the Innocents, and it is now deposited in the Tribune of the Royal Gallery of Florence; an honour that speaks more for it than my eulogy. The Grand Duke Leopold purchased it at a high price from a church in Volterra, where there is now no other public specimen of this master. The Ricciarelli family possess a fine Elijah, as an inheritance and memorial of this great man; and a beautiful fresco remains in a study in the house of the Dottor Mazzoni, relating to which we may refer the reader to the excellent historiographer of Volterra (tom. i. p. 177).

There was a youth of Florence, named Baccio della Porta, because his study was near a gate of that city. Having become a Dominican, he obtained that of Fra Bartolommeo di S. Marco, from the convent where he resided, or, more shortly, that of Frate. Whilst he studied under Rosselli, he became enamoured of the grand *chiaroscuro* of Vinci, and emulated him assiduously. We read that his friend Albertinelli studied modelling, and copied ancient basso-relievos, from a desire of obtaining correctness in his shadows; and we may conjecture the same of Baccio, although Vasari is silent on this head. The Prince has a Nativity and Circumcision of Christ in his early manner; most graceful little pictures, resembling miniatures. About this period he also painted his own portrait in the lay habit, a full-length figure, most skilfully inclosed in a small space, and now in the splendid collection of the Signori Montecatini at Lucca. He entered the cloister in 1500, at the age of 31, and for four years never handled the pencil.

The execution of Savonarola, whom he knew and respected, preyed upon his mind; and, like Botticelli and Credi, he gave up the art. When he resumed it, he seems to have advanced in improvement, during the last thirteen or fourteen years of his life; so that his earlier productions, though very beautiful, are inferior to his last. His improvement was accelerated by Raffaello, who came to Florence to pursue his studies in 1504, contracted a friendship for him, and was at the same time his scholar in colouring, and his master in perspective.\* Having gone to Rome some years after, to see the works of Bonarruoti and Raffaello, he greatly elevated his style; but his manner was at all times more conformable to that of his friend than of his fellow-citizen, uniting dignity with grace in his heads and in his general design. The picture in the Pitti palace, which Pietro da Cortona imagined to be the work of Raffaello, is a proof of this, though Frate painted it before he went to Rome. In that place he appeared with diminished lustre, says the historian, in the presence of those two great luminaries of the art, and speedily returned to Florence; a circumstance which also happened to Andrea del Sarto, to Rosso, and to other truly eminent masters, whose modesty was equal to the confidence of innumerable artists of mediocrity, who frequently enjoyed at Rome much ill-placed patronage. Frate left there two figures of the Chief Apostles, that are preserved in the Quirinal palace; the S. Peter, which was not finished, had its last touches from the hand of Raffaello. One of his pictures is also in the Vatican palace, where it was deposited by Pius VI., with many other choice paintings. A Holy Family exists in the Corsini collection by the same hand, and is perhaps his finest and most graceful performance.

His most finished productions are in Tuscany, which boasts various altar-pieces, all of them very valuable. Their composition is in the usual style of the age, which may be observed in the production of every school, not excepting Raffaello, and

\* That Raffaello was at this time well versed in perspective it is unreasonable to doubt, as Bottari has done: he proceeded from the school of Perugino, who was very eminent in that science; and he left a good specimen at Siena, where he remained some time before he came to Florence.



which continued in the Florentine until the time of Pontormo, viz. a Madonna seated, with an infant Jesus, and accompanied by saints. But in this hackneyed subject, Frate distinguished himself by grand architecture, by magnificent flights of steps, and by the skilful grouping of his saints and cherubim. He introduces them, one while seated in concert, another poised on their wings to minister to their king and queen; of whom some support the drapery, others have charge of the pavilion, a rich and happily conceived ornament, which he readily connected with such thrones, even in cabinet pictures. He departed from this mode of composition in a picture that he left at S. Romano of Lucca, called Madonna della Misericordia, who sits in an attitude full of grace, amid a crowd of devotees, shielding them with her mantle from the wrath of heaven. His rivals occasioned the production of two more altar-pieces; according to the example of other eminent men, he answered their sneers by his classic performances; a retort the most gallant to the invidious. They had stigmatized him as unequal to large proportions; and he filled a large piece with a single figure of S. Mark, which is admired as a prodigy of art in the ducal gallery, and is described by a learned foreigner as a Grecian statue transformed into a picture. He was accused of being ignorant of the anatomy of the human figure; and to refute this calumny he introduced a naked S. Sebastian in another picture, which was so perfect in drawing and in colouring, that "it received the unbounded applause of artists;" but becoming too much the admiration of the female devotees of that church, it was removed by the fathers into a private room, and afterwards sold, and sent into France.

To sum up all, he knew how to excel in every department of painting. His design is most chaste, and his youthful faces are more full and fleshy than was usual with Raffaello; and according to Algarotti, they are little elevated above the standard of ordinary men, and somewhat vulgar. His tints at one period abounded with shadows produced by lamp-black or ivory-black, which impairs the value of some of his pictures; but he gradually acquired a better manner, and, as we have related, was able to instruct Raffaello. In firmness and clearness he yields not to the best of the school of Lombardy. He was the inventor of a new method of casting draperies; having taught

the use of the wooden figure, with moveable joints, that serves admirably for the study of the folds of drapery. None of his school painted them more varied and natural, with more breadth, or better adapted to the limbs. His works are to be seen in several private collections in Florence; but they are rare beyond the precincts of that city: they are there eagerly sought after by foreigners, but are very rarely to be sold. One of his Madonnas was procured within these few years by his excellency the major domo of the ducal household, whose collection may be reckoned another Florentine gallery in miniature, consisting of about thirty pictures of the best masters of different schools. The Fathers of S. Mark have a considerable number of his paintings in their private chapel, and among these is a S. Vincenzo, said by Bottari to resemble a work of Titiano or Giorgione. His best and rarest performances are in the possession of the Prince, in whose collection the last work of Fra Bartolommeo remains, a large picture in chiaroscuro, representing the patron saints of the city surrounding the Virgin Mary. The gonfalonier Soderini intended this piece for the hall of the Council of State: but it was only a design at the death of its author, in 1517, like the projected works of Vinci and Bonarruoti. It would seem as if some fatality attended the decoration of this building, which ought to have employed the pencil of the greatest native artists. Among this number Frate must be included; and Richardson remarks, that had he possessed the happy combinations of Raffaello, he, perhaps, would not have been second to that master.\* The last-mentioned production, though imperfect, is looked upon as a model in the art. The method of this artist was first to draw the figure naked, then to drape it, and to form a chiaroscuro, sometimes in oils, that marked the distribution of the light and shadow, which constituted his great study, and the soul of his pictures. This large picture demonstrates such preparatives; and it has as high a value in painting, as the antique plaster models have in sculpture, in which Winckelmann discovers the stamp of genius and compass of design better than in sculptured marbles.

Mariotto Albertinelli, the fellow-student and friend

\* Vol. iii. p. 126

cio, the sharer of his labours and his concerns, emulated his first style, and approaches to his second in some of his works; but they may be compared to two streams springing from the same source; the one to become a brook, the other a mighty river. Some pictures in Florence are supposed to be their joint performances; and the Marquis Acciaiuoli possesses a picture of the Assumption, in the upper part of which are the Apostles, by Baccio, and the lower is deemed the work of Mariotto. He is somewhat dry in several of his pictures, as in the S. Silvestro, in Monte Cavallo at Rome; where he also painted a S. Domenico, and a S. Catharine of Siena, near the throne of the Virgin Mary. He should likewise be known at Florence. He executed two pictures for the church of S. Giuliano, remarkable for the force of colouring, and imitations of the style of Frate. The best and nearest to his model is the Visitation, transferred from the Congregazione de' Preti to the ducal gallery, and even to its most honoured place, the Tribune. Albertinelli obtained great credit by his two pupils, Franciabigio and Innocenzio da Imola, of whom I shall speak in the proper place as ornaments of their school. I find Visino praised beyond them both: he painted but little in Florence, and that in private; but he was much employed in Hungary.

Benedetto Cianfanini, Gabriele Rustici, and Cecchin del Frate, who inherited his master's name, were the scholars of Fra Bartolommeo in his best time; but they are no longer known by any undoubted works. Fra Paolo da Pistoia, his colleague, honoured in his own country with a medal, which I have seen, with those of many eminent men of Pistoia, in the possession of the Sign. Dottor Visoni, obtained the richest inheritance in the studies of Baccio; and from his designs this artist painted many pictures at Pistoia, one of which may be seen in the parochial church of S. Paul, over the great altar. Those designs were afterwards carried to Florence, and in the time of Vasari there was a collection of them at the Dominican convent of S. Catharine, in the hands of Sister Plautella Nelli. The noble family of this lady possesses a Crucifixion painted by her, in which there is a multitude of small figures highly finished. She seems on the whole a good imitation of Frate; but she also followed other styles, as may be seen in her con-



vent. A Descent from the Cross is there shewn, said to be the design of Andrea del Sarto, but the execution is by her ; and likewise an Epiphany, in which the landscape would do honour to the modern, but the figures savour of the old school.

Andrea Vannucchi, called Andrea del Sarto, from the occupation of his father, is commended by Vasari as the first artist of this school, “for being the most faultless painter of the Florentines, for perfectly understanding the principles of *chiaroscuro*, representing the indistinctness of objects in shadow, and for painting with a sweetness truly natural : he taught how to give a perfect union to frescos, and in a great measure obviated the necessity of retouching them when dry, a circumstance which gives all his works the appearance of having been finished in one day.” He is censured by Baldinucci, as barren in invention ; and undoubtedly he wanted that elevation of conception, which constitutes the epic in painting as well as in poetry. Deficient in this talent, Andrea is said to have been modest, elegant, and endued with sensibility ; and it appears that he impressed this character on nature wherever he employed his pencil. The portico of the Nunziata, transformed by him into a gallery of inestimable value, is the fittest place to judge of this. Chaste outlines that procured him the surname of *Andrea the Faultless* ; conceptions of graceful countenances, whose smiles remind us of the simplicity and grace of Correggio ;\* appropriate architecture ; draperies adapted to every condition, and cast with ease ; popular expressions of curiosity, of astonishment, of confidence, of compassion, and of joy, never transgressing the bounds of decorum, and understood at first sight, gently affect the mind without agitating it, charms that are more readily felt than expressed. He who feels what Tibullus is in poetry, may conceive what Andrea is in painting.

This artist demonstrates the ascendancy of native genius over precept. When a boy he was put under the tuition of Giovanni Barile, a good carver in wood, employed on the

\* This is conspicuous in a S. Raffaello with Tobias, which was transferred from the royal gallery of Florence to the imperial gallery of Vienna. —See Rosa *Scuola Italiana*, p. 141.

ceilings and doors of the Vatican, after the designs of Raffaello, but a painter of no celebrity. While still a youth, he was consigned to Pier di Cosimo, a practical colourist, by no means skilled in drawing or in composition ; hence the taste of Andrea in these arts was formed on the cartoons of Vinci and Bonarruoti ; and, as many circumstances indicate, on the frescos of Masaccio and of Ghirlandaio, in which the subjects were more suited to his mild disposition. He went to Rome, I know not in what year, but that he was there, appears not, as in the case of Correggio, to admit of dispute. I do not argue this from his style approaching near to that of Raffaello, as it appeared also to Lomazzo and other writers, though with less of ideal beauty. Raffaello and Andrea had studied the same originals at Florence ; and nature might have given them corresponding ideas for the selection of the beautiful. I ground my opinion entirely on Vasari. He informs us that Andrea was at Rome, that seeing the works of the scholars of Raffaello, timidity induced him to despair of equalling them, and to return to Florence. If we credit other stories of the pusillanimity of Andrea, why should we reject this ? or what faith shall we give to Vasari, if erroneous in a circumstance relating to one who was his master, and which was written in Florence soon after the death of Andrea, while his scholars, his friends, and even his wife, were still living, an assertion, too, uncontradicted in the second edition, in which Vasari retracted so much.

His progress from one perfection in art to another was thus not sudden, as has happened to some artists, but was gradually acquired during many years at Florence. There, "by reflecting on what he had seen, he attained such eminence that his works have been esteemed, and admired, and even more imitated after his death, than in his lifetime : " so says the historian. This implies that he improved at Rome ; chiefly by his own genius, which led him from one step to another, as may be observed in the Compagnia dello Scalzo, and in the convent of the Servi, where his pictures, executed at different periods, are to be seen. At the Scalzo, he painted some stories from the life of S. John in *chiaroscuro*, the cartoons for which are in the Rinuccini palace : in this work we may notice some palpable imitations, and even some figures borrowed from

Albert Durer. We may trace his early style in the Baptism of Christ ; his subsequent progress in other pictures, as in the Visitation, painted some years after ; and his greatest excellence and broadest manner in others, especially in the Birth of the Baptist. In like manner, the pictures from the life of S. Filippo Benizi, in the lesser cloister of the Servi, are very beautiful productions, though among the first efforts of Andrea's genius. The Epiphany of our Saviour, and the Birth of the Virgin, in the same place, are more finished works ; but his finest piece is that Holy Family in Repose, which is usually called *Madonna del Sacco*, from the sack of grain on which S. Joseph leans, than which few pictures are more celebrated. It has frequently been engraved ; but after two centuries and a half, it has at length employed an engraver worthy of it in Morghen, who recently executed it, and a similar composition after Raffaello. Both prints are in the best collections ; and to those who have not seen Rome or Florence, Andrea appears rather a rival than an inferior to the prince of painters. On examining this picture narrowly, it affords endless scope for observation : it is finished as if intended for a cabinet ; every hair is distinguished, every middle tint lowered with consummate art, each outline marked with admirable variety and grace ; and amid all this diligence a facility is conspicuous, that makes the whole appear natural and unconstrained.

In the ducal palace at Poggio a Caiano, there is a fresco picture of Cæsar, seated in a hall, ornamented with statues, on a lofty seat, to whom a great variety of exotic birds and wild animals are presented as the tribute of his victories ; a work sufficient to mark Andrea as a painter eminent in perspective, in a knowledge of the antique, and in every excellence. The order for ornamenting that palace came from Leo X. ; and Andrea, who had to contend with Franciabigio and Pontormo, exerted all his energy to please that encourager of art, and to surpass his competitors. The other artists seem to have been discouraged, and did not proceed : some years after Alessandro Allori put a finishing hand to the hall. The royal palace possesses a treasure in the oil-pictures of Andrea. Independent of the S. Francis, the Assumption, and other pictures, collected by the family of the Medici, the Grand Duke Leopold purchased a very fine *Pietà* from the nuns of



Lugo, and placed it in the Tribune as an honour to the school. The introduction of S. Peter and S. Paul in that piece, contrary to historical facts, is not the error of the painter who represented them so admirably, but of those who commissioned the picture. Critics have remarked a slight defect in the dead Christ, which they think sustains itself more, and has a greater fulness of the veins, than is suitable to a dead body : but this is immaterial in a picture the other parts of which are designed, coloured, and composed, so as to excite astonishment. A Last Supper, if it were not confined to the cloisters of the monastery of S. Salvi, would, perhaps, be equally admired. The soldiers who besieged Florence in 1529, and destroyed the suburbs of the city, undoubtedly admired it : after demolishing the belfry, the church, and part of the monastery, they were astonished on beholding this Last Supper, and had not resolution to destroy it ; imitating that Demetrius who, at the siege of Rhodes respected nothing but a picture by Protegenes.\*

Andrea painted a great deal ; and on this account is well known beyond the limits of his own country. Perhaps his best performance in the hands of strangers is a picture translated to a palace in Genoa from the church of the Dominicans of Sarzana, who possess others, very beautiful. It is composed in the manner of F. Bartolommeo ; and besides the Saints distributed around the Virgin, or on the steps, four of whom are standing and two on their knees, there are two large figures in the foreground that seem to start from the lower part of the picture, and are seen as high as the knee. This disposition of the figures displeases the critics, yet gives variety in the position of so many figures, and introduces a great distance between the nearest and most remote, by which the space seems augmented, and every figure produces effect. The best collections are not deficient in his Holy Families. The Marquis Rinuccini, at Florence, possesses two ; and some of the illustrious Romans have even a greater number ; but all different, except that the features of the Virgin, which Andrea usually copied from his wife, have always some resemblance. Others may be seen in Rome and in Florence, and not a few in Lombardy, besides those noticed in the catalogues of foreign nations.

\* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

So much genius merited success; and to write a book on the misfortunes of painters, as has already been done on those of authors, would awaken compassion for the lot of Andrea. The poverty of Correggio is exaggerated, or perhaps untrue; the misery of Domenichino had a termination; the Caracci were ill rewarded, but lived in easy circumstances. Andrea, from his marriage with Lucrezia del Fede until his death, was almost always pressed with griefs. In his first edition, Vasari says, that he was despised by his friends, and abandoned by his employers, from the time of his marriage with this woman; that, the slave of her will, he left his father and mother to starve; that through her arrogance and violence none of the scholars of Andrea could continue long with him; and this must have happened to Vasari himself. In the second edition he omitted this censure, either because he repented of it, or was appeased; but did not conceal that she was a perpetual source of misfortune to her husband. He there repeated that Andrea was invited to the French court by Francis I., where, caressed and rewarded, he might have excited the envy of every artist; but influenced by the womanish complaints of Lucrezia, he returned to Florence, and remained in his own country, in violation of his faith solemnly pledged to that monarch. He afterwards repented and was anxious to regain his former situation; but his efforts were ineffectual. He dragged out a miserable existence, amid jealousy and domestic wretchedness, until, infected with the plague, and abandoned by his wife and every other individual, he died, in 1530, in the forty-second year of his age, and had a very mean funeral.

The two who approximated most nearly to the style of Andrea were Marco Antonio Francia Bigi, as he is named by Baldinucci, called also Francia-bigio, or Francia, as Vasari denominates him, and Pontormo. Francia was the scholar of Albertinelli, and then appears to have formed himself on the best models of the school; and few are commended so highly by Vasari for a knowledge of anatomy, for perspective, for the daily habit of drawing the naked figure, and the exquisite finish of all his performances. One of his Annunciations was formerly in S. Pier Maggiore; the figures were small and highly finished, accompanied by good architecture, but not

without a degree of dryness. Andrea, his friend, and the associate of his studies, helped him to a more elevated style. From a companion Francia became his enthusiastic follower; but, inferior in talents, he never attained the art of representing such sweetness of disposition, affection so true, and grace so natural. A semicircular piece of his, representing the Marriage of the Virgin, may be seen near the works of Andrea, in the cloister of the Nunziata, where we recognise him as a painter who sought to attain by labour what the other accomplished by genius. This work was never completed. Some of the monks having uncovered it before it was finished, the artist was so offended that he struck the work some blows with a hammer; and though they prevented his defacing it, he never after could be prevailed on to complete it, and no other dared to undertake the task. He was a competitor with Andrea also in the Scalzo, where he executed two histories that are not much eclipsed by the pictures in their vicinity. He imitated his friend likewise at Poggio a Caiano, in a picture of the return of Cicero from exile; a work of merit, though never finished. It is the great glory of his pencil, that it was so often employed in contending with Andrea, in whom it awakened emulation and industry, from the fear of being surpassed.

Jacopo Carrucci, called Pontormo, from the place of his nativity, was a man of rare genius, whose early productions obtained the admiration of Raffaello and Michelangelo. He got a few lessons from Vinci, and was afterwards under the care of Albertinelli, and Pier di Cosimo, but finally became the pupil of Andrea. He excited the jealousy of this master, was induced by unhandsome treatment to withdraw from his school, and afterwards became not only the imitator of Andrea, but his rival. The Visitation in the cloister of the Servi, the picture of several saints at S. Michelino, the two pictures of the History of Joseph, represented in minute figures, in an apartment of the ducal gallery, shew that he trod in the footsteps of his master, and that congeniality of talent led him into a similar path. I use the term similar; for he is not a copyist, like those who borrow heads or whole figures, but invariably retains originality. I saw one of his Holy Families in the possession of the Marquis Cerbone Pucci, along with



others by Baccio, by Rosso, and Andrea : the picture by Pontormo vied with them all ; yet was sufficiently characteristic

He had a certain singularity of disposition, and readily abandoned one style to try a better ; but he was often unsuccessful ; as likewise happened to Nappi, of Milan ; to Sacchi, of Rome ; and to every other artist who has made this attempt at an age too advanced for a change of manner. The Carthusian monastery at Florence has some of his works, from which connoisseurs have inferred the three styles attributed to him. The first is correct in design, vigorous in colouring, and approaches the manner of Andrea. In the second the drawing is good, but the colouring somewhat languid ; and this style became the model for Bronzino and the artists of the succeeding epoch. The third is a close imitation of Albert Durer in the composition, in the heads and draperies ; a manner unworthy of so promising an outset. It is difficult to find specimens of Pontormo in this style, except some histories of the Passion, which he servilely copied from the prints of Albert Durer, for the cloister of that monastery, where he trifled away several years. We might perhaps notice a fourth manner, had the Deluge and Last Judgment, on which he spent eleven years at S. Lorenzo, still existed ; but this last performance, with the tacit consent of every artist, was white-washed. Here he attempted to imitate Michelangelo, and to afford a model of the anatomical style, which at this time began to be extolled at Florence : but he taught us a different lesson, and only succeeded in demonstrating that an old man ought not to become the votary of fashion.

Andrea pursued the custom of Raffaello and other artists of that age, in conducting his works with the assistance of painters experienced in his style, whether friends or scholars ; a remark not useless to those who trace in his pictures the labours of another pencil. It is known that he gave Pontormo some pieces to finish, and retained one Jacone, and a Domenico Puligo ; two individuals who possessed a natural turn for painting, ready to try every species of imitation, and more desirous of recreation than of fame. The façade of the Buondelmonte palace, at S. Trinità, by the former, was highly extolled. It was in *chiaroscuro* ; the drawing, in which he excelled, was very beautiful, and the whole conducted in the

manner of Andrea. He also executed some oil-pictures at Cortona, much commended by Vasari. Domenico Puligo was less skilled in design than in colouring : his tints were sweet, harmonious, and clear, but he aimed at covering the outline, to relieve him from the necessity of perfect accuracy. By this mark he is sometimes recognised in Madonnas and in cabinet pictures, which having been perhaps designed by Andrea, at first sight pass for the work of that master. Domenico Conti was likewise intimate with Andrea, was his scholar and the heir to his drawings ; and that great artist was honoured with a tomb and epitaph designed by Conti, in the vicinity of his own immortal works in the Nunziata. Excepting this circumstance, Vasari notices nothing praiseworthy in Conti, and therefore I shall take no more notice of him. He gives a more favourable opinion of Pierfrancesco di Jacopo di Sandro, on account of his three pictures in the church of S. Spirito. He makes honourable mention of two other artists, who lived long in France, viz. Nannoccio and Andrea Sguazzella, who retained a similarity to the style of Andrea del Sarto. It is not our present business to notice those who abandoned it ; for in this work it is my wish to keep sight rather of the different styles than of the masters.

The fine copies that so often pass for originals, in Florence and other places, are chiefly the work of the above-mentioned artists ; nor does it seem credible that Andrea copied so closely his own inventions, and reduced them from the great to the small dimensions. I have seen one of his Holy Families, in which S. Elizabeth appears, in ten or twelve collections ; and other pictures in private houses. I found the S. Lorenzo surrounded by other saints, at the Pitti palace, in the Albani gallery ; the Visitation, in the Giustiniani palace ; the Birth of our Lady, in the convent of the Servi, in possession of Sig. Pirri, at Rome : all these are beautiful pictures, all on small panels, all of the old school, and all believed the work of Andrea. It seems not improbable that the best of these were at least painted in his studio, and retouched by him, a practice adopted by Titiano, and even by Raffaello.

Rosso, who contended in the cloisters of the Nunziata with the best masters, and appears in his Assumption to have aimed at a work not so much superior in beauty as in size to the

productions of other artists, is among the greatest painters of his school. Endowed with a creative fancy, he disdained to follow any of his countrymen or strangers. We recognise much originality in his style: his heads are more spirited, his head-dresses and ornaments more tasteful, his colouring more lively, his distribution of light and shade broader, and his pencilling more firm and free, than had been hitherto seen in Florence. He appears in short to have introduced into that school a peculiar spirit, that would have been unexceptionable, had it not been mingled with something of extravagance. Thus, in the Transfiguration at Città di Castello, instead of the Apostles he introduced a band of gypsies at the bottom of the picture. His picture in the Pitti palace, however, is far removed from any such fault. It exhibits various saints, grouped in so excellent a manner, that the chiaroscuro of one figure contributes to the relief of another; and it has such beautiful contrasts of colour and of light, such energy of drawing and of attitude, that it arrests attention by its originality. He likewise painted for the State: an unfinished Descent from the Cross may be seen in the oratory of S. Carlo, in Volterra; and another in the church of S. Chiara at Città S. Sepolero; in the cathedral of which there are many old pictures. Its great merit consists in the principal group, and that twilight, or almost nocturnal tint, that gives a tone to the whole, sombre, true, and worthy of any Flemish artist. The works of this painter are scarce in Italy; for he went to France into the employment of Francis I. during his best time, and superintended the ornamental painting and plaster work then going on at Fontainebleau. Whilst engaged in this work, he unhappily put an end to his existence by poison; and in the enlargement of the building many of his works were defaced by Primaticcio, who was a rival, but not a follower, as is pretended by Cellini.\* Thirteen pictures, dedicated to the fame and actions of Francis I., have escaped.

\* "Any excellence he possessed was stolen from the admirable manner of our Florentine painter, Rosso; a man truly of wonderful genius."—Cellini, in his life, as quoted by Baldinucci, tom. v. p. 72. He who writes thus of the ablest pupil of Giulio Romano, either was unacquainted with his works in Bologna, and in Mantua, executed before he knew Rosso, or, blinded by party rage, was incapable of appreciating them.



and are described by Abbé Guget, in his *Memoir on the Royal Academy of France*.\* Among these is the remarkable one of Ignorance Banished by that monarch; a picture that has been three different times engraved. He was assisted in those works by several artists, amongst whom were three Florentine painters, Domenico del Barbieri, Bartolommeo Miniati, and Luca Penni, the brother of that Gianfrancesco, called *Il Fattore* in the school of Raffaello.

Ridolfo di Domenico Ghirlandaio lost his father in his infancy; but was so well initiated in the art, first by his paternal uncle Davide, and afterwards by Frate, that when Raffaello d' Urbino came to Florence, he became his admirer and his friend. On his departure from that city he left with him a Madonna, intended for Siena, that it might be completed by him; and having soon after gone to Rome, he invited him to assist in the decorations of the Vatican. Ridolfo declined this, unfortunately for his own name, which might thus have rivalled that of Giulio Romano. He undoubtedly possessed a facility, elegance, and vivacity of manner, to enable him to follow closely the style of his friend. That he was ambitious of imitating him, may be inferred from the pictures in his early manner, preserved in the church of S. Jacopo di Ripoli, and in S. Girolamo, that bear some resemblance to the manner of Perugino, like the early productions of Raffaello. His taste is displayed to more advantage in two pictures, filled with many moderate-sized figures, which were transferred from the Academy of Design to the Royal Gallery. They represent two stories of S. Zenobi, and perhaps approach nearer to the two pictures by Pinturicchio, in the cathedral of Siena, that were painted under the direction, and partly by the assistance of Raffaello, than to any other model; with this exception, that they retain more traces of the old school. We may remark, in the pictures of Ridolfo, some figures strikingly like those of Raffaello; and in the whole there appears a composition, an expression, and skill in improving nature to the standard of ideal beauty, apparently proceeding from principles conformable to the maxims of that great master. That he did not

\* Page 81.

afterwards perfect them, is to be attributed to his not having seen the best productions of his friend, and to his study of the art having been retarded by his commercial pursuits.

On modernizing his manner, and by this means obtaining reputation, he aimed at nothing further; and continued to study painting rather as an amusement than as a profession. He assembled round him artists of every description, and disdained not to impart advice to painters of ensigns, of furniture, or of scenes; still less to those who executed pictures for cabinets or churches. Many such who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century, are mentioned in history either as his pupils or his companions. The following is a brief catalogue of them. Michele di Ridolfo assumed his name; because, on passing from the schools of Credi and Sogliani into that of Ridolfo, he was treated not so much as a companion as a son, till the death of Ghirlandaio. They painted many pictures conjointly, which always pass under their name; and of this number is the *S. Anne of Città di Castello*; an exquisite picture, both for elegance of design and a peculiar fulness of colouring. Michele was particularly eminent in this department, which he diligently studied in his own works, and employed in his fresco pictures over several of the gates of the city; and he was selected by Vasari as the companion of his labours. Mariano da Pescia must have been much esteemed by Ridolfo; for when this master painted the frescos in the state chapel of the Old Palace, a work which gained him high honour, he wished the smaller pieces to be painted by Mariano. There is a *Holy Family* in that place, in a firm but agreeable style: it is the only remaining production of this artist, who died young. He was of the Gratiadei family; a piece of information for which, with various others, I am indebted to the politeness of his fellow-citizen Sig. Innocenzio Ansaldi, an able writer, both in poetry and prose, in whatever relates to the art. Carlo Portelli da Loro in Valdarno, proceeded from the same school. He painted much in the City, and sometimes with little harmony; yet the testimony of Vasari, and the picture of *S. Romulus*, which remains at the Santa, demonstrate his ability. Of Antonio del Cerajuolo, little remains to commemorate the painter but the name. Mirabello da Salincorno,

who was employed on the funeral obsequies of Bonarruoti, devoted himself to cabinet pictures; and an Annunciation, with his name, and the date of 1565, is said to be in the hands of the Baldovinetti family. It would be tiresome to follow Vasari, who, in several passages of his history, mentions artists now sunk into oblivion, that might have found a place here. I close the list with two illustrious names, Perino del Vaga, already noticed, but afterwards to be more frequently mentioned; and Toto del Nunziata, reckoned by the English the best of the Italian artists, who in that century visited their island, though almost unknown among us.\* He was the son of an obscure artist, but obtained celebrity; and Perino himself had not a more formidable rival in the school of Ridolfo.

This glorious epoch was not deficient in good landscape painters; although the art of landscape painting without figures was not yet in great repute. Vasari highly praises in this line one Antonio di Donnino Mazzieri, a scholar of Franciabigio, a bold designer, and a man of great invention in representing horses, and in landscape.

The grotesque came into fashion through the efforts of Morto da Feltro and Giovanni da Udine. Both artists were settled at Florence, and there painted; especially the second, who decorated the palace of the Medicean family, and the chapel in the church of S. Lorenzo. Andrea, called di Cosimo, because he was the scholar of Rosselli, learnt this art from Morto,† and he obtained the surname of Feltrini, or

\* About the time when Michele taught, there resided in Spain one Tommaso Fiorentino; one of whose portraits is mentioned by the Sig. Ab. Conca (tom. i. p. 90), belonging to the royal palace at Madrid. In the ducal palace of Alva, there are also galleries of grotesques, where we read the name of Tommaso Fiorentino, the author, to which is added (tom. ii. p. 362), "The name of this professor of the art is quite new to me; in his grotesques we meet with the exact style of the sons of Bergamasco, &c." I hardly know how the name can appear new to the Ab. Conca, when he had already mentioned it elsewhere; nor how the composition of an artist, who painted in 1521, could resemble that of others who were still young in the year 1570, in which their father died.

† Vasari, in his Life of Morto, says, that he came to Florence in order to improve his skill in figures, in which he was deficient, by studying the models of Vinci and of Michelangelo. In despair, however, he returned



perhaps Feltrino, from his best-known master. He exercised the invention not only on walls but on furniture, on banners and festive decorations: abounding in fancy, he was the leader of a taste originating with him, and much imitated in Florence. His ornaments were more copious and rich than those of the ancients; were united in a different manner, and his figures were admirably adapted to them. Mariotto and Raffaello Mettidoro were his associates; but no artist was more employed than he in designing foliage for brocades on cloth, or in ornamental painting. Pier di Cosimo, and Bachiacca, or Bachicca, were very eminent in the grotesque; of whom, with others who began the study about the end of the first Epoch, I have already treated, among the old masters: but none of them modernized more than the latter, who was usually employed on small subjects, particularly on the furniture of private houses, and on small pictures, many of which were sent to England. About the time of his decease he was employed by the Duke Cosmo. He drew most elegant small historical designs for tapestry and beds, which were executed by his brother Antonio, an embroiderer whom Varchi commends; and by Gio Rossi, and Niccolo Fiamminghi, who introduced the art of tapestry weaving into Florence.\* His best work was a cabinet, which he ornamented divinely, says Vasari, with flowers and birds in oil-colours.

Perspective was not cultivated in Italy during the fifteenth century, except so far as subservient to historical painting, and in this department the Venetian and Lombard masters

to his grotesques. Now I shall elsewhere produce an unedited document, shewing his ability in figure-painting, which I should not have occasion to do if the beautiful portrait of Morto, in the Royal Gallery at Florence, was, as is conjectured, by his hand. But I am inclined to think that it is the likeness of an unknown person, who, as I have seen in other portraits, caused himself to be drawn with a finger pointing to a death's head, in order to remind him of his mortality, but in this picture the head has been capriciously interpreted as a symbol of the name of Morto, and the painting given as the portrait and work of the Feltrese; of whom Vasari gives a very different one.

\* They wrought from the designs of Pontormo, and still more those of Bronzino. They also wrought for the duke of Ferrara after the designs of Giulio Romano, published by Gio. Battista Mantuano, among his prints.

were no less eminent than those of Florence or of Rome. After this period, artists began to represent arches, colonnades, porticos, and every other kind of architecture, in pictures appropriated to such subjects, to the great ornament of the theatres, and of religious and convivial festivities. One of the first who devoted himself to this study was Bastiano di Sangallo, the nephew of Giuliano, and of Antonio, and the brother of another Antonio, all of whom were eminent in architecture. He got the surname of Aristotile, from his disquisitions on anatomy, or on perspective, accompanied by a certain philosophic authority and ingenuity. He acquired the principles of his art from Pietro Perugino, but he soon abandoned his school, to adopt a more modern style. He exercised himself for several years in painting figures; he copied some subjects after his friends Michelangelo and Raffaello; and, aided by the advice of Andrea and Ridolfo, he produced not a few Madonnas and other pictures of his own composition: but not possessing invention in an eminent degree, he latterly dedicated his attention wholly to perspective, in which he was initiated by Bramante; and exercised it during this epoch, when Florence abounded with grand funeral obsequies and public festivities. Of these, the most memorable were those instituted on the election of Leo X. in 1513, and on his visit to Florence in 1515. He had in his train Michelangelo, Raffaello, and other professors of the art, to deliberate concerning the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo, and other works which he meditated. His court added pomp to every spectacle; and Florence became, as it were, a new city. Arches were erected in the streets by Granacci and Rosso; temples or new façades were designed by Antonio da San Gallo, and Jacopo Sansovino; chiaroscuros were prepared by Andrea del Sarto; grotesques by Feltrino; basso-relievos, statues, and colossal figures, by Sansovino above mentioned, by Rustici, and Bandinelli; Ghirlandaio, Pontormo, Franciabigio, and Ubertini, adorned with exquisite taste the residence of the pontiff. I say nothing of the meaner artists, although in another age even these would not have been classed with the vulgar herd, but have obtained distinction: I shall content myself with observing that this emulation of genius, this display of the fine arts, in short this auspicious period, sufficed to confer on

Florence the lasting appellation of another Athens; on Leo the name of another Pericles or Augustus.

Spectacles of this sort became afterwards more common to the citizens; for the Medici, on commencing their domination over a people whom they feared, affected popularity, like the Roman Cæsars, by promoting public hilarity. Hence, not only on extraordinary occasions, such as the elevation of Clement VII. to the papal chair, of Alexander, and of Cosmo to the chief magistracy of their country, on the marriage of the latter, on that of Giuliano and of Lorenzo de' Medici, and on the arrival of Charles V.; not only on such occasions, but frequently at other times, they instituted tournaments, masquerades, and representations, of which the decorations were magnificent, such as cars, robes, and scenery. In this improved state of every thing conducive to exquisite embellishment, industry became excited, and the number of painters and ornamental artists increased. Aristotile, to return to him, was always much employed; his perspectives were in great request in public places; his scenes in the theatre: the populace, unaccustomed to those ocular deceptions, were astonished; and it seemed to them as if they could ascend the steps, enter the edifices, and approach the balconies and windows in the pictures. The long life of Aristotile, coeval with the best epoch of painting, permitted him to serve the ruling family and his country, until his old age, when Salviati and Bronzino began to be preferred to him. He died in 1551.

While the city of Florence acquired so much glory by the genius of her artists, the other parts of the state afforded materials for future history, chiefly through the assistance of the Roman school. This happened more especially after 1527, when the sack of Rome dispersed the school of Raffaello and its young branches. Giulio Romano trained Benedetto Pagni at Pescia, who ought to be noticed among the assistants of his master at Mantua. If we credit some late writers, his native place possesses many of his works: but I acquiesce in the opinion of Sig. Ansaldi, in refusing to admit any of them as genuine, except the façade of the habitation of the Pagni family, now injured by time, and the picture of the Marriage of Cana in the Collegiate church, which



is not his best production. Pistoia is indebted to Gio. Francesco Penni, or perhaps to Fattore, for a respectable scholar: this was Lionardo, an artist much employed in Naples and in Rome, where he was named *Il Pistoia*. I find him surnamed *Malatesta* by some, *Guelfo* by others; but I suspect that his true family name is to be collected from an inscription on an Annunciation in the little chapel of the canons of Lucca, which runs thus, *Leonardus Gratia Pistoriensis*. I am indebted to Sig. T. F. Bernardi above mentioned for this fact: and the picture is worthy of a descendant of Raffaello. I do not know that there is a single trace of Lionardo remaining in his native place: at the village of Guidi, in the diocese of Pistoia, one of his pictures is to be seen in the church of S. Peter, where the titular, and three other saints, stand around the throne of the Virgin.\* Sebastiano Vini came from Verona, in I know not what year of the sixteenth century, and was enrolled among the citizens of Pistoia. His reputation and his pictures did honour to the country that adopted him. He left many works both in oil and fresco; but his most extraordinary production was in the suppressed church of S. Desiderio. The façade over the great altar was storied with the crucifixion of the ten thousand martyrs, a work abounding in figures and invention. I have noticed the younger Zacchia of Lucca, who belongs to this epoch, in the preceding one, that I might not separate the father and the son. I am unable to find any other artists sufficiently worthy of record in this district of Tuscany.

On the opposite side of it we may turn our eyes to Cortona, and notice two good artists. The one was Francesco Signor-

\* A similar composition is to be seen in an altar-piece in the cathedral of Volterra. It is inscribed, *Opus Leonardi Pistoriens. an. 1516*. This, however, ought not to be passed over, on account of an historical doubt started by the Cavalier Tolomei, whether there flourished, at the same period, two Lionardi da Pistoja; thus insinuating they were of different families. And this would appear to be the case. The painter of the piece in Volterra was not Grazia, at Naples, probably, surnamed *Guelfo*; since his master Penni, if we are to believe Vasari, was in that year, 1516, still the scholar and assistant of Raffaello; nor does it seem probable that he educated a pupil of so much merit. The Lionardo, therefore, who painted in Volterra, must have been some other of more proficiency.

elli, the nephew of Luca, who, though unnoticed by Vasari, shews himself a painter worthy of praise, by a circular picture of the patron saints of the city, which was executed for the council-hall, in 1320; after which period he lived at least forty years. The other was Tommaso Paparello, or Papacello, both which names are given him by Vasari, when writing of his two masters, Caporali and Giulio Romano. He assisted them both; but I can discover no trace of any work wholly his own.

Borgo, afterwards named Città San Sepolcro, could then boast its Raffaello, commonly called Raffaellino dal Colle, born at a small place a few miles from Borgo. He is reckoned among the disciples of Raffaello; but rather belongs to the school of Giulio, whose pupil, dependant, or assistant in his labours at Rome, and in the *Te* at Mantua, he is considered by Vasari. It is singular that he did not write a separate life of this artist; but assigns him scanty praise in a few scattered anecdotes. His merit is but little known to the public, as he painted for the most part in his native place, or the neighbouring cities; and I am able to add to the catalogue of his pictures from having seen them. He has two pictures at Città San Sepolcro, his only works specified by Vasari. One represents the Resurrection of our Saviour, who, full of majesty, regards the soldiers around the sepulchre with an air of displeasure, which fills them with terror. This very spirited picture is in the church of S. Rocco, and is repeated in the cathedral. The other, which is in the Osservanti of S. Francis, represents the Assumption of the Virgin; a piece agreeable both in colouring and design, but its value is diminished by a figure I am unable to explain, drawn at one side of it by another hand. The same subject is treated in the church of the Conventual friars, at Città di Castello, where great beauty is joined to the highest possible finish, but it loses something of its effect by standing opposite to a fine picture by Vasari, which throws it strongly into the shade. An entombing of Christ by Raffaellino is in the Servi; a very beautiful picture, but the colouring is less firm; and there is another of his works at S. Angelo with S. Michael, and S. Sebastian, who humbly presents an arrow, a type of his martyrdom, to the infant Jesus and the Virgin. In this the composition is simple but graceful in every part. A pic-

ture of our Lady, with S. Sebastian, S. Rocco, and a canonized bishop, painted in a similar style, is to be seen in the church of S. Francis of Cagli; in it the figures and the landscape much resemble the manner of Raffaello. His Apostles in the sacristy of the cathedral of Urbino are noble figures, draped in a grand style, in small oblong pictures, firmly coloured. The Olivet monks of Gubbio have in one of their chapels a Nativity by Raffaellino, and two pieces from the history of S. Benedict, painted in fresco, in which he was, I believe, assisted by his scholars. The former is certainly superior to the two last, although he has introduced in them real portraits, finely conceived architecture, and added a figure of Virtue in the upper part, that seems a sister of the Sybils of Raffaello. He also painted, in the castle of Perugia, and in the *Imperiale* of Pesaro, a villa of the duke of Urbino, to whom he afforded more satisfaction than the two Dossi. After having assisted Raffaello and Giulio, he disdained not to paint after the designs of less eminent artists. On the arrival of Charles V. at Florence, in 1536, he assisted Vasari, who was one of the decorators; and he painted cartoons after the designs of Bronzino, for the tapestry of Cosmo I.; after which period I do not find him mentioned. Another instance of his diffidence is the following: on the arrival of Rosso at San Sepolcro, Raffaellino, out of respect to that artist, gave up to him an order for a picture which he was to have executed; a rare instance among painters, who are in the habit of using kindly those artists only, who come merely to see a city, and immediately leave it. He kept a school at San Sepolcro, whence proceeded Gherardi, Vecchi, and other artists, some of whom, perhaps, surpassed him in genius; but they did not equal him in grace, nor in high finish.

About this time many artists flourished in Arezzo, but of these two only are praised by Vasari, who is not sparing in his commendations of the Florentines, as I have remarked, but deals them scantily to his own townsmen. Giovanni Antonio, the son of Matteo Lappoli, was the scholar of Pontormo, and the friend of Perino and of Rosso, with whom he lived in Tuscany, and whose style he emulated in Rome. He was more employed in painting for private houses than for churches. Guglielmo, surnamed Da Marcilla, by Vasari,



a foreigner by birth, became a citizen of Arezzo from inclination and long residence ; he was dear to the citizens, who afforded him the means of enjoying life, and grateful to the city, where he left most beautiful monuments of his genius. He had been a Dominican in his own country ; he became a secular priest on arriving in Italy ; and at Arezzo he was called the Prior. He was an excellent painter on glass, and, on this account, was brought to Rome by one Claude, a Frenchman, to execute windows for Julius II. : but he also employed himself in fresco. He studied design in Italy, and so improved in that art, that his works at Rome seem designs of the fourteenth century, while the Aretine ones appear the work of a modern. He painted some ceilings and arches in the cathedral, with scriptural subjects in fresco. In design he followed Michelangelo, as nearly as he could ; but his colouring was not firm. His paintings on glass are quite in a different style ; there, to very good drawing, and uncommon expression, he joined tints that partake of the emerald, the ruby, and of oriental sapphire, and which, when illuminated by the sun, exhibit all the brilliance of the rainbow. In Arezzo, there are so many windows of this glass at the cathedral, at S. Francis, and at many other churches, that they might excite the envy of much larger cities. They are so finely wrought with subjects from the New Testament, and other scriptural histories, that they seemed to have reached the perfection of the art. The Vocation of S. Matthew, in a window of the cathedral, is highly praised by Vasari ; it exhibits “ perspectives of temples and flights of steps, figures so finely composed, landscapes so well executed, that one can hardly imagine they were glass, but something sent down from Heaven for the delight of mankind.”

This place and period remind me, that before I pass on to another epoch, I ought to say a few words concerning the invention of painting on glass, which was anciently likewise styled Mosaic, because it was composed of pieces of different coloured glass, connected by lead, which represented the shadows. We may observe glass windows that emulate well composed pictures on canvas or on panel ; and this art is treated of by Vasari in the thirty-second chapter of the introduction to his work. From the preface to the treatise *De*

*omni Scientiâ Artis Pingendi*, by Theophilus the Monk, I find that France was celebrated for this art beyond any other country;\* and there the art seems to have been invariably cultivated, and brought by degrees to perfection. From the earliest ages of the revival of painting, the Italians wrought windows with different coloured glasses, as is remarked by P. Angeli in his description of the churches of Assisi, where the most ancient specimens are to be seen. In the church likewise of the Franciscan friars at Venice, we find that one *Frater Theotoni*, a German, worked in tapestry and glass windows, and was imitated by Marco, a painter, who lived in the year 1335.† It may also be observed, that such windows over the altars supplied the place of sacred paintings in churches; Christian congregations, in lifting up their eyes, there sought the resemblance of what “they hoped some time to behold in the celestial paradise; che ancor lassù nel ciel vedere spera,” and they often addressed their supplications to those images. In the fifteenth century Lorenzo Ghiberti, a man eminent in various arts, still further improved this, and ornamented the oval windows of the façade of the church of S. Francis, and of the cathedral of Florence, with coloured glass. In a similar manner he finished all the oval apertures in the cupola of the cathedral, except that of the Assumption, executed by Donatello. The glass was manufactured at Florence, for which purpose one Domenico Livi, a native of Gambassi, in the principality of Volterra, who had learnt and practised the art at Lubec, was invited to that place, as is proved by Baldinucci in his correction of Vasari.‡ From this school apparently came Goro, and Bernardo di Francesco, with that train of Ingesuati, whose workmanship, exhibited at S. Lorenzo and elsewhere, has been much commended by the

\* “Hic invenies quidquid diversorum colorum generibus et mixturis habet Græcia .... quidquid in fenestrarum varietate pretiosa diligit Francia.”

† Zanetti, *Nuova Raccolta delle Monete e Zecche d'Italia* (tom. iv. p. 158). In this work we meet with a long Latin document, which makes mention of a brother of Marco, named Paolo, also a painter; qui habet in cartâ designatam mortem S. Francisci, et Virginis gloriose, sicut pietate sunt ad modum theutonicum in pano (i. e. panno) ad locum minorum in Tarvisio.

‡ Tom. iii. p. 25.

Florentine historians. (See Moreni, part vi. p. 41.) This art afterwards flourished at Arezzo, where it was introduced by Parri Spinelli, a scholar of Ghiberti. About the same time flourished in Perugia P. D. Francesco, a monk of Cassino, not merely a painter in glass, but a master in that city; and some conjecture that Vannucci profited by his school, though a comparison of dates does not favour such supposition. This art also flourished in Venice, about 1473, where one window was executed after the design of Bartolommeo Vivarini, in the church of S. John and S. Paul; another was erected at Murano; but the art of painting glass could not be unknown at this last place, where it originated.

It is true, that in process of time the Florentine and Venetian glass appeared to be not sufficiently transparent for such purposes; and a preference was given to that of France and of England, the clearness and transparency of which was better adapted for receiving the colours, without too much obscuring the light. It had this other advantage, that the colours were burnt in the glass, in the manner described by Vasari, instead of being laid on with gums or other vehicles; hence they had greater brilliancy, and were more capable of resisting the injuries of time. This was a Flemish, or rather a French invention, and the Italians received it from France. Bramante invited from that country the two artists above mentioned who, besides the windows of the Vatican palace, that were wrought with colours burnt into the glass, and destroyed in the sack of Rome, ornamented two in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, with those scriptural histories that yet remain perfectly brilliant in colour, after the lapse of three centuries. Soon after this Claude died at Rome. William survived him many years, and from that time continued to reside in Arezzo. He there was engaged in the service of the capital, where one of his painted glass windows is preserved in the Capponi chapel, at the church of S. Felicità; and he taught the art to Pastorino of Siena, who exercised it very skilfully in the state saloon of the Vatican, after designs by Vaga, and in the cathedral of Siena. This artist is reckoned the best scholar of his master. Maso Porro, Michelangelo Urbani, both natives of Cortona, and Batista Borro of Arezzo, were trained in the same school, and were employed in Tuscany



and elsewhere. In ornamenting the old palace, Vasari availed himself of the assistance of two Flemish artists, Walter and George, who wrought after his designs. Celebrated equal to any artist is Valerio Profondavalle of Louvain, who settled at Milan after the middle of the sixteenth century, a man of fertile invention, and a pleasing colourist in fresco, but chiefly eminent in painting on glass, as we are informed by Lomazzo. Orlandi celebrates Gerardo Ornerio Frisio, and his windows executed about 1575, in the church of S. Peter at Bologna. This art afterwards declined, when custom, the arbiter of arts, by excluding it from palaces and churches, caused it gradually to be forgotten.

Another method of painting on glass, or rather on crystal, was much in fashion in the last century, and was employed for ornamenting mirrors, caskets, and other furniture of the chambers of the great. Maratta and his contemporaries painted on crystal for such works in the same style that they employed in painting on canvas; and above all Giordano, who taught it to several pupils. Among these, the best was Carlo Garofalo, who was invited to the court of Charles II. of Spain, to practise this species of painting,\* the era of which does not embrace a great number of years.

\* Bellori, *Vite de' Pittori*, &c. page 392.

## FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH III.

## The Imitators of Michelangelo Bonarruoti.

AFTER the time of the five great masters, the Florentines were so rich in fine specimens of art that they had no occasion to apply to foreign schools for improvement. They had only to select the best specimens from the works of native artists; grandeur from Michelangelo, grace from Andrea, and spirit from Rossi; they could learn colouring and casting of draperies from Porta, and chiaroscuro from Vinci. They appear, however, to have assiduously applied to design, but to have paid little attention to other branches of painting. Even in that branch, they imagined that every thing was to be found in Bonarruoti; and imitated him alone. Their choice was influenced by the celebrity,\* the success, and long life of this artist, who, having survived all his eminent fellow-citizens, naturally recommended to employment the followers of his maxims, and the adherents of his manner; hence it has been observed by some, that Raffaello lived too short a time for the progress of the fine arts, Michelangelo too long. But artists ought to keep in mind the opinion, or rather prophecy of Bonarruoti—that his style would be productive of inept artists, which has invariably been the character of those who have imitated him without judgment.

Their study and constant practice have been to design from his statues: for the cartoon on which so many eminent men formed their style, had already perished; and his paintings

\* "All painters seem to worship him as their great master, prince, and god of design." It is thus Monsig. Claudio Tolomei writes in a letter to Apollonio Filareto, towards the end of the fifth book. Such is the opinion of the artists of the Leonine age, whatever may be the judgment passed in the age of Pius VI.

were not to be seen in Florence, but in Rome. They transferred into their compositions that statue-like rigidity, that strength of limb, and those markings of the origin and insertion of muscles, severity of countenance, and positions of the hands and fingers, which characterized his sublimely awful style; but without comprehending the principles of this extraordinary man, without thoroughly understanding the play of the softer parts of the human figure, either by inserting them in wrong situations, or by representing in the same manner those in action and at rest; those of a slender stripling, and of the full-grown man. Contented with what they imagined grandeur of style, they neglected all the rest. In some of their pictures we may observe a multitude of figures arranged one above the other, with a total disregard of their relative situations; features that express no passion, and half-naked figures that do nothing, except pompously exhibit, like the Entellus of Virgil, *magna ossa lacertosque*. Instead of the beautiful azure and green formerly employed, they substituted a languid yellowish hue; the full body of colour gave place to superficial tints; and, above all, the bold relief, so much studied till the time of Andrea, went wholly into disuse.

In several passages Baldinucci confesses this decline, which, however, scarcely extended to two or three generations, and seems to have commenced about 1540. During this unfortunate era the Florentines did not degenerate as much as some other schools. The churches are full of pictures of this era, which, if they are not to be admired like those of the preceding, are respectable. Whoever sees the church of S. Croce, S. Maria Novella, and other places, where the best artists of this era painted, will undoubtedly find more to praise than to condemn. Few of them were eminent as colourists, but many in design; few were entirely free from mannerism; many, however, by progressive improvement, attained gracefulness. We shall proceed to consider them, chiefly following the steps of Vincenzo Borghini, their contemporary; the author of *Il Reposo*, a dialogue worthy of perusal. We commence with Vasari, who not only belongs to this epoch, but has even been charged with being one of the chief authors of the decline of the art.\*

\* Baldinucci, tom. ix. p. 35.



Giorgio Vasari, of Arezzo, descended from a family attached to the fine arts, was the great grandson of Lazzaro, the intimate friend of Pietro della Francesca, and the imitator of his paintings; the nephew of another Giorgio, who, in modelling vases in plaster, revived the forms of the antique, in their basso-relievos, and their brilliant colours; specimens of whose art exist in the royal gallery at Florence. Michelangelo, Andrea, and other masters, instructed him in design; Guglielmo da Marcilla, called the Prior, and Rosso, initiated him in painting; but he chiefly studied at Rome, whither he was brought by Ippolito, Cardinal de' Medici, the person to whom he owed his success. By his means Giorgio was introduced to this family, that loaded him with riches and with honour. After having designed all the works of his first master, and of Raffaello, at Rome, and much after other schools and antique marbles, he formed a style in which we recognise traces of his studies; but his predilection for Bonarruoti is apparent. After acquiring skill in painting figures, he became one of the most excellent architects of the age; and united in himself the various branches which were known to Perino, Giulio, and their scholars, who followed the example of Raffaello. He could unaided direct the construction of a grand fabric, adorn it with figures, with grotesques, with landscapes, with stuccos, with gilding, and whatever else was required to ornament it in a princely style. By this means he began to be known in Italy; and was employed as a painter in several places, and even in Rome. He was much employed in the hermitage of the Camaldules, and in several monasteries of the Olivets. In their monastery at Rimino he executed a picture of the Magi, and various frescos for the church; in that at Bologna three pieces from sacred history, with ornaments in the refectory; but still more in that at Naples, where he reduced the refectory to the rules of true architecture, and splendidly adorned it with stuccos and pictures of every description. Assisted by many young men, he spent a year in this work; and, as he himself says, was the first who gave an idea of the modern style to that city. Some of his pictures are to be seen in the Classe di Ravenna, in the church of S. Peter at Perugia, at Bosco, near Alessandria, in Venice, at Pisa, in Florence, and at Rome, where the largest part of them are in the Vati-

can, and in the hall of the Chancery. These pictures are historical frescos of the life of Paul III., undertaken at the desire of Cardinal Farnese; with whom originated the idea of writing the lives of the painters, afterwards published at Florence. Brought into notice by these works, honoured by the esteem and friendship of Bonarruoti, and recommended by his multifarious abilities, he was invited to the court of Cosmo I. He went there with his family in 1553; at which time the artists above alluded to were either dead or very old, and he had little to fear from competitors. He superintended the magnificent works executed by that prince; among which it would be wrong not to distinguish the edifice for the public offices, esteemed among the finest in Italy; and the old palace, with its several subdivisions, all painted and decorated by Vasari and his pupils, for the use of government. Each chamber bears the name of some distinguished member of the family, and represents his exploits. This is one of his best works; and here the chamber of Clement VII. is chiefly conspicuous, on the ceiling of which he represented the Pontiff in the act of crowning Charles V., and all around disposed the emblems of his virtues, his victories, and most remarkable exploits. In this work the magnificence of the prince is rivalled by the judgment and taste of the artist. The reader may find notices of his other works, which are either in churches or in private houses, and of his temporary decorations, by consulting his life written by himself down to 1567, and the continuation of it to 1574, the year of Giorgio's decease.

It remains for us to discuss the merits of this artist, who has been praised by some and condemned by other authors that have treated of the fine arts, especially in Italy. I shall consider him first as a painter, and next as a writer. Had all his works perished but some of those in the old palace, the Conception, in S. Apostolo at Florence, which Borghini commends as his finest production; the Decollation of S. John, in the church of the Baptist at Rome, which is adorned by excellent perspective; the Feast of Ahasuerus, in the possession of the Benedictines at Arezzo; some of his portraits, which Bottari scruples not to compare with those of Giorgione, and some of his other pictures that demonstrate his ability, his reputation would have been much greater. But

he aimed at too much ; and for the most part preferred expedition to accuracy. Hence, though a good designer, his figures are not always correct ; and his painting often appears languid, from his meagre and superficial colouring.\* The habit of careless execution is usually the companion of some maxim that may serve to excuse it to others, as well as our own self-love : Vasari has recommended in his writings the acquirement of compendious methods,† and “ the expedition of practice ;” in other words, to make use of former exercises and studies. This method is highly advantageous to the artist, because it increases his profits ; but is prejudicial to the art, which thus degenerates into mannerism, *i. e.*, departs from nature : Vasari fell into this error, especially in his hasty productions, or where he borrowed the hand of others ; apologies which he frequently offers to the readers of his “ Lives.” He was principally induced, I believe, to offer such apologies for his practice, from strictures on his paintings contained in the hall of the Chancery, finished in a hundred days, in order to please the cardinal : but he ought rather to have excused himself to Farnese, and requested him to employ some other artist, than to make his apology to posterity, and entreat us to excuse his faults. He ought to have listened to the admonitions of his friends ; among whom Caro did not fail to remind him of the injury his reputation might sustain.‡ As he long superintended the decorations of the capital ordered by Cosmo I. and Prince D. Francesco, and was assisted in them by young men, Baldinucci affirms that he chiefly contributed to that dry manner which prevailed in Florence.§

\* He executed a picture of S. Sigismund for the church of S. Lorenzo, at the desire of the noble family of Martelli, which delighted the Duke Cosmo. This picture ought to be removed from the altar, for the tints are fading.

† We learn from Pliny, that Filosseno Eretrio, *celeritatem præceptoris (Nicomachi) secutus breviores etiamnum quasdam picturæ vias, et compendiarias invenit.* (Lib. xxxv. cap. 36.) We perceive, however, from the context, that his pictures were no less perfect on that account ; and I believe that those compendious means were more particularly connected with the mechanism of the art.

‡ See *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. ii. let. 2.

§ Bald. tom. ix. p. 35.



This opinion is probably not erroneous ; for the example of a painter employed by the court was sufficient to seduce the rising generation from pristine diligence to a more careless manner. After all, the Florentines who assisted him were chiefly the scholars of Bronzino, and, except two or three, they did not adopt the style of Vasari : others also may have done so for a little time. Francesco Morandini, called Poppi, from his native place, was his disciple and imitator ; and in his picture of the Conception, at S. Michelino, in the superior one of the Visitation, at S. Nicholas, and other works, he appears a follower of Giorgio ; except that he was more minute, and attended more to gay and cheerful composition. Giovanni Stradano Fiammingo, for ten years a dependant of Vasari, adopted his colouring, but imitated the design of Salviati ; with whom and also with Daniele di Volterra he had lived in Rome. There is a Christ on the Cross by him, at the Serviti, preferred to any other he painted at Florence, where he executed designs for tapestry, and many prints. He had a fertile invention ; he is praised by Vasari as highly as any other artist then in the service of the court, and is considered by Borghini among the eminent masters. Vasari after him retained Jacopo Zucchi, whose works exhibit none of the carelessness of Giorgio. He sometimes imitated him ; but his style is better and more refined. He lived long at Rome, under the protection of Ferdinando, Cardinal de' Medici, in whose house, and more especially in the Rucellai palace, he painted in fresco with incredible diligence. His picture of the Birth of the Baptist, in S. Giovanni Decollato, is esteemed the best in that church ; and he appears more a follower of Andrea, than of any other master. He usually introduced portraits of distinguished characters and men of letters in his compositions, and shewed a peculiar grace in the figures of children and young people. Baglioni praises both this artist and his brother Francesco, who was a good artist in mosaic, and an excellent painter of fruit and flowers.

In considering Giorgio as a writer, I shall not consume much time ; having so frequently to notice him in the course of my work. He wrote precepts of art and lives of the painters, as is well known ; and he added to them disserta-

tions on his own occupations,\* and his pictures.† He entered on this work at the instigation of Cardinal Farnese, as well as of Monsig. Giovio; and he was encouraged in it by Caro, Molza, Tolomei, and other literary men belonging to that court. His first intention was to collect anecdotes of artists, to be extended by Giovio. They wished him to commence with Cimabue; with which, perhaps, he ought not to have complied; but this circumstance diminishes the fault of Vasari in passing over the older masters in silence, and raises the glory of Cimabue far above all his contemporaries. When it was discovered that Vasari could write well,‡ and was capable of extending the anecdotes in even more appropriate language than Giovio himself, the whole task devolved on him; but in order to render the work more worthy of the public, he had the assistance afforded him of men of letters. In 1547, on finishing the book, he went to Rimino; and whilst employed in painting for the fraternity of Olivets, Father D. Gio. Matteo Faetani, abbot of the monastery, corrected his work and caused it to be wholly transcribed; about the end of that year it was sent to Caro for perusal. He signified his approbation of it, “as written in a fine style, and with great care;”§ except that in some passages a less artificial style was desirable. After being corrected in this respect, it was printed in two volumes by Torrentino, at Florence, in the year 1550; in this edition he received considerable aid from Father D. Miniato Pitti, then an Olivetine friar.||

\* See his “Description of the preparations for the marriage of the Prince D. Francesco, of Tuscany.” It is inserted in volume xi. of the ed. of Siena, which we frequently allude to.

† “Treatises by the Cav. Giorgio Vasari, painter and architect of Arezzo, upon the designs painted by him at Florence, in the palace of their Serene Highnesses, &c.; together with the design of the painting commenced by him in the cupola.” It is a posthumous work, supplied by his nephew Giorgio Vasari, who published it in 1588 at Florence. It was republished at Arezzo in 1762, in 4to.

‡ He had been well imbued with literature at Arezzo, and, when a youth at Florence, “he spent two hours every day along with Ippolito and Alessandro de’ Medici, under their master Pierio.”—Vasari nella Vita del Salviati.

§ See Lett. Pittoriche, tom. iii. lett. 104.

|| Bottari adduces an authentic document of this in his Preface, page 6.

Vasari complained that "many things were there inserted he knew not how, and were altered without his knowledge or consent;"\* but I cannot agree with Bottari,† that these alterations were made by Pitti or any other monk. If Vasari could not discover their author, we are much less likely; and there is some ground for believing that Vasari had offended many persons by invidious anecdotes, and thus endeavoured to excuse himself. Who can believe that the things cancelled in the second edition, which seems almost a new work, were liberties taken by other persons, "he did not know how?" and not mistakes made by himself.

In whatever way it happened, he had an opportunity of correcting his Lives, of augmenting and again printing them, accompanied by portraits. After publication of the first edition he availed himself of the manuscripts of Ghiberti, of Domenico Ghirlandaio, of Raffaello d'Urbino; and had himself collected a number of anecdotes in his different journeys through Italy. He undertook a new tour in 1566, to prepare for the new edition, as he informs us in the Life of Benvenuto Garofolo; he again examined the works of different masters, and obtained new information from friends, some of whom he mentions when treating of the artists of Forli and Verona. He would have been still more full of anecdote had his success corresponded with his diligence. On this account, in the beginning and at the end of the Life of Carpaccio, he laments that "he was not able to obtain every particular of many artists;" nor to possess their portraits; and he "entreats us to accept what he is able to offer, although he cannot give all he might desire." He republished his Lives in 1568, and affirmed in the Dedication to Cosmo I. that "as for himself he wished for nothing more in them." The new edition issued from the press of the Giunti; of the additions, consisting of fine observations upon philosophy and Christian morality, which cannot be ascribed to Giorgio, part was supplied by Borghini, and still more by Father D. Silvano Razzi, a Camalduline monk, as Bottari conjectures in his Preface,‡ but it does not follow

\* In the Dedicatory Letter to Cosmo I., prefixed to second edit.

† See Lett. Pittor. tom. iii. let. 226.

‡ It is founded also on Vasari's remark, in his Life of Frate: "There is likewise a portrait by F. Gio. da Fiesole, whose life we have given,



that they assisted in correcting the work. It is full of errors; sometimes in the grammatical construction, often in names, and frequently in dates; and though reprinted at Bologna, in 1648; at Rome, with the notes and corrections of Bottari, in 1759; in Leghorn and Florence, in 1767, with fresh notes and additions by the same; and lastly, in Siena, with those of P. della Valle; it still remains not so much a judicious selection of facts, as a mass of chronological emendations.\*

This, if I am not deceived, is the objection that can be most frequently, and almost continually, urged against the work. The other strictures to be met with in authors are exaggerations of writers, offended at Vasari for his silence or his criticisms, on the artists of their country. There is nothing so flattering to the vanity of an author, as defending the character of his native place, and of citizens who have rendered her

which is in the part of the Beati;" which cannot, observes Bottari, apply to any other except D. Silvano Razzi, author of the "*Vite dei SS. e Beati Toscani*;" among which is found that of B. Giovanni. But this indication would be little; or at least it is not all. The document which clearly reveals the fact, has been pointed out to me by the polite attention of Sig. Luigi de Poirot, secretary to the royal finances; and this is in the "*Vite de' SS. e BB. dell' ordine de' Frati Predicatori di Serafino Razzi Domenicano*," published after the death of Vasari, in Florence, 1577. In these, treating of works in the fine arts in S. Domenico at Bologna, he adds; "We cannot give a particular account of these histories, but whoever is desirous of it may consult the whole, in the *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, written, *for the most part*, by D. Silvano Razzi, my brother, for the Cav. Giorgio Vasari or Arezzo, his very intimate friend." After such information, we must suppose that Vasari, having communicated his materials to this monk, received from him a great number of *Lives*, that boast such elegant prefaces and fine reflections; but that he here and there retouched them; adding things, either from haste or inadvertency, not well connected with the context. And in this way we may account for the many inconsistencies to be met with in a number of *Lives*, very finely written, but containing passages that do not appear to come from the same pen, and frequently make the author contradict himself.

\* Bottari wrote principally to mark the changes that the works described by Vasari had undergone during 200 years. In regard to the emendations pointed out by us, he declares in the preface, that he could not undertake them for want of time, health, books, and most of all, inclination. However, we are indebted for not a few to him, and also to P. Guglielmo, though not equally so in every school. Both are writers of merit; the former by his citations from printed works, the second for his information of MSS. and unedited authors.

illustrious. In whatever manner he writes, all his countrymen, who are all the world to him, think him in the right; and in the coffee-houses, in the shops of the booksellers, and in all public places, they hail him as the public advocate. Hence we need not be surprised that such an author writes as if his country had appointed him her champion, assumes a spirit of hostility, and the transition is easy from a just defence to an injurious attack. From such causes some writers appear to me actuated by unbecoming enmity to Vasari. Passages of the first edition, cancelled in the second, have been quoted against him; he has incurred odium for some deformed portraits, as if he was accountable for the defects of nature; his most innocent expressions have been tortured into a sinister meaning; his enemies would have us believe that, intending to exalt his darling Florentines, he neglected the other Italian artists, as if, to do justice to these, he had not travelled and sought for information often in vain. The historians of other schools have used him as the commentators of Virgil treated Servius; all abused him, and all availed themselves of his labours. For if the information collected by Vasari concerning the old masters of the Venetian, Bolognese, and Lombard schools be taken away, how imperfect does their history remain? In my opinion, therefore, he deserves our best thanks for what he has done, and much forbearance for what he has omitted.

If his judgment appears less accurate on some artists of a different school, he ought not to be taxed with malignity and envy, as is well observed by Lomazzo. He has protested that he has done his best to adhere to truth, or to what he believed to be true,\* and it is sufficient to read him without prejudice to give him credit for such justification. He seems to write as he thinks. Thus, he bestows commendations upon Baldinelli and upon Zuccaro, his enemies,† as well as upon his friends: he distributes censure and praise with an equal hand to Tuscan and other artists. If he discovers painters of little merit in other schools, he finds them also in that of

\* Tom. vii. p. 249.

† Vide Taia, *Descrizione del Palazzo Vaticano*, p. 11. Zuccaro did not so readily pardon Vasari, whose work he noted with severity: as did also one of the three Caracci.—Lett. Pittor. tom. iv. lett. 210.

Florence ; if he relates the jealousies of foreign artists, he does not conceal those of the Florentines, of which he speaks with a playful freedom in the Life of Donatello, in his own, and more especially in that of Pietro Perugino. His partial criticisms, therefore, on certain artists arose less from nationality, than from other causes. It is certain that he saw but little of some masters ; his opinion of others was formed upon incorrect information ; and he could not attain the same certainty that we now boast, on what related to a number then living, who, as usual, were then more censured than admired. Allowance, too, should be made for his other avocations ; by the multiplicity of which he doubtless wrote as he painted, with the expedition of his mode of practice. A proof of this is afforded by the repetitions that occur in successive passages, and the contradictory characters he sometimes gives of the same picture, pronouncing it good in one sentence, and in another allowing it scarcely the praise of mediocrity. This was the case in regard to Razzi, towards whom he seems to have entertained ill-will ; arising, however, more from the bad reputation of the man than from prejudice against the school of the artist. For the incorrectness of such censures I blame his maxims of art, and the age in which he lived. He reckoned Bonarruoti the greatest painter that had ever existed,\* and exalted him above the ancient Greeks,† and, from his practice, held a bold and vigorous design as the summit of perfection ; compared to which, beauty and colouring were nothing.‡ From such fundamental principles proceeded some of his obnoxious criticisms on Bassano, Titiano, and on Raffaello himself. But is this the effect of his malignity, or of his education ? Does it not happen in philosophy as in painting, that every one gives a decided preference to those of his own sect ? Has not Petrarca generalized the observation, when he asks,

“ Or che è questo  
Che ognun del suo saper par che si appaghi ?”

We may, then, forgive in Vasari what appeared to this philosophic poet human weakness ; and may observe on a few passages in his work what was applied to Tacitus ; that we con-

\* Tom. viii. p. 203.

† P. 217.

‡ Tom. viii. p. 123.



demn his principles, but admire his history. Such, I believe, was the opinion of Lomazzo, who, though not wholly satisfied with the opinions of Vasari, not only excused but defended him,\* and in this he acted properly.

Vasari is, moreover, the father of the history of painting, and has transmitted to us its most precious materials. Educated in the most auspicious era of the art, he has in some measure perpetuated the influence of the golden age. In perusing his *Lives*, I fancy myself listening to the individuals of whom he has collected the traditions and the precepts. It was thus, think I, that Raffaello and Andrea imparted these facts to their scholars; thus spoke Bonarruoti; the friends of Giorgio heard this from Vinci and Porta, and in this manner must have related it to him. I am delighted with the facts, and also with the luminous, simple, and natural manner in which they are expressed, interwoven with technical terms that originated in Florence, worthy of every writer whose subject is the fine arts. Finally, should I discover in him any prejudice of education, or arising from self-love, it seems unjust on account of such a fault, to forget his many services, and to declare hostilities for such blemishes.

Another service Vasari conferred on the fine arts remains to be noticed, and that is the establishment of the Academy of Design in Florence, about the year 1561, principally through his exertions. The society of S. Luke there existed from the fourteenth century, but it had fallen into decay, and was almost extinct, when F. Gio. Angiolo Montorsoli Servita, a celebrated statuary, conceived the design of reviving it. He communicated his idea to Giorgio, who so effectually recommended it to Cosmo I., that it arose with new vigour, and became at the same time a charitable institution and an academy of the fine arts. The prince wished to be considered its head, and D. Vincenzo Borghini was appointed his representative in transacting his ordinary business, which situation was afterwards filled by Cav. Gaddi, by Baccio Valori, and

\* "Although I do not deny, that he shews himself a little too much the partisan, he ought not to be defrauded of his due praise, as is attempted by the ignorant and invidious; for the completion of such an elegant and finished history must have cost him great study and research."  
—*Idea del Tempio*, &c. cap. iv.

successively by some of the most accomplished gentlemen of the city; an arrangement maintained by the sovereigns down to the present day. The chapter-house of the Nunziata, “decorated with the sculpture and pictures of the best masters” of the age, was granted to this college of artists for a hall, as we are informed by Valori.\* Another place was assigned for their meetings, and they have frequently experienced the liberality of succeeding princes. Their rules were drawn up by the restorers of this institution, of whom Vasari was one. He wrote concerning it to Michelangelo,† and asserted that every member of this academy “was indebted to him for what he knew;” and indeed in all its branches it partakes strongly of his style. A similar doctrine already prevailed at Florence; but it would have been better that every one followed the master whom his genius pointed out. In the choice of a style Nature ought to direct, not to follow; every one should make his election according to his talents. It is true that the error of the Florentines is common to other nations; and has given rise to an opinion, that academies have had a baneful influence on the arts;‡ since they have only tended to constrain all to follow the same path; and hence Italy is found fruitful in adherents to systems, but barren in true painters. To me the institution of academies has always appeared highly useful, when conducted on the plan of that of the Caracci.

The contemporaries of Vasari were Salviati and Jacopo del Conte, both of whom lived also with Andrea del Sarto, and Bronzino, the scholar of Pontormo. Like Giorgio, their genius led them to an imitation of Michelangelo. Francesco de’ Rossi, called Salviati, from the surname of his patron, was the fellow-student of Vasari, under Andrea del Sarto and Baccio Bandinelli. The last was an excellent sculptor, who taught design to students in painting, an art which, like Verrocchio, he sometimes practised for amusement. While at Rome, Salviati, contracting friendship with Giorgio, pursued the same studies, and adopted the same fundamental principles of the art. He finally became a painter more correct, more ele-

\* Lett. Pittor. tom. i. p. 190.

† Lett. Pittor. tom. iii. p. 51.

‡ Such too is the opinion of the celebrated Bacon, Lord Verulam.—A.

vated, and more spirited than his companion, and Vasari classes him among the best artists then in Rome. There he was employed in the palace of his patron, in the Farnese and Riccio palaces, in the Chancery, in the church of S. Gio. Decollato, and other places, where he filled extensive walls with historical frescos, an employment which was his chief delight. His invention was fertile, his compositions varied, his architecture grand; he is one of the few who have united celerity of execution with scientific design, in which he was deeply versed, although occasionally somewhat extravagant. His best production now in Florence is the Battle and Triumph of Furius Camillus, in the saloon of the old palace, a work full of spirit, that appears from the representations of armour, draperies, and Roman customs, conducted by an able antiquary. There is also in the church of Santa Croce, a Descent from the Cross; to him a familiar subject, which he repeated at the Panfili palace at Rome, and in the *Corpus Domini* at Venice; and it may be seen in some private collections, in which his Holy Families and portraits are not rare. The octagonal picture of Psyche, in possession of the Grimani family, is highly celebrated, and Giorgio pronounces it the "finest picture in all Venice." His remark would have been less invidious had he said it was the most scientific in design; but who can concede to him that it appeared a paragon in that city? The features of Psyche have nothing uncommon; and the whole, though well composed, and adorned with beautiful landscape, and an elegant little temple, cannot be compared to the charming compositions of Titiano, or of Paolo Veronese, in which we sometimes behold, as Dante would express it, "the whole creation smile." The design of Salviati was better than his colouring; and on this account he did not meet with success at Venice; on his going to France he was but little employed, and is now less sought after and esteemed than Titiano or Paolo. In ornamental arts, such as poetry and painting, mankind are more easily contented with a mediocrity in knowledge, than with mediocrity in the art of pleasing. It was correctly observed by Salvator Rosa, when requested to give his opinion upon the relative merits of design and colouring, that he had been able to meet with many Santi di Tito in the shops of the suburbs,



at a very low price, but that he had never seen there a single specimen of Bassano. Salviati was the best artist of this epoch, and if he was little employed at Florence, it arose partly from the envy of malevolent persons, partly from his own turbulent, restless, and haughty demeanour. He trained up, however, some artists who belong to this school. Francesco del Prato, an eminent goldsmith, and an excellent artist in the inlaying of metals, when advanced in life imbibed the love of painting from Salviati, and became his pupil. Having a good idea of design, he was soon able to execute cabinet pictures; two of which, the Plague of Serpents and the Limbo, are pronounced most beautiful by Vasari. It is probable that some of the minor pictures ascribed to Salviati may be the work of this artist, who is as little named as if he had never existed. Bernardo Buontalenti, a man of universal genius, was instructed in miniature painting by Clovio, and had Salviati, Vasari, and Bronzino for his masters in the other branches of painting. He was so successful that his works were in request by Francis I., by the emperor, and the king of Spain. His portrait is in the royal gallery, besides which little in Florence can be ascribed to him with certainty, for he dedicated his time chiefly to architecture and to hydrostatics. Ruviale Spagnuolo, Domenico Romano, and Porta della Garfagnana, belong to the school of Salviati. We shall notice the last among the Venetians, among whom he lived. In the treatise of Lomazzo, Romolo Fiorentino is assigned to the same school; the individual conjectured by P. Orlandi to be the Romolo Cincinnato, a Florentine painter, employed by Philip II. of Spain. He is honourably mentioned by Palomino, with his sons and pupils, Diego and Francesco, both eminent artists favoured by Philip IV. and Pope Urban VIII.

Jacopino del Conte, noticed in the *Abecedario Pittorico*, under the name of Jacopo del Conte, and considered not as the same individual, but as two distinct artists, was little employed in Florence, but in great request in Rome. He was eminent as a portrait-painter to all the popes and the principal nobility of Rome, from the time of Paul III. to that of Clement VIII., in whose pontificate he died. His ability in composition may be discovered in the frescos in S. Gio. De-

collato, and especially in the picture of the Deposition, a work which is reckoned among his finest productions. There the competition of his most distinguished countrymen stimulated his exertions. He was an imitator of Michelangelo, but in a manner so free, and a colouring so different, that it seems the production of another school. Scipione Gaetano, whom we shall consider in the third book of our history, was his scholar. Of Domenico Beceri, a respectable pupil of Puligo, and others of little note, I have nothing to add.

Angiolo Bronzino, another friend of Vasari, nearly of the same age, was enumerated among the more eminent artists, from the grace of his countenances, and the agreeableness of his compositions. He is likewise esteemed as a poet. His poems were printed along with those of Berni; and some letters on painting are preserved in the collection of Bottari.\* Although the scholar and follower of Pontormo, he also recalls Michelangelo to our recollection. His frescos in the old palace are praised, adorning a chapel, on the walls of which he represented the Fall of Manna, and the Scourge of the Serpents, histories full of power and spirit, although the paintings on the ceiling do not correspond with them. Some of his altar-pieces are in the churches of Florence, several feebly executed, with figures of angels, whose beauty appears too soft and effeminate. There are many, on the other hand, extremely beautiful, such as his Pietà at S. Maria Nuova, and his Limbo at Santa Croce, in an altar belonging to the noble family of Riccasoli. This picture is better suited for an academy of design, from the naked figure, than for a church; but the painter was too much attached to Michel-

\* He examines the question, then keenly contested, whether Sculpture or Painting was the most noble art. He decides in favour of his own profession; and there are some other letters in that volume on the opposite side of the question worthy of perusal. Bonarruoti, on being asked the question by Varchi, was unwilling to give a decision. (See tom. i. p. 7, and p. 22.) After Bonarruoti's decease the contest was renewed, and prose and verse compositions appeared on both sides. Lasca wrote in favour of painting, while Cellini defended sculpture. (See Notes to the Rime of Lasca, p. 314.) Lomazzo is well worthy of notice in his Treatise, lib. ii. p. 158, in which he gives a MS. of Lionardo, drawn up at the request of Lodovico Sforza, where he prefers painting to the sister art.

angelo to avoid imitating him even in this error. This picture has been lately very well repaired. Many of his portraits are in Italian collections, and praiseworthy for their truth and spirit; but their character is frequently diminished by the colour of the flesh, which sometimes partakes of a leaden hue, at other times appears of a dead white, on which the red appears like rouge. But a yellowish tint is the predominant colour in his pictures, and his greatest fault is a want of relief.

The succeeding artists, chiefly Florentines, are named by Vasari in the *Obsequies of Bonarruoti*, in the memoirs of the academicians, written about the year 1567, and in several other places. Their works are scattered over the city, and many of them are in the cloister of S. Maria Novella. If these semicircular pictures had not been retouched and altered, this place would be, with regard to this epoch, what the cloister of the Olivetines in Bologna is to that of the Caracci; an era, indeed, more auspicious for the art, but not more interesting in an historical point of view. Another collection, of which I have spoken in my description of the tenth cabinet of the royal gallery, is better preserved, and indeed is quite perfect. It now occupies another apartment. It consists of thirty-four fabulous and historical pictures, painted on the panels of a writing-desk for Prince Francesco,\* by various artists of this epoch. Vasari, to whom the work was intrusted, there represented *Andromeda delivered by Perseus*, and procured the assistance of the academicians, who thus emulated each other, and strove to recommend themselves to the court. Most of them have put their names to their work;† and, if defects common to that age, or peculiar to the individual, are here and there visible in the work, it demonstrates that the light of painting was not yet extinguished in Florence. Nevertheless, I advise him who examines this collection,‡ to

\* For an account of this writing-desk, which was made during the life of Cosmo I., see Baldinucci, tom. x. pp. 154 and 182.

† We there may read Allori, Titi, Buti, Naldini, Cosci, Macchietti, Minga, Butteri, Sciorini, Sanfrano, Fei, Betti, Casini, Coppi, and Cavalori; besides Vasari, Stradano, and Poppi, already noticed.

‡ It was afterwards placed in the grand corridor of the gallery, where are seen the series of Tuscan painters, from the revival of the art. These productions are nearly all well authenticated by history; the most



suspend his judgment on the merits of those artists until he has considered their other productions in their own country or at Rome, where some of them have a place in the choicest collections. They may be divided into several schools: we shall begin with that of Angelo.

Alessandro Allori, the nephew and pupil of Bronzino, whose surname he sometimes inscribed on his pictures, is reckoned inferior to his uncle. Wholly intent upon anatomy, of which he gave fine examples in the Tribune of the Servi, and on which he composed a treatise for the use of painters, he did not sufficiently attend to the other branches of the art. Some of his pictures in Rome, representing horses, are beautiful; and his Sacrifice of Isaac, in the royal museum, is coloured almost in the Flemish style. His power of expression is manifested by the picture of the Woman taken in Adultery, in the church of the Holy Spirit. He was expert in portrait-painting, but abused this talent by introducing portraits in the modern costume in ancient histories. His genius appears to have been equal to every branch of painting; but it was unequally exercised, and consequently unequally expanded. He painted much for foreigners, and enjoyed the esteem of the ducal family, who employed him to finish the pictures at Poggio a Caiano, begun by Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, and Pontormo. Opposite to these pictures he painted, from his own invention, the Gardens of the Hesperides, the Feast of Syphax, and Titus Flaminius dissuading the Etolians from the Achæan League; all which historical subjects, as well as those of Cæsar and Cicero, were chosen as symbols of similar events in the lives of Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici. Such was the manner of thinking in that age, and moderns, personified in ancient heroes, obtained a less direct, but higher honour from the art. Giovanni Bizzelli, a disciple of Ales-

valuable are preserved in small cabinets. This is one of the most novel attractions, presented by the "Museo Reale," to the curious, for there we see the principles, the progresses, the various changes of a pictoric school, that may be termed the mother, or at all events, the nurse, of all other schools. For this series, so admirably arranged and exhibited, we are indebted to the Cav. Puccini of Pistoja, the present director of the gallery, upon which his talents and acquirements have thrown additional lustre.

sandro, of middling talents, painted in S. Gio. Decollato, at Rome, and in some Florentine churches. Cristofano, a son of Alessandro, also became eminent.

Santi Titi, of Città San Sepolcro, a scholar of Bronzino and Cellini, studied long at Rome, whence he returned, with a style full of science and of grace. His beautiful is without much of the ideal; but his countenances exhibit a certain fulness, an appearance of freshness and health, that is surpassed by none of those who took nature for their model. Design was his characteristic excellence, and for this he was commended by his imitator, Salvator Rosa. In expression he has few superiors in other schools, and none in his own. His ornaments are judicious; and having practised architecture with applause, he introduced perspectives, that gave a dignity and charm to his compositions. He is esteemed the best painter of this epoch, and belongs to it rather from the time in which he lived than his style; if we except his colouring, which was too feeble, and without relief. Borghini, at once his critic and apologist, remarks that even in this department he was not deficient, when he chose to exert himself; and he seems to have studied it in the Feast of Emmaus, in the church of the Holy Cross at Florence, in the Resurrection of Lazarus, in the cathedral of Volterra, and in a picture at Città di Castello, in which he represents the faithful receiving the Holy Spirit from the hands of the Apostles: a painting that may be viewed with pleasure, even after the three by Raffaello which adorn that city.

Among his numerous pupils in design we may reckon his son Tiberio; but this artist attended less to the pursuits of his father than to painting small portraits in vermilion, in which he had singular merit: these were readily received into the collection formed by Cardinal Leopold, which now forms a single cabinet in the royal museum. Two other Florentines are worthy of notice, viz. Agostino Ciampelli, who flourished in Rome under Clement VIII.; and Lodovico Buti, who remained at Florence. They resemble twins by the similarity between them; less scientific, less inventive, and less able in composition, than Titi, they possessed fine ideas, were correct in design, and cheerful in their colouring, beyond the usage of the Florentine school; but they were

somewhat crude, and at times profuse in the use of red tints not sufficiently harmonized. Frescos by the first may be seen in the Sacristy at Rome, and the chapel of S. Andrea al Gesù, and an oil-painting of the Crucifixion at S. Prassede, in his best manner. A Visitation, with its two companions, at S. Stephen of Pescia, may be reckoned among his choicest works; to which the vicinity of Tiarini does little injury. The second may be recognised by a picture of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, abounding in figures, which is in the royal gallery. Baccio Ciarpi, a pupil of the same school, is celebrated as the master of Berrettini, and deserves to be commended for his diligence and correctness. He was thought worthy of being employed at La Concezione at Rome, a most splendid gallery, painted by the greatest artists. A portrait of one Andrea Boscoli, his pupil and imitator, remains in the royal museum of Florence, and many of his paintings with horses are dispersed through the city. He travelled into different parts, leaving specimens of his art in different countries, at S. Ginesio, at Fabriano, and in the district of Piceno. His largest work is a S. John the Baptist, at the Teresiani of Rimino, a picture that shews invention, but it was unknown to Baldinucci, who compiled anecdotes of this artist. Constantino de' Servi is conjectured by Baldinucci to be a scholar of Titi. He is well known to have been originally his imitator, and having gone into Germany, there adopted the style of Purbus. In foreign countries he seems to have painted few portraits, a branch in which he had greater merit than employment. His celebrity was greater as a master architect and engraver of gems. In closing the account of the school of Santi, it may be proper to observe, that his example reclaimed a great proportion of the succeeding generation, and inclined artists to mitigate the severity of the style of Michelangelo, by introducing more grace in the contours, and a better taste in the heads.

Batista Naldini holds the third rank among the scholars of Bronzino. He was first the pupil of Pontormo, afterwards of Bronzino, and having resided some time at Rome, he was chosen by Vasari as the companion of his labours in the old palace, and retained by him about fourteen years. The historian makes honourable mention of Naldini, even



when a young man, and denominates him a painter skilful and vigorous, expeditious and indefatigable. Naldini obtained similar praise in Rome from Baglione, especially for the chapel of St. John the Baptist, at Trintà de' Monti, which he painted with the history of the saint. He painted many pictures in his native city, some of which, as the Taking down from the Cross, and the Purification at S. Maria Novella, are commended by Borghini, for the colouring and the design, for the disposition, the perspective, and the attitudes. The defects observable are, that the knees are rather too much swollen, the eyes too open, and marked with a certain fierceness, by which he may be generally recognised; his colouring is also characteristic, and those changeable hues in which he delighted more than any other artist of his age.

He taught according to the method then pursued, which was to employ his scholars in designing after the chalk drawings of Michelangelo, and to give them his own finished pictures to copy; for, like bees, artists were exceedingly anxious to work in secret, and ready to wound all who overlooked them. Baldinucci has recorded several instances of this peculiarity. From these circumstances the fault of the scholars of Naldini was stiffness, the common failing of that age; they had little of that free touch and taste in colouring which he possessed, but yet they deserve to be recorded. Giovanni Balducci, called also Cosci, from the surname of his maternal uncle, was long his assistant. His Last Supper in the cathedral, the Finding of the Cross at the Crocetta, his historical compositions in the cloister of the Dominicans at Florence, and in S. Prassede at Rome, prove his genius to have been more refined than that of his master. To second the latter, he, perhaps went beyond his province, and to some, his attitudes at times appear affected. He resided and died at Naples, and he is deservedly praised by the historians of that city. Cosimo Gamberucci appears to have aimed at a different object. On examining a great part of his works, we may say of him, as was observed of the ancient artist, that he has not sacrificed to the Graces. He seems finally to have improved, for he has left some fine pictures, worthy of the following epoch. Peter healing the lame in S. Pier Maggiore, a picture in the style of the Caracci, is the work

of his hand. The Servitian monks have a good picture by him in their public hall; and his holy families and cabinet pictures, of a high class, are to be met with in the city. The Cav. Francesco Currado had a still better opportunity of improvement, for he lived ninety-one years, constantly employed in painting and in teaching. One of his best pictures is on the altar of S. Saverio, in the church of S. Giovannino. He was eminent in small figures, and in this style painted the History of the Magdalen, and the Martyrdom of S. Tecla, of the royal gallery, which are works of his best time. In the same school we include Valerio Marucelli, and Cosimo Daddi, both artists of some merit; the second is memorable for his celebrated pupil Volterrano, in whose native place he married, and two of his altar-pieces still remain there.

Giovanni Maria Butteri, and Lorenzo dello Sciorina, were two other scholars of Bronzino, and assisted Vasari in the above-mentioned pictures on the *eserutoire*, and in his preparations for festivals. The first imitated Vasari, his master, and Titi; but at all times his colouring was inharmonious; the second has little to boast of beyond his design. Both are honourably mentioned among the academicians; as is also Stefano Pieri, who assisted Vasari in the cupola of the metropolitan church. The Sacrifice of Isaac, of the Pitti palace, is ascribed to him, and it is the best of his works executed at Rome, which are censured as hard and dry by Baglione. Cristofano dell' Altissimo, whose talent lay in portrait-painting, may be added to these. Giovio had formed the celebrated collection of portraits of illustrious men, which is still preserved at Como, though now divided between the two families of the Conti Giovio, one of which possesses the portraits of learned men, the other those of warriors. From this collection, which the prelate styled his museum, that still existing at Mondragone was copied, and also the collection now in the Florentine gallery, by the labours of Cristofano, who was sent for that purpose to Como by Cosmo I. He copied the features of those celebrated men, but attended little to other circumstances; whence it happens that the Giovian collection exhibits many very dissimilar manners, the Medicean one alone; but the features of the originals are very faithfully expressed.

Michele di Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio instructed many artists in this epoch. From his school proceeded Girolamo Macchietti, or del Crocifissiaio, the assistant of Vasari for six years, who afterwards studied for two years at Rome, though already an adept in the art. His example merits imitation, for that school speaks more to the eye than the ear; and he who there employs his eyes judiciously, cannot fail to reap the advantage. After his return to Florence he finished a few valuable pictures with care and assiduity, among which may be noticed an Epiphany for the chapel of the Marquis della Stufa, at S. Lorenzo, and a martyrdom of S. Lorenzo, at S. Maria Novella, greatly praised by Lomazzo. Borghini also, after commending the beauty, the expression, and the picture in general, scarcely found any thing to censure. It is certainly among the most striking pictures in that church. Macchietti also went to Spain, and was employed at Naples and at Benevento, where he is said to have painted his best pictures. In the *Dizionario Storico* of the professors of the fine arts at Urbino (Colucci, tom. xxxi.), I find mention that Girolamo Macchietti produced some battle-pieces for the hall of the Albani at S. Giovanni; but I see no reason why he should be admitted to a place among native artists belonging to that city, or to the state of Urbino.

Vasari mentions Andrea del Minga, then a youth, as contemporary with Macchietti; yet he is reckoned by Orlandi and Bottari, the fellow-student of Michelangelo. He was among the last pupils of Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, when the school was chiefly under the direction of Michele; and hence he rather followed the latter than the former. His own works are by no means among the most excellent. In the *Prayer in the Garden*, which remains in the church of the Holy Cross, he rivals any of his contemporaries; and hence it is alleged, that he was assisted in this picture by three of his friends. Francesco Traballese, mentioned by Baglione as the painter of some historical frescos in the Greek church at Rome, was a pupil of Michele, but lived too short a time to do him honour. The fable of Danaë, on the writing-desk, is the work of his brother Bartolommeo.

About this time lived Bernardino Barbatelli, surnamed Poccetti, an artist omitted by Vasari in the school of Michele,



and in the catalogue of the academicians; because at that period he painted only grotesques and fronts of buildings, in which, though he had arrived at great eminence, he had not the reputation he afterwards attained in Rome as an architect, from assiduously studying the works of Raffaello, and of other great masters. He subsequently returned to his native place, a pleasing and graceful figurist, rich and learned in his compositions; hence he was enabled to adorn his historical subjects with beautiful landscapes, sea-views, fruit, and flowers, not to mention the magnificence of his draperies, and tapestries, which he imitated to admiration. Few of his pictures on panel or on canvas, but many of his frescos, remain in almost every corner of Florence; nor does he yield to many Italian masters in this art. Pietro da Cortona used to express his astonishment that he was in his time less esteemed than he merited; and Mengs never came to Florence without going to study him, and diligently searching after his most forgotten frescos. He often painted with careless haste, like a class of poets whose minds are imbued with Parnassian fury and fine imagery, and who recite verses with little preparation. He is, however, always to be admired, always shews facility and freedom with that resolute and firm pencil which never makes an erroneous touch; a circumstance from which he has been denominated the Paul of his school. He often studied and made great preparation for his works, and corrected his outline as one would do in miniature painting. Whoever wishes to estimate the powers of this artist should examine the Miracle of the Drowned Restored to Life in the cloister of the Santissima Nunziata, a picture reckoned by some connoisseurs among the best in the city. His fresco works are to be met with nearly throughout all Tuscany, and his circular pictures in the cloister of the Servi at Pistoja, are greatly commended.

Maso Manzuoli, or M. di S. Friano, a scholar of Pierfrancesco di Jacopo and of Portelli, is esteemed equal to Naldini and Allori by Vasari. Nor will this appear strange to any one who beholds his Visitation, which decorated S. Pier Maggiore, and was afterwards carried to Rome, where it was deposited in the gallery of the Vatican. It was painted

when he was about thirty ; and, in the opinion of the historian, it abounds with beauty and grace in the figures, in the draperies, and in the architecture. This is his finest work, and is even among the best of that age. In his other pictures at S. Trinità, in the ducal gallery, and elsewhere, he is something dry ; and may be compared to some writers who, though they offend not against grammar, are not entitled to the praise of eloquence. Alessandro Fei, or del Barbiere, was his companion, and partly his scholar. This artist, who painted in private, received his first instruction in the school of Ghirlandaio, and of Piero Francia. He had a bold and fertile genius, adapted to large historical frescos, in which he introduced fine architecture and grotesques. In his pictures he attended more to design and expression than to colouring ; except in some pieces, supposed to be his last productions, and executed after the reformation of the art by Cigoli. His picture of the Flagellation in S. Croce is highly approved by Borghini. Baldinucci admires him, especially in small historical subjects, such as, amongst the pieces on the writing-desk, are the Daniel at the Feast of Belshazzar, and that of the Goldsmith's Art.

Federigo Zuccaro may be reckoned among the instructors of the artists of this epoch ; for whilst employed in painting the cupola of the cathedral, where Vasari had only finished a few figures at his death, he taught painting to Bartolommeo Carducci, who became an architect and statuary under Aman-nati, and an artificer in stucco under another master. Carducci acquired distinction by those talents in the court of his Catholic majesty, where he was introduced by Zuccaro ; and where he established himself and his younger brother and pupil, Vincenzo. Both are mentioned by Palomino among the eminent artists who painted in the court of Spain. Both must be well known there ; especially the latter, who lived but little at Florence, and who painted more pictures when in the service of Philip III. and Philip IV. than any of his predecessors or successors. He printed a dialogue in the Spanish tongue, *De las Excelencias de la Pintura*, from which Baldinucci has quoted passages in the account of this artist.

Of some of the artists mentioned by Vasari as his assistants in the decoration of the palace, in the preparations for the marriage of Prince Francesco, in the funeral obsequies of Bonarruoti, or in the collection of pictures on the writing-desk, the masters are unknown ; and the knowledge would be of little consequence. Such artists are Domenico Benci, and Tommaso del Verrocchio, whom he names in his third volume at page 873, and Federigo di Lamberto, a Fleming, called F. del Padovano, whom he had a little before noticed as a new citizen of Florence, and as a considerable ornament to the academy. Omitted by Vasari, but inscribed on the writing-desk, we find the names of Niccolo Betti, who painted the story of Cæsar ; of Vittor Casini, who there represented the Forge of Vulcan ; of Mirabello Cavalori, who portrayed Lavinia Sacrificing, and also the emblems of the art of weaving ; of Jacopo Coppi, who there painted the Family of Darius, and the Invention of Gunpowder. I suspect that they were all scholars of Michele ; and Vasari has more than once noticed them. Perhaps Cavalori is the Salincorno mentioned in another place, and Coppi is believed to be that Jacopo di Meglio, who is more severely treated by Borghini than any other in the church of the Holy Cross ; and not without reason, for his *Ecce Homo* in that place has all the defects of this epoch. Whether Coppi is to be identified with this person or not, he cannot be equally reprehended for his pictures on the writing-desk ; and in S. Salvator at Bologna, he produced a picture of the Redeemer crucified by the Jews, that might vie with the best pictures in that city previous to the time of the Caracci, and is yet one of those most full of subject and most carefully studied. He imitated Vasari in colouring, and in propriety of invention, in variety of figures, and in diligence, I have seen no picture of Vasari by which it is surpassed. It bears the date of 1579, together with his name. There is an account of two of his frescos in the Guida di Roma ; one of which, very copious in subject, is placed in the tribune of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

To the same period belongs the name of Piero di Ridolfo, by whom there is a large altar-piece, consisting of the Ascension, and bearing the date 1612 ; it is supposed that he took his name from the last of the Ghirlandai, in whose ser-



vice he may have been during his early life. Whoever may be desirous of adding to the list of names, will find a great number in a letter of Borghini to the Prince D. Francesco (Lett. Pittor. tom. i. p. 90), in which he suggests a plan for the preparations of the prince's nuptials, as well as the artists best qualified to conduct them. The names, however, I here give would be more than amply sufficient, were it not my wish to illustrate Vasari by every means in my power.

After considering the artists of Florence, on turning to the rest of Tuscany, we find in many places other associates of Giorgio, who, perhaps, had as many assistants in painting as bricklayers in architecture. Stefano Veltroni, of Monte Sansavino, his cousin, was a man of slow parts, but very respectable in the art. He assisted Vasari in the vineyard of Pope Julius; or rather superintended the grotesque works in that place; and followed his cousin to Naples, to Bologna, and to Florence. I know not whether Orazio Porta, likewise a native of Sansavino, and Alessandro Fortori of Arezzo, ever left Tuscany; they appear to have painted chiefly in their native city and its vicinity. Bastiano Flori and Fra Salvatore Foschi, both natives of Arezzo, were employed in the Roman Chancery, with Bagnacavallo, and the Spaniards Ru-viale and Bizzerra. Andrea Aretino, the scholar of Daniello, lived at a later period, or at least until 1615.\*

About this time Città San Sepolero was a seminary for painters, either wholly or chiefly educated by Raffaellino. From this place Vasari invited not only the master, but several of the scholars to assist him in his labours. He was greatly assisted by Cristoforo Gherardi, surnamed Doceno, whose life he has written. This artist was his right hand, so to say, in almost every place where he was employed. Gherardi followed his designs with a freedom resulting from a genius pliant, copious, and natural, adapted to ornamental works. Such was his talent for managing fresco colours, that Vasari pronounces himself his inferior: but the grotesques of the Vitelli palace, wholly his own, shew him not to have been more vigorous in his colouring. The oil-picture of the Visitation in the church of S. Domenico, at Città di Castello,

\* Bagliene, in the Life of P. Biagio Betti.

is entirely his ; but Vasari does not mention it. The upper part of the picture of S. Maria del Popolo, at Perugia, is likewise his ; no less elegant and graceful than the lower part, which is the work of Lattanzio della Marca, firm and vigorous. Doceno died in his native place in 1552 ; and Cosmo I. honoured his tomb with a bust, and an epitaph, in which he is said to be *Pingendi arte præstantissimus*, and Vasari, who had approved of his labours in the old palace, is called *hujus artis facile princeps*. It is written in the name of all the Tuscan painters,\* and is sufficient to demonstrate the state of this school, and the taste of Cosmo. After this specimen, it is not surprising that the prince neglected to have his portrait painted by Tiziano, whom he would esteem little in comparison to his own Vasari. It is a true observation that virtues are not hereditary, or, as it is expressed by the poet, they rarely spring up again in the branches. Leo X. was the patron of the arts, and he knew how to appreciate them ; but Cosmo encouraged, without possessing taste to discriminate.

The Three Cungi, or Congi, are also claimed by San Sepolcro. Gio. Batista was the servant of Vasari ; Lionardo is described to us as an eminent designer, in the life of Perino, and in that of Zuccaro said to have been a painter employed in the pontifical palace about 1560, along with his countryman Durante del Nero. For a knowledge of the third brother, Francesco, I am indebted to my learned friend Sig. Annibale Lancisi ; and have since received more particular information from Sig. Giachi, who gives an account of an altar-piece of S. Sebastiano, in the cathedral at Volterra, with the receipt for its purchase-money in 1587, where he is called *Francesco di Leonardo Cugni da Borgo*. At Rome we cannot judge properly of their style, but discover it in their own country, in the church of S. Rocco, at the convent of the Osservanti, and in other places. Their compositions display great simplicity, their ideas are chiefly drawn from nature, and they attended sufficiently to colouring. Raffaele Scaminossi, a scholar of Raffaellino, painted in a similar manner. Giovanni Paolo del Borgo was the assistant of Vasari in his

\* Pictores Hetrusci.

very hasty labours in the Chancery, about 1545. He cannot be the Gio. de' Vecchi who painted so much in Rome, as we are informed by Baglione; and who chiefly excelled at Caprarola, when contending with Taddeo Zuccaro, and in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso, in the various histories of the Martyr. He appears to have arrived at a later period, as did the three Alberti, of a family in San Sepolcro, abounding in painters. They went to study at Rome, and formed themselves on the style common to artists in the time of Gregory XIII. There they took up their abode, and died, after having executed many works, especially in fresco, in that city, and also memorials of their art in their native country.

The cathedral contains a Nativity by Durante, a subject handled better in the Vallicella of Rome, and which is, perhaps, his best performance in that city: in others he is often languid, both in design and colouring, and appears rather a laborious artist than a man of genius. Cherubino, the reputed son of Michele, and the assistant of Daniel di Volterra,\* was a celebrated engraver on copper, and from this art derived great assistance in design. Although late in applying to painting, he obtained a name. His proportions were light and spirited; his choirs of angels agreeable and original; his pencilling and whole composition dexterous and spontaneous. Such is the character of his Trinity in the cathedral of Borgo, in which place there remains the façade of a palace, well conceived, ornamented with arms, genii, and other fanciful devices. He painted the ceiling of the chapel of Minerva in Rome with various ornaments and figures, on a golden ground; in that city he assisted his younger brother Giovanni, who introduced a new era in perspective; not only by his works, existing in the houses of private individuals at San Sepolcro, and other cities, but by the fresco perspectives executed at Rome. He claims admiration in the sacristy of the church of S. Gio. Laterano, where he imitated the salient and receding angles of architecture; and still more in the

\* Vasari calls him Michele Fiorentino, and the painter of the Slaughter of the Innocents, which we have noticed at page 149. Orlandi makes him the father of Cherubino, an assertion not contradicted by Bottari. I follow Baglione, the contemporary of Cherubino, who says that he was the son of Alberto Alberti, an eminent engraver on copper.



grand Clementine salon, the most prodigious and exquisite work in perspective then existing. Baglione highly commends the S. Clement and other figures with which it is ornamented ; and remarks that they are admirably foreshortened, and superior to those of Cherubino, who was not so eminent in perspectives. Baglione mentions a Francesco, the son of Durante, who died at Rome. I am uncertain whether he is the Pierfrancesco to whom we attribute the Ascension in the church of S. Bartholomew at Borgo, with some pictures of no great merit in the church of S. John, and in other places. History mentions also Donato, Girolamo, Cosimo, and Alessandro Alberti, of whom I can collect nothing further.

The writers of Prato exalt their countryman Domenico Giuntalocchio, pupil to Soggi, in whose life Vasari mentions Domenico more as an engineer than a painter. He describes him as a correct portrait painter, but so extremely tardy in his works in fresco, that he became tiresome to the Aretini, with whom he for some time dwelt. I cannot point out any genuine picture from his hand ; but his memory is still fresh in the minds of his fellow-citizens, because, instead of leaving his native place ornamented with his pictures, he left 10,000 crowns as a fund to be appropriated to the education of young artists.

After the death of Daniel, his scholar and relation Giovanni Paolo Rossetti, retired to Volterra, and, as is attested by Vasari, executed works of great merit in his native place ; among which we may reckon the Deposto, in the church of S. Dalmatius. At a short distance from the city is a place which gave name to Niccolo dalle Pomarance, of the family of Circignani, who likewise subscribed himself Volterrano. His master appears to have been Titi, whom he assisted in the great salon of the Belvidere palace. He grew old in Rome, where he left numerous specimens of the labours of his pencil, which he employed with freedom, and at a good price. He shewed himself greatly superior to the artists of this period in some of his works, as in the cupola of S. Pudenziana. Cavalier Roncalli was a native of the same place ; there are pictures by them both at Pomarance ; where are also some by Antonio Circignani, the son of the former, an

able artist, though little known. All three will again be treated of in their place.

Pistoia possessed at the same time two scholars of Ricciarelli ; Biagio da Cutigliano, noticed by Vasari,\* and P. Biagio Betti Teatino, a sculptor, miniature and historical painter of merit, whom Baglione represents as constantly employed in the service of the church and convent to which he belonged. Leghorn gave birth to Jacopo Rosignoli, pupil of an unknown master, who lived in Piedmont, where his works must be sought. Baccio Lomi, whose style much resembles that of Zuccaro, remained at Pisa, and owes much of his skill and of his reputation to his two nephews. Though unknown beyond the limits of his native country, he must not be passed over in silence. The Assumption, in the residence of the Canons, and some of his other pictures, participate of the hardness of the age, but exhibit very good design and colouring.

Paolo Guidotti distinguished himself in the neighbouring state of Lucca as a painter of genius and spirit, no less than a man of letters, and well grounded in anatomical knowledge; but his taste was not refined. He came to Rome in the distracted times of Gregory and Sixtus, and lived there during the pontificate of Paul V., who created him a knight, and conservator of Rome ; permitting him to assume the name of Berghese, the family name of the pontiff. Many of his paintings in fresco are preserved in the Vatican library, in the Apostolic chamber, and in several churches at Rome : the artists with whom he was associated prove that he was reputed a good artist. Several of his pictures are in his native place ; and there is a large piece representing the Republic, in the palace. Girolamo Massei pursued a similar track, only confining himself to painting. Baglione, who gave an account of him, introduces him into Rome as an artist, much commended for his accuracy ; to which Taia adds, that he was both a good designer and colourist ; so much so as to lead us to dis-

\* Vasari writes the name *da Carrigliano*, in which he has been followed by other writers on the art, including myself, until I was informed by Sig. Ansaldo that it ought really to be written *Cutigliano*, taken from a considerable territory in the Pistoiese.

tinguish him from the crowd of Gregorian and Sixtine practitioners, in the same way that he was chosen by P. Danti to ornament the chambers of the Vatican. He returned to his native place in his old age, not to employ himself anew, but to die in tranquillity among his friends. Benedetto Brandimarte, of Lucca, is mentioned by Orlandi. I saw a Decollation of S. John by this artist in the church of S. Peter, at Genoa, but a poor performance; a single production, however, is not sufficient to decide the character of an artist.

The name of a Pietro Ferabosco is mentioned only by the continuator of Orlandi; he is supposed to have been a native of Lucca, though referred to the academy of Rome, where he probably pursued his first studies; I say *probably*, because the excellence of his colouring in the Titian manner, would lead me rather to include him among the Venetian artists. There are three of his half-length figures, with his name, and the date of 1616, reported as being in the possession of a gentleman in Portugal; where he resided, most likely, a longer period than in Italy.

We have already noticed some Tuscans who acquired distinction in the inferior branches of painting; such as Veltroni, Constantino de' Servi, Zucchi, and Alberti: Antonio Tempesti, of Florence, a scholar both of Titi and Stradano, was among the first to acquire a celebrated name in Italy for landscapes and for battles. He practised engraving, prepared cartoons for tapestry, and gave scope to his genius in the most fanciful inventions in grotesque and ornamental work. He surpassed his master in spirit, and was inferior to none, not even to the Venetians. In a Letter on Painting by the Marquis Giustiniani,\* he is adduced as an example of great spirit in design, a gift conferred by nature, and not to be acquired by art. He attempted few things on a large scale, and was not so successful as in small pictures. The Marquis Niccolini, the Order of the Nunziata, and several Florentine families, possess some of his battles painted on alabaster, in which he appears the precursor of Borgognone, who studied him attentively. He most frequently painted in fresco, as at

\* Tom. vi. p. 25.



Caprarola, in the Este Villa at Tivoli, and in parts of Rome, from the time of Gregory XIII. Most of the historical pictures in the Vatican gallery are his work; the figures, a palm and a half high, display astonishing variety and spirit, accompanied by beautiful architecture and landscapes, with every species of decoration. He is not, however, very correct; and his tints are sometimes too much inclined to a brownish hue; but all such faults are pardonable in him, as being occasioned by that pictoric fury which inspired him, that fancy which hurried him from earth, and conducted him through novel and sublime regions, unattempted by the vulgar herd.

## FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH IV.

Cigoli and his associates improve the style of Painting.

WHILST the Florentines regarded Michelangelo and his imitators as their models, they experienced the fate of the poets of the fifteenth century, who fixed their eyes on Petrarca and his followers alone; they contracted a strong similarity of style, and differed from each other only as to their individual talents and genius. As we have above remarked, they began to exhibit some diversity after the age of Titi; but still languid colourists required to be impelled into another career. About 1580 they began to abandon the manner of their countrymen for that of foreign artists; and then, as we shall have occasion to shew, the Florentine styles became firm and varied. This revolution originated with two young artists, Lodovico Cigoli and Gregorio Pagani. Attracted by the celebrity of Barocci, and a picture which he had recently sent from Urbino to Arezzo, which is now in the royal gallery at Florence, they went together to see it; they examined it attentively, and were so captivated with the style, that they renounced the manner of their master. Passignano followed their steps, continues Baldinucci, and Cigoli, in his company, took a second journey as far as Perugia, when Barocci had completed his celebrated Deposition from the Cross; but here the historian fell into a chronological error, inasmuch as Bellori, the accurate writer of Barocci's life, describes his picture at Perugia as anterior to that at Arezzo. In whatever way the mistake ought to be cleared up, it is certain that Passignano promoted the views of Cigoli. Their example turned the rising generation from the old manner to a more vigorous style. This was the case with Empoli, with Cav.

Curradi, and some of those above mentioned, followed by Cristofano Allori and Rosselli, artists that transmitted the new method to their disciples. They did not, however, imitate Barocci so much as Correggio, his model. Unable to visit Lombardy, they studied the few copies of his pictures, and still fewer originals, to be met with in Florence, in order to acquire his management of chiaroscuro, a branch of the art then neglected even at Rome. They began to model in clay and wax; they wrought in plaster; they studied the effects of light and shade; they paid less attention to practical rules, and more to nature. Hence arose a new style which, in my opinion, is among the best hitherto attempted in Italy; corrected upon the model of the Florentine school; soft and well relieved on that of Lombardy. If their forms had approached to Grecian elegance, their expression been more refined, the improvement of painting, which took place in Italy, should have been ascribed no less to Florence than to Bologna.

Some favourable circumstances assisted the progress of the Florentine school; among these, a succession of princes friendly to the art;\* the readiness with which the celebrated Galileo imparted to artists his discoveries, and the laws of perspective; the travels of several Florentine masters to Venice, and through Lombardy; and the residence of foreign artists, eminent as colourists, at the court of Florence. But it was chiefly owing to Ligozzi, who studied under the Venetian masters, then considered the best in Italy, and who animated the old Florentine style with greater spirit and brilliancy than it had hitherto displayed. After noticing the good style of that period, we must not omit one less praiseworthy; a sombre manner, which usurped its place, and at this day renders many pictures of that period of little or no

\* The new style began in the reign of Francesco I., who was greatly skilled in design, which he had learnt of Buontalenti. He was succeeded by Ferdinando I., Cosmo II., Ferdinando II., all of them celebrated for their magnificent works in ornamenting the city and the palace; Cardinals Gio. Carlo and Leopoldo de' Medici also flourished there, both of them patrons of the arts; and the latter is recorded in history for his knowledge of them, and the splendid collection which he formed. We may add to these Prince Mattia, and others of that family.



value. Some ascribe the fault to the method of mixing the colours, which was everywhere changed; and hence it is not peculiar to the Florentines, but found diffused over Italy. It was partly owing likewise to the rage for chiaroscuro. It is the characteristic of every school of long standing to carry to excess the fundamental maxims of its master: this we have remarked in the preceding epoch, this we shall find exemplified in every period of painting, and this, if it were consistent with our present undertaking, we might demonstrate to have happened in literature; for a good rule extravagantly pursued leads to the corruption of taste. We shall now direct our attention to the fourth epoch, in which, omitting the two older authorities, Vasari and Borghini, we shall chiefly follow Baldinucci, who was acquainted with the artists we are now to consider, or with their successors.\*

Lodovico Cardi da Cigoli, the scholar of Santi di Tito, first awakened his countrymen to a nobler style. The additional observation of Baldinucci, that he perhaps surpassed all his contemporaries, and that few derived such benefit as he did from the study of Correggio, will not readily be granted by those conversant with Schedone, the Caracci, or even Barocci, when they chose to imitate the manner of that great master. From the pictures that have reached our time, Cigoli appears to have acquired a fine effect of light and shade from Correggio; to have united this to a scientific design, to a judicious perspective, the rules of which were previously taught him by Buontalenti, and to a vivacity of colouring superior to his countrymen. His works, however, exhibit not that contrast of colouring, that mellowness and clearness, that grace in foreshortenings and features, that characterize the ornament of the Lombard school. In short, he was the inventor of a style always beautiful, but not always equal; especially if we compare his early works with his pictures executed after his visit to Rome. His general colouring savours of the school of Lombardy, his draperies

\* He was born in 1624, and died in 1692, leaving materials for the completion of the work, which were afterwards arranged by Saverio, his son, a gentleman of the law, who put the finishing hand to the whole. —Piacenza, *Ristretto della Vita di Filippo Baldinucci*, p. xvi.

sometimes resemble those of Paolo Veronese, and he often rivals the bold style of Guercino.

Independent of the great number of his pictures in the royal gallery, and many in the possession of the noble family of Pecori, there are a few in some private houses in Florence. The following are his most esteemed pictures: the Trinity, in S. Croce; the S. Alberto, in S. Maria Maggiore; the Martyrdom of St. Stephen, in the nunnery of Monte Domini, which Pietro da Cortona considers one of the finest pictures in Florence. Of the same class is the picture which he placed in the church of the Conventualists at Cortona, in which S. Anthony is represented in the act of converting an unbeliever, by a miracle of a mule seen kneeling before the holy sacrament: in this piece he aspired at surpassing any work of art in that highly decorated city. In the Vatican he painted S. Peter healing the Lame, a wonderful production, which, among the pictures in Rome, was reckoned by Sacchi next in excellence to the Transfiguration by Raffaello, and the S. Girolamo by Domenichino. The Florentine school may well be proud of this opinion, pronounced by a profound connoisseur, by no means lavish of his commendations. This masterpiece, which obtained him the honour of knighthood, is, however, utterly ruined by the dampness of the church, and the ignorance of one who undertook to repair it: but his frescos in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, at Rome, still remain; and there, by some error in perspective, he appears inferior to himself; \* nor was he permitted to retouch them, notwithstanding that he employed both interest and entreaties. Fortune, in some degree, persecuted this great artist; for had those frescos perished, and that oil-painting remained, Cigoli would have enjoyed a higher fame, and Baldinucci obtained more credit.

Andrea Comodi and Giovanni Bilivert nearly approached Cigoli; Aurelio Lomi followed at a greater distance. Of the latter I shall speak among the Pisan artists; and of two

\* In this branch of the art, indeed, he was not so greatly skilled; and the Cav. Titi, after commending his Assumption, which is exhibited in the entablature of the cathedral at Leghorn, adds, that not having been conducted according to the rules of foreshortening, some exceptions may be made to it.

Romans, belonging to the same school, in the third book. Comodi, the associate rather than the scholar of Cigoli, is almost unknown at Florence ; but there are many of his copies after celebrated masters, which pass for originals, in that city and at Rome. This was his peculiar talent ; in this he was unrivalled ; and it employed his best years. He produced, however, several original works, highly valuable for the design, the exquisite finish, and the strong body of colouring they display. In these we may trace the friend of Cigoli, and the copyist of Raffaello. They are chiefly Madonnas, and are greatly admired for the disposition of the fingers, which are somewhat spread out, for the graceful slender neck, and a certain virgin air, peculiarly his own. The Corsini family, at Rome, possess a very fine one. Some of his fresco pictures remain in the church of S. Vitale, in that city ; and there is a picture of the titular saint in S. Carlo a' Catinari, which appears dark and cloudy ; an uncommon circumstance with so good a colourist.

Gio. Bilivert is a name which we in vain look for in Orlandi, who has transformed him into two painters, one of whom he calls Antonio Biliverti, and the other, in imitation of Baglione, Gio. Ballinert ; both Florentines, and pupils of Cigoli. Like the preceding artist, Bilivert is not always equal to himself. He finished some pictures that had been left imperfect by Cigoli, to whose design and colouring he endeavoured to unite the expression of Titi, and a more avowed imitation of the ornaments of Paolo Veronese. Bilivert is not sufficiently choice in heads ; but he abounds in expression, as may be seen at S. Gaetano and S. Marco, where there are many of his historical pictures, particularly the Raising of the Cross, esteemed one of his best performances. Those pieces which he engaged to execute, and in which he never appears able to satisfy himself, are repeated by his scholars ; sometimes inscribed with the initials of his name, especially when he himself retouched them ; at other times they are without an epigraph. None of his productions are so worthy of being copied as Joseph with Potiphar's wife, which arrests the eye of every spectator in the ducal gallery. Many copies of it are to be found in Florence ; it is seen in foreign collections, in the Barberini palace at



Rome, in the Obizzo collection at Cattaiio, and in several other places.

The ornamented style of Bilivert had many imitators, whose works, in galleries and private houses, would pass for those of Venetian artists, had they greater spirit and better colouring. Bartolommeo Salvestrini is at their head ; but he was cut off in his prime, by the plague of 1630, so disastrous to Italy and the art. Orazio Fidani, an assiduous artist, skilled in the style of his master, painted much at Florence. His Tobias, that was finished for the fraternity of Scala, but is now removed, is especially commended. Francesco Bianchi Buonavita was engaged in few public works. He was chiefly employed in copying ancient pictures, which the court presented to foreign princes, and in furnishing cabinets with little historical pieces, that were at that time in great request in countries beyond the Alps. They were painted on jasper, agate, lapis-lazzuli, and other hard stones, the spots in which assisted in forming the shadows of the pictures. Agostino Melissi contributed much to the tapestry of the ducal family, by furnishing cartoons from the works of Andrea del Sarto, and also some of his own invention. He likewise possessed a genius for oil-painting ; in which branch his S. Peter at the Gate of Pilate, which he painted for the noble family of Gabburri, is particularly praised by Baldinucci. Francesco Montelatici, by some supposed to be a Pisan, by others a Florentine, and surnamed Cecco Bravo, from his quarrelsome disposition, abandoned the style of Bilivert, or, at least, mixed it with that of Passignano. He was a fanciful and spirited designer, and not a bad colourist. A fine painting of S. Niccolo Vescovo, by this artist, is to be seen at the church of S. Simone ; but his works are rare in churches, for he was chiefly employed in painting for private, and sometimes for royal collections. He died painter to the court of Inspruck. Giovanni Maria Moraudi remained but a little time with Bilivert, and, on going to Rome, adopted the style of that school.

Gregorio Pagani was the son of Francesco, who died young, but was highly esteemed by his countrymen. He studied the works of Polidoro and of Michelangelo, at Rome, and executed admirable imitations of them for private gentle-

men in Florence. Gregorio himself could scarcely distinguish them. He received the rudiments of his art from Titi, out was initiated in a better style by Cigoli. Strangers praised him as a second Cigoli, whilst his country possessed at the Carmine the picture of the Finding of the Cross, which has been engraved; but when the painting, with the church, was consumed by fire, no great work of his remained in public, except a few of his frescos; one of which, though somewhat injured by time, is an ornament to the cloister of S. Maria Novella. He is rarely to be met with in Florentine collections, as he chiefly painted for foreigners. Of his school I here say nothing; it only produced one eminent pupil; but this one was so conspicuous, that he may be said to form a new era.

Another associate of Cigoli was Domenico da Passignano, the scholar of Naldini and of Federigo Zuccaro, whom he resembles most, from his long residence at Venice, where he likewise married. He became so decided an admirer of the merits of this school, that he was accustomed to say, that he who had not seen Venice, ought not to boast that he was a painter. This circumstance sufficiently accounts for his style, which is not the most profound, nor the most correct; but it exhibits contrivance, is vast, rich in architecture and in drapery, resembling more the manner of Paolo Veronese than that of the Florentine school. Sometimes he resembles Tintoretto in his attitudes, and in that oily colouring which ought to have been avoided, and through which many works of both artists have perished. This has been the fate of his Crucifixion of St. Peter, which he executed for the great church in Rome, under Paul V., and of the Presentation of M. V., which he painted at the same place, under Urban VIII. Several pictures remain in Italian cities, that were begun by his scholars and finished by him, with a degree of care that hands him down to posterity as a great artist. A dead Christ, in the chapel of Mongradone, at Frescati, is in this style; as are an Entombing of Christ, in the Borghese palace, at Rome; a Christ bearing the Cross, in the college of S. Giovannino, and other works of his at Florence. Passignano, his native place, possesses what is, perhaps, his most perfect work, in the font of the church of the Fathers of Vallombrosa. He there painted a Glory, that proclaims him an excellent

artist, and worthy of a place with his pupils, Lodovico Carracci, the founder of the Bolognese school, and Tiarini, one of its great ornaments. His Tuscan pupils did not attain equal celebrity. Sorri of Siena, whom we reserve for that school, is the one best known in Italy, having painted with applause in several of her cities. Here we must consider those artists connected with Florence.

Fabrizio Boschi is a spirited painter, whose characteristic excellence appears to consist in novelty of composition, united to a precision superior to the generality of his school. A S. Bonaventura in the act of celebrating mass, in All Saints' church at Florence, is much praised; and, perhaps, his two historical frescos of Cosmo II. which he painted in the palace of Cardinal Gio. Carlo de' Medici, in emulation of Rosselli, are superior to his other works. Ottavio Vannini became eminent in colouring, and was attentive to every other branch of painting; but he was sometimes poor and cold; and although good in each part of his pictures, was not happy in the whole. Cesare Dandini, a disciple of several schools, imitated Passignano in design, in brilliancy, and also in the perishable nature of his colours: he was diligent in other things, and very assiduous. His best picture is a S. Carlo, surrounded by other saints, in the church of Ancona: the composition is fine, and the whole in good preservation. Many works of this artist, and of Vannini, decorate collections.

Nicodemo Ferrucci, the favourite pupil of Passignano, and the companion of his labours at Rome, possessed much of the boldness and spirit of his master. By his example he was led to affix a good price to his pictures, mostly frescos executed at Florence, Fiesole, and for the State. He died young at Fontebuoni; but many of his works, too good to be here omitted, still remain in Rome; one of the most esteemed of which is found at S. Gio. de' Fiorentini, besides two histories of Maria S. S. which have suffered from being retouched.

Cristofano Allori was at perpetual variance with Alessandro, his father and preceptor, on account of his attachment to the novel maxims of the three masters just commended. In the opinion of many he is the greatest painter of this epoch. When the excellence he attained, during a long life,



is considered, he appears to me in some degree the Cantarini of his school. They resembled each other in the beauty, grace, and exquisite finish of their figures; but the beauty of Cantarini partakes more of the ideal, and the flesh tints of Allori are more happy. This is the more surprising, inasmuch as he knew nothing of the Caracci, nor of Guido; but supplied all by nice discrimination, and unwearied perseverance; for it was his custom never to lift his pencil from the canvas until his hand had obeyed the dictates of his fancy. From this method, and from vicious habits that often seduced him from his labours, his pictures are extremely rare, and he himself is little known. The S. Julian of the Pitti palace is the grandest effort of his genius; and if not among the finest pictures in this magnificent collection, it undoubtedly claims the highest rank in the second class. His picture of Beato Manetto, in the church of the Servi, a small piece, but excellent in its kind, is reckoned the next in merit.

Many young men were sent to be instructed by him in the art of painting; but few of them remained long: most of them were disgusted at the dissipation of the master, and the insolence of their fellow-students. He formed some landscape painters, whom we shall notice under their class; and also some copyists, whose labours may boast of hues and retouching, the work of his hand. Of this class were Valerio Tanteri,\* F. Bruno Certosino, and Lorenzo Cerrini. These, and other artists of this school, continued the Giovian series of the later race of illustrious men, by transmitting to us many of their portraits, to which he lent his hand. To them we owe numerous duplicates of his most celebrated pictures, scattered through Florence, and over all Italy; more especially of that Judith, so beautifully and magnificently attired, a portrait of his mistress; while her mother appears in the character of Abra, and the head of Holofernes is that of the painter, who permitted his beard to grow for this purpose. Zanobi Rosi lived to a later period, and finished some pieces left imperfect by the death of Cristofano; but he never obtained the praise of invention. The name of Giovanni

\* There is a Visitation by this artist, and inscribed with his name, in the church of S. Anthony of Pisa, which he executed in a weak style in 1606.

Batista Vanni is superior to any other scholar of the school of Allori. The Pisans claim him as their countryman; Baldinucci assigns him to Florence. After taking lessons from Empoli and other masters, he attended Allori for six years, and whilst he imitated this master admirably in colouring, and rivalled him in design, he also imbibed his lessons of intemperance. Had he conducted himself with more propriety, and adhered to fixed principles, the genius he possessed might have raised him to more celebrity. He visited the best schools of Italy, and copied, or at least designed, the choicest productions of each. Many praise his copies of Titiano, of Correggio, and of Paolo Veronese: from the works of the two last he likewise made etchings. Notwithstanding such studies, his colouring degenerated, and he became so much a mannerist, that he has not left behind him a truly classical work. The S. Lorenzo in the church of S. Simone, reckoned the master-piece of Vanni, has nothing uncommon, except that the light of the fire invests the spectators, and gives the picture novelty and surprising harmony.

Jacopo da Empoli, a scholar of Friano, retains in most of his works the stamp of his early education; but he adopted a second manner not deficient in fulness of design, nor in elegance of colouring. Such is his S. Ivo, which, among painters of great name in a cabinet of the ducal gallery, surprises most strangers more than the other pictures. He executed other works on similar principles, from which we might infer that he belongs to an era favourable to the art. Painters cannot, like authors, amend the first on a second edition of the same subject: their second editions, by which they should be judged, pass as other pictures superior to their first performances. Two of Jacopo's pictures in fresco are commended by Moreni (tom. ii. p. 113), one belonging to the Certosa, the other to the monastery of Boldrone. Both prove the extent of his ability in this branch of the art; but after his fall from the scaffolding in the Certosa, he abandoned this method and devoted himself wholly to painting in oil. Empoli gave all the beauty and fine effect of large works to those pleasing pictures he painted for private individuals, and in this style he was very successful.

This artist taught Vanni the principles of painting; but

his greatest pupil was Felice Ficherelli; a man of the most indolent disposition, lazy in every occupation, and, as if afraid of disturbing his tongue, usually silent unless when asked a question: hence he was named Felice Riposo by the Florentines. He executed few pictures; but what proceeded from his studio may be held up as an example of industry; simple, natural, and studied, without appearing to be so. There is a picture of S. Anthony in S. Maria Nuova, where he seems to have been directed by his intimate friend Cristofano, whose work it strongly resembles. He is rare in collections; but always makes a good figure there by his graceful design, his full body of colouring, and his softness. The Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise, in the gallery of the Rinuccini palace, is worthy such a collection. He copied Pietro Perugino, Andrea del Sarto, and some other masters, so well, that his work might pass for the originals; and to this employment we may chiefly attribute the exquisite finish of his pictures.

To this period we may assign some other artists, who, from whatever cause, are, perhaps, less commended by historians than they deserve. Of this number is Giovanni Martinelli, of whom there is a capital work in the Conventualists of Pescia, viz. the Miracle of S. Anthony, a subject also executed by Cigoli. His Feast of Belshazzar, in the ducal gallery at Florence, and his Guardian Angel, at S. Lucia de' Bardi, are pictures of note, but inferior to that at Pescia. Of the same class also is Michel Cinganelli, a scholar of Poccetti, who was employed in the metropolitan church of Pisa, where he ornamented the corbels of the cupola, and strove to emulate the best Tuscan artists in an historical picture of Joshua. Such is Palladino, mentioned in the Guide of Florence in reference to a S. Giovanni Decollato; a work deserving notice, for its freedom from the beaten track of his school. He seems to have studied the Lombard more than native artists, and to have been acquainted with Baroccio. I saw his altar-piece at S. Jacopo a' Corbolini. I suspect that this artist is the same as Filippo Paladini, pointed out by Hackert, born and educated at Florence, and who resided in foreign parts. He was compelled to fly from Milan on account of some disturbance, and took refuge in Rome, where



he was received by Prince Colonna; but being pursued, went to Sicily, and resided at Mazzarino, an estate belonging to the Colonna family. There, as well as at Syracuse, Palermo, Catania, and elsewhere, he left works that display much elegance and fine colouring, but not free from mannerism, the fault also of the picture at Florence. Benedetto Veli painted in the cathedral of Pistoia an Ascension of Christ, placed at the entrance to the presbytery. It is the companion to one of the Pentecost by Gregorio Pagani, which sufficiently proves that it has no common merit. There lived other painters about this time, of whom Tuscany retains no trace; but they are recognised in other schools: as Vaiano in the Milanese, and Mazzoni in the Venetian schools, where we shall give some account of them.

Last among the great masters of this period I place Matteo Rosselli, a scholar of Pagani and of Passignano, and of several old masters, under whom he studied at Rome and Florence. He became so distinguished, that he was invited to the court of the duke of Modena, and retained by Cosmo II., grand duke of Tuscany. In painting, however, he had many equals; but few in the art of teaching, for which he was adapted by a facility of communicating instruction, a judicious method of discovering the talents of each pupil, and of directing his progress: hence his school, like that of the Caracci, produced as many different styles as he had pupils. His placid genius was not fitted for the conception of novel compositions, nor for pursuing them with the steadiness that characterizes the painter of elevated fancy. His merit lies in correctness in the imitation of nature; in which he is not always select; and there is a peculiar harmony in the whole, by which his pictures (generally in a sombre tone) please, even when compared with works of the most brilliant colouring. He excels in dignity of character; some of the heads of his apostles so strongly resemble the works of the Caracci, that connoisseurs are sometimes deceived. He strove to rival Cigoli: as in his Nativity of our Saviour at S. Gaetano, which is thought to be his master-piece, and in the Crucifixion of S. Andrew in All Saints' church, which has been engraved at Florence. His fresco paintings are greatly admired; so well do his labours, on the principles of the

past age, preserve their brilliancy. The cloister of the Nunziata has many of his semicircular pieces; and that representing Alexander IV. confirming the Order of the Servi, appeared a grand work to Passignano and Cortona. He ornamented a ceiling in the royal villa of Poggio Imperiale with some histories of the Medicean family. The chamber where this painting was placed was ordered to be demolished in the time of the Grand Duke Peter Leopold; but so highly was Rosselli esteemed, that the ceiling was preserved, and transferred to another apartment. His chief praise, however, arises from his preserving that fatherly regard for pupils, which Quintilian thinks the first requisite in a master: hence he became the head of a respectable family of painters, whom we shall now consider.

Of these, Giovanni da S. Giovanni (his family name was Manozzi) could boast of being one of the best fresco painters that Italy ever possessed. Gifted by nature with a fervid genius, a fertile imagination, celerity and freedom of hand, he painted so much in the dominions of the Church, even in Rome, especially in the church of the Four Saints, in Tuscany, in Florence, and the Pitti palace,\* that we can scarcely believe he began to study at the age of eighteen, and died when only forty-eight. His style is very far from the solid manner of his master; he carried the celebrated maxim of Horace, "*All is allowable*," to excess; and often preferred whim to art. Amid choirs of angels he introduced the novelty of female angels; if we may ascribe this to him, and not to the Cavalier d'Arpino or Alessandro Allori. But whatever exertions he made to discredit himself, he did not succeed. His spirit is greatly superior to the conceits of other artists; and his performances at Florence, in which he bridled his eccentricities, prove that he knew more than he was ambitious to shew. Among these we may notice his Flight into Egypt in the Royal Academy; some semicircular

\* In the great saloon he has poetically represented the protection afforded to literature by Lorenzo de' Medici. With some licenses peculiar to that age, the composition and the figures are very beautiful; and there is an imitation of basso-relievo in his painting, that would deceive the most skilful. This work, left imperfect by him, was completed by Pagani, by Montelatici, and by Furini, with some semicircular pieces.

pieces in the church of All Saints ; the Expulsion of the Sciences from Greece, of the Pitti palace, in which the blind Homer appears groping his way with great nature, as he is exiled from his native land. It is related of Pietro di Cortona, that on seeing one of the works of Giovanni, which did him no credit, he did not condemn him ; but pointing to the piece, observed, "Giovanni painted that when he was already conscious of being a great man." His pictures on panel and on canvas are less admired, nor always exempt from crudity. He had a son called Gio. Garzia, who produced several fresco works at Pistoia, tolerably well executed.

Baldassare Franceschini, surnamed Volterrano, and also the younger Volterrano, to distinguish him from Ricciarelli, seemed formed by nature to adorn cupolas, temples, and magnificent halls, a style of work in which he is more conspicuous than in painting cabinet pictures. The cupola and nave of the Niccolini chapel, in the church of the Holy Cross, is his happiest effort in this way ; and surprises even an admirer of Lanfranco. That of the Nunziata is most beautiful ; and we must not omit the ceiling of a chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, where Elias appears so admirably foreshortened, that it calls to mind the S. Rocco of Tintoretto, by mere optical illusion. His talents excited the envy of Giovanni da S. Giovanni, who, having engaged him as his assistant in the decoration of the Pitti palace, speedily dismissed him. His spirit is tempered by judgment and propriety ; his Tuscan design is varied and ennobled by an imitation of other schools, to visit which he was sent to travel by his noble patrons of the house of Niccolini. He derived great advantages from studying the schools of Parma and of Bologna. He knew Pietro di Cortona, and adopted some of his principles, a thing not uncommon among the artists of this epoch.

Volterrano painted a great many frescos in Florence, one in the Palazzo del Bufalo, at Rome, and some at Volterra, noticed by Baldinucci. The praise bestowed on him by the historian appears rather scanty than extravagant, to those who duly consider the propriety of his inventions, the correctness of his design—so rare in this class of artists ; his knowledge of the perspective, of foreshortening figures in ceilings, the spirit of his attitudes, the clearness of his graduated, well-



balanced, and united colours, and the pleasing harmony of the whole. The same talents are evident in his oil-pictures, as may be observed in his *S. Filippo Benizi*, in the *Nunziata* of Florence; in his *S. John the Evangelist*, a noble figure which he painted with other saints in *S. Chiara* at Volterra; his *S. Carlo* administering the communion in the *Nunziata* of Pescia, and some of his other paintings that are well finished, which was not the case with all his works. The same observations apply to his cabinet pictures, which abound in the ducal palace, and in the houses of the nobility of Volterra, especially in those of the families of Maffei and Sermolli.

Cosimo Ulivelli is also a good historical painter; and his style is sometimes mistaken for that of his master, by less skilful judges; but a good connoisseur discovers in him forms less elegant, a colouring less clear, a character approaching to mannerism and meagerness. We ought to form an opinion from the works of his best period, such as his semicircular pieces in the cloister of the Carmine. Antonio Franchi, a native of Lucca, who lived at Florence, is reckoned by many inferior to Ulivelli; but he is generally more judicious, and more diligent. His *S. Joseph* of Calassanzio, in the church of the Fathers of Scolopi, is a picture of good effect, and is commended for the design. Another of his fine works is in the parish church of Caporignano, in the state of Lucca; it represents Christ delivering the keys to *S. Peter*, and I am informed by an experienced artist, that it is the most esteemed of his productions, more of which may be found in the account of his *Life*, published at Florence, by Bartolozzi. He was painter to the court, by which he was much employed, as well as by private individuals. He was a moderate follower of Cortona. He wrote a useful tract on the "*Theory of Painting*," in which he combated the prejudices of the age, and enforced the necessity of proceeding on general principles. It was printed in 1739, and afterwards defended by the author against certain criticisms made on it. Giuseppe and Margherita, his two sons, have met with some commendation, and I am told there is a fine altar-piece by the former, which adorns the parish church at Borgo Buggiano. It is retouched,

however, by his father, who honourably makes mention of the fact. I repeat honourably, because many fathers are known to have aided their sons with a view of obtaining for them a reputation beyond their deserts. Michelangelo Palloni da Campi, a pupil of Volterrano, is known in Florence by a good copy of the *Furius Camillus*, of *Salviati*, in the old palace, which was placed by the side of the original. He resided long, and was much employed in Poland. An eminent pupil of Baldassare, named *Benedetto Orsi*, was omitted by *Baldinucci*. A fine picture of *S. John the Evangelist*, in the church of *S. Stephen*, at *Pescia*, his native place, is attributed to him. He also painted the *Works of Mercy*, for the religious fraternity of nobles. These oil-paintings were shewn to strangers among the curiosities of that city, but they were dispersed on the suppression of the order. There still exists a large circular picture which he produced at *Pistoia* for *S. Maria del Letto*, enumerated by good judges among the finest works of Volterrano, until an authentic document discovered the real author. Last in this list I have to mention *Arrighi*, the fellow-citizen of *Franceschini*, and his favourite pupil. He has nothing remaining in public, in which his master cannot boast a great share.\*

After *Franceschini*, who may be considered the *Lanfranco* of the *Rosselli*, or rather *Florentine school*, we proceed to *Francesco Furini*, who is its *Guido* and its *Albano*. Foreigners recognised him as such : hence he was invited to *Venice*, for the express purpose of painting a *Thetis*, as a companion to an *Europa*, by *Guido Reni*. He had seen the works of masters of this class at *Rome*, and appears to have aspired at rivalling, rather than at imitating them. His ideas certainly do not seem borrowed from them, nor from any other artists. He spent a long time in meditating on his subject, and was accustomed to consider his picture completed when he had finished his studies for it ; so little time and trouble did it cost him to embody his ideas in colours. Having been ordained a priest about his fortieth year, and becoming curate of *S. Ansano*, in *Mugello*, he executed some pictures truly

\* See tom. ii. of *Signor Giachi*, p. 202.

valuable, both on account of the rarity of his works and their excellence, for the neighbouring town of S. Lorenzo. Above all, we may notice with admiration a S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, and a Conception of the Blessed Virgin, in which, elevated above mortality, she appears soaring and resplendent. But his great name in Italy arose from his cabinet pictures, which are rare out of Florence, and in Florence are highly esteemed, though considerable numbers of them remain there. His *Hylas* carried away by the Nymphs, which he painted for the family of Galli, and in which he introduced noble figures that are grandly varied, is highly celebrated; not to mention the three Graces of the Strozzi palace, and the many historical pieces and half-length figures dispersed through the city that are unnoticed in his life. They chiefly consist of nymphs, or of Magdalens, no less naked than the nymphs, for Furini was a very expert painter of delicate flesh, but not one of the most modest. Furini must have had a great number either of pupils or imitators, as his pictures for private houses before mentioned, which were copied, are of frequent occurrence in Florence. They are often of a dusky hue, through the defect of their ground, and Simone Pignone is made, often erroneously so, their most common author. He was Francesco's best pupil; very delicate in the colours of his flesh, as we may judge from the altar-piece of B. Bernardo Tolomei, at Monte Oliveto, where the Virgin and the Infant are coloured very beautifully in the flesh, if not handsome in their features. His picture of S. Louis, king of France, at S. Felicità, is still more celebrated. It was much commended by Giordano, and the artist received five hundred crowns for its execution. In the first volume of *Lettere Pittoriche* we are informed, that Maratta only esteemed Gabbiani and Pignone among all the Florentine painters of his time. He was also praised by Bellini, in the work entitled "*Bucchereide*," where he coins a new term for Pignone (a liberty extremely common among our jocular poets), I know not how far susceptible of imitation in another tongue: "*È l'arcipittorissimo de' buoni.*"

Lorenzo Lippi, like his friend Salvator Rosa, divided his hours between poetry and painting. His *Malmantile Rac-*



quistato,\* which is a model of Tuscan purity of language,† is a work less read perhaps, but more elegant than the satires of Salvator; and is sprinkled with those graceful Florentine idioms that are regarded as the Attic salt of Italy. In looking for a prototype among the artists of his own school, guided by similarity of genius, he made choice of Santi di Tito. A delineator of the passions sufficiently accorded with the genius of the poet, and a painter of the choicest design was highly congenial to so elegant a writer. He, however, added to his style a greater force of colouring; and in drapery he followed the practice of some Lombard masters and of Baroccio, in modelling the folds in paper, a practice of which their works retain some traces. The delicacy of pencil, the clearness, harmony, and, to sum up all, the good taste, pervading his pictures, demonstrate that he had a feeling of natural beauty superior to most of his contemporaries. His master admired him, and said, with a liberality not always to be found among history painters, "Lorenzo, thou art more knowing than I." His pictures are not very rare at Florence, although he resided far from it for many years, for he was painter to the court of Inspruck. A Crucifixion, among his best performances, is in the ducal gallery. The noble family of Arrighi possesses a S. Saverio recovering from the claws of a crab the Crucifix which he had dropped into the sea. Baldinucci and the author of "The Series of the most Illustrious Painters," have spoken very highly of his Triumph of David, painted for the hall of Angiol Gaddi, who wished him to represent his eldest son as the son of Jesse, and his other sixteen children as the youths and virgins that, with songs and timbrels, greet the victor, and hail the deliverance of Israel. In this celebrated piece, the artist was enabled to give full scope to his talent for portrait-painting, and to the style approaching to nature, which he loved, without troubling himself about studied and artful embellishments. It was his maxim to write poetry as he spoke, and to paint what he observed.

\* The Ragged Cloak recovered.

† It was published with notes by Dr. Paolo Minucci, and was reprinted with other illustrations of Sig. Antonio Biscioni.

Mario Balassi perfected himself under Passignano, and after the choicest examples of the Roman and other schools. He was an excellent copyist of the old masters, and a painter of invention above mediocrity. Some of his small historical pictures, and a few pieces representing eatables, are to be met with in private houses ; and, above all, there are many of his half-length figures finely coloured and relieved. In his old age he changed his manner, and retouched as many of the works of his youth as he could lay his hands on ; but in striving to improve, he only injured them.

Francesco Boschi, the nephew and scholar of Rosselli, was an excellent portrait-painter. In the cloister of All Saints, where his uncle Fabrizio also painted, there are some of his portraits that seem absolutely alive, and are executed in fresco so admirably, that they clearly shew the school from which he proceeded. He finished some pieces in oil, that were left imperfect by the death of Rosselli, and painted others entirely his own, the subjects of which were chiefly religious, where the countenances are strikingly expressive of probity and sanctity. As he grew older he assumed the ecclesiastical habit, and sustained its dignity by his exemplary conduct, the account of which Baldinucci has extended at some length. During twenty-four years in which he lived a priest, he did not resign his pencil ; but he employed it less frequently, and generally less successfully, than in his youth. His elder brother, Alfonso, promised much, and even attained a great deal, though cut off in early life.

The style of Jacopo Vignali has some resemblance to that of Guercino, but less in the forms than in the dark shadows and the grounds. He is amongst those scholars of Rosselli who are seldom mentioned, although he painted more than any of the rest for the prince and the state. He often is weak, especially in attitude ; often, however, he appears praiseworthy, as in the two pictures at S. Simone, and in the S. Liborio, which is possessed by the missionaries. He is most conspicuous in fresco-painting, with which he ornamented the chapel of the Bonarruoti. He painted good historical pictures in the palaces of many of the nobility, and he even boasts noble pupils, none of whom did so much honour to his memory as Carlo Dolce.

Dolci holds the same rank in the Florentine, that Sassoferrato holds in the Roman school. Both, though destitute of great powers of invention, obtained high reputation for Madonnas and similar small subjects, which have now become extremely valuable; for the wealthy, desirous of possessing pictures at once estimable and religious, to hang up in their oratories, have brought those two masters into great request, notwithstanding that they operated on very different principles. Carlo is not so celebrated for beauty (for he was like his master, a mere *naturalist*), as for the exquisite pains with which he finished every thing, and the genuine expression of certain affecting emotions; such as the patient suffering of Christ, or of the Virgin Mary; the penitential compunction of a saint, or the holy confidence of a martyr devoting himself as a victim for the living God. The colouring and general tone of his pictures accord with the idea of the passion; nothing is turgid or bold; all is modesty, repose, and placid harmony. In him we may retrace the manner of Rosselli brought to perfection, as we sometimes can view the features of the grandsire in his descendants. A few of his larger works still remain, such as the S. Antonio, in the royal museum; the Conception of our Lady, in the possession of the Marquis Rinuccini; also a very few of his subjects from profane story, a few of his portraits, and the celebrated figure of Poetry, in the palace of Prince Corsini. His small pictures, for each of which he usually received 100 crowns, are very numerous, and were frequently repeated by himself or by his pupils, Alessandro Lomi and Bartolommeo Mancini, and often by Agnese Dolci, his daughter, a good artist, and follower of the style of her father, but not his equal. His two Madonnas in the cabinet of the Grand Duke, and his martyrdom of S. Andrew, in the possession of the Marquis Gerini, have been often copied.

Of Onorio Marinari, the cousin and scholar of Carlo, but few pictures remain at Florence, either in private or in public. After imitating his master (which usually is the first exercise of students in the art, and often, from dissimilarity of genius, is their great bane), he formed another style, by yielding to the bent of his natural powers, which was more grand, had more of the ideal, and deeper shadows; and of



this several specimens remain in the churches of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Simone. This artist died young, very unfortunately for the school to which he belonged.

About the period we have been describing, some foreign artists resided at Florence for a considerable time, to the no small advantage of the native painters, as we have already observed. Paggi came there in the reign of the Grand Duke Francis I., remained there twenty years, and left some works behind him. About the same time Salvator Rosa, Albani, Borgognone, Colonna, Mitelli, and many more, either invited by the princes from abroad, or coming there of their own accord, were retained by them for the decoration of the palace and the city. We shall consider them particularly under the schools of the countries where they were born, or in which they taught; but here we shall give a place to Jacopo Ligozzi, whom the Florentine school may claim on account of his residence, his employment, and his scholars. He had studied at Verona, under Paolo Veronese, according to Baldinucci; but under Gio. Francesco Carrotto, according to the emendation of Maffei, without reflecting that this artist died when Jacopo was scarcely three years old. Some foreign writers make him the son of Gio. Ermanno, the painter, a circumstance unknown to Cav. del Pozzo, the townsman and historian of them both. Ferdinand II. appointed him painter to the court, and superintendent of the gallery. This was very honourable, when conferred by such a prince on him, in preference to many eminent Florentines. Ligozzi executed some works at Rome, and introduced at Florence a freedom of pencil, an art in composition, a taste for the ornamental, and a grace and gaiety, till then rare in that city. His design was sufficiently correct, and uniformly improved while he remained in Tuscany. As to his colouring, although it was not that of Paolo, it was not deficient in truth and vigour.

His seventeen semicircular pictures in the cloisters of All Saints, are valued at Florence, especially the interview between S. Francis and S. Damienick, the founders of the order. On this picture he wrote, "To the confusion of our friends," meaning the envious and malignant. This is his masterpiece in fresco. He painted more frequently in oil-colours, in

several churches. The S. Raymond in the act of reanimating a child, in S. Maria Novella, is a picture full of art; and there is another in the same style at the Scalzi of Imola, representing the four Crowned Saints. The Martyrdom of S. Dorothea I do not hesitate to call a wonderful picture; in which we recognize a follower of Paolo, and which is in possession of the Conventual Friars of Pescia. The scaffold, the executioner, the prefect on horseback, who is ordering him to strike, the great crowd of spectators variously affected, and all the apparatus of a public punishment, strike and astonish equally the connoisseur and the unskilled in painting; the holy martyr especially interests us, who, on her knees, with a placid composure, willingly resigns her life, and is about to receive from angels the eternal crown purchased with her blood. In other performances he shews more simplicity, as in the S. Diego, at All Saints, or in the Angels, at the P. P. Scolopi; but he is an artist who always pleases, and who shews that he felt what he painted. Ligozzi painted much for private individuals. In his very small pictures, a style in which he was expert, he finished as highly as if they were miniatures. Several of his works were published by Agostino Caracci, and other engravers.

None of his Florentine pupils is esteemed equal to Donato Mascagni, for such was his real name, which may be seen subscribed to two scriptural pieces, in possession of Sig. Ab. Giachi, at Volterra. Having entered the order of Servi, he assumed the name of Fra Arsenio; and several of his works painted after that period are to be seen in Florence, executed in a manner not very full and soft, but diligent; of which there are several other specimens in his Miracles of the Nunziata, which are engraved and illustrated in the little work of Padre Lottini. What does him greatest honour is the picture preserved in the library of the monastery of Vallombrosa. It represents the donation of the State of Ferrara to the Holy Seat, by the Countess Matilda, as is believed by some, or rather the distribution of some privileges by her to the order of Vallambrosa, and is a picture full of subject, and the chief glory of this master.

In casting our eyes over other cities of Tuscany, we find some painters very capable of decorating houses and altars.

Francesco Morosini, surnamed Montepulciano, may be recognised in the church of S. Stephen, of Florence, where he painted a Conversion of S. Paul, in the manner of his master, Fidani. Arezzo produced the two Santini. Of one of them, there named the Elder, several pictures were pointed out to me by the accomplished Cav. Giudici, among which was a S. Catherine, in possession of the Conventual Friars; it savours of the Florentine manner during this epoch, except that the use of changing tints is more frequent. Bartolommeo and Teofilo Torre, of Arezzo, are noticed as fresco painters by Orlandi, who mentions halls, and even whole houses, being ornamented by the latter with historical pieces; which, if deficient in design, he praises for their colouring. Francesco Brini left a good picture of the Immaculate Conception, at Volterra: of his country and school I am ignorant. I do not know the master of Pompeo Caccia; it is certain that he called himself a native of Rome, perhaps because it is easy to substitute the capital, so well known, for places in the state of less notoriety. In Rome, however, I do not find any traces of him. I find, indeed, that he left several pictures at Pistoja, among which is the Presentation (at the Salesiane) of Jesus in the Temple, to which is affixed the date 1615. Alessandro Bardelli was a native of Pescia; in his style we find traces of his preceptor, Curradi, and of Guercino. He was a good painter, and executed the ornamental border for the portrait of S. Francis, painted by Margaritone, for his church in Pescia: he represented around it the virtues of the saint, and a choir of angels above. I am doubtful whether we should include Alessio Gimignani, one of a family of artists in Pistoia, to be recorded in the fifth epoch, among the pupils of Ligozzi, but he was undoubtedly his follower.

About this period two schools arose, highly deserving of notice, those of Pisa and of Lucca. The Pisan school recognises as its founder, Aurelio Lomi, first a scholar of Bronzino, and afterwards of Cigoli. His very correct performances, in the cathedral of Pisa, are executed after both masters; but when compared to Cigoli he is more minute, and has much less softness. His aim appears to be to surprise the multitude by an agreeable colouring, and a magnificence of draperies and ornaments. This style pleased at Florence, in Rome,



and more especially at Genoa, where he was preferred to Sorri, many years established and in good repute. His works in that city are very full of subject; as his *S. Anthony*, belonging to the Franciscans, and his *Last Judgment*, in *S. Maria of Carignano*; pictures which surprise by an air of novelty: the first is graceful, rich, but modest in the tints; the second terrible, and the colours more vivid than those he employed on any other occasion. *A. S. Jerome*, in the *Campo Santo*, is less glowing, but it is esteemed by the Pisans his capital work; at the bottom of this piece he put his initials and the date 1595.

He most probably taught the principles of the art to his brother, *Orazio Lomi*; who was called *Gentileschi*, from the surname of an uncle. *Gentileschi* formed his style, however, on the finest examples in Rome, assisted by his friend *Agostino Tassi*. *Tassi* was an eminent ornamental landscape painter, and *Gentileschi* executed appropriate figures to his inventions in the *Loggia Rospigliosi*, in the saloon of the *Quirinal palace*, and in other places. He also painted some smaller pictures in Rome, particularly at the *Pace*, from which we cannot ascertain his merit, either because they were performances of his unripe years, or because they have become black from age. He had not then attained the beautiful colouring, nor the Lombard-like manner of managing the shadows, which we observe in many of his cabinet pictures. A fine specimen, representing *S. Cecilia* with *S. Valerian*, is in the *Borghesi palace*. The choicest adorn the royal palace of *Turin*, and some houses in *Genoa*. In the collection of his Excellency *Cardinal Cambiasi*, there is a *David* standing over the dead *Goliath*, so relieved, and with tints so vivid and so well contrasted, that it gives the idea of a style entirely new. He was esteemed by *Vandyck*, and inserted by him in his series of portraits of one hundred illustrious men. When already old, he went to the *English court*, where he died at the age of eighty-four.

*Artemisia*, his daughter and disciple, followed her father into that island; but she passed her best years in Italy. She was respected for her talents, and celebrated for the elegance of her manners and appearance. She is noticed both by Italian and foreign writers, and by *Walpole* among the latter,

in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. She lived long at Naples, married there a Pier Antonio Schiattesi; and was there assisted and improved in the art by Guido Reni, studied the works of Domenichino, and was not unskilled in other approved styles. She shews variety of style in her few remaining historical pictures. Some of them are at Naples and Pozzuolo, and there are two in Florence inscribed with her name; one in the ducal gallery, and the other in possession of my noble and learned friend Sig. Averardo de' Medici; the former, representing Judith slaying Holofernes, is a picture of a strong colouring, of a tone and perspicuity that inspires awe; the latter, a Susanna and the Elders, is a painting that pleases by the scene, the elegance of the principal figure, and the drapery of the others. Artemisia, however, was more celebrated for her portraits, which are of singular merit; they spread her fame over all Europe, and in them she surpassed her father.

Orazio Riminaldi was a scholar of the elder Lomi in Pisa, and of the younger in Rome, but imitated neither of them; from the beginning he gave himself up to the guidance of Manfredi, in the manner of Caravaggio, and afterwards became a follower of Domenico Zampieri, to rival whom he seems intended by nature. From the time that the art of painting revived in Pisa, that city had not perhaps so eminent a painter, nor have many better been born on the banks of the Arno, a soil so propitious to the arts. Grand in contour and in drapery, after the manner of the Caracci, pleasing and agreeable in his carnations, full, free, and delicate in the management of his pencil, he would have been faultless, had not the wretched style of engraving raised prejudices against him. Excessive fatigue, or, as others will have it, the plague of 1630, snatched him in early life from his country; for the fame of which alone he seems to have lived to maturity. He there ornamented many altars with fine pictures, one of which representing the martyrdom of S. Cecilia, was afterwards placed in the Pitti palace. In the choir of the cathedral there are two of his scriptural pieces, that form a perfect study for any one who wishes to become acquainted with this epoch. The judgment of the master of the works was conspicuous in engaging Riminaldi to paint the cupola,

even before he had finished the above pictures, and in making choice of him in preference to any other artist. The Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which he painted in oil, is one of the best conceived and most perfect works that Tuscany had ever beheld, and it was the last labour of Orazio. His brother Girolamo completed it feebly, by introducing some figures that were wanting, and the family received 5,000 crowns as its price. Girolamo is rarely to be met with in Pisan collections, and still more rarely in other places. He was, however, well known in his day, having been invited to Naples to ornament the chapel of S. Gennaro, and to the court of Paris by the queen.

From among many Pisan artists of this period recorded by Sig. da Morrona, or Sig. Tempesti, we shall select some of the most considerable. Ercole Bezzicaluva is worthy of notice, both for his engravings and his picture representing various saints in the choir of St. Stephen's at Pisa. So likewise is Gio. del Sordo, otherwise called Mone da Pisa; but his colouring seems superior to his invention. Zaccaria Rondinosi, I believe, of the Florentine school, was more skilled in ornamental than in any other branch of painting. He repaired the pictures in the Campo Santo, and on that account was honoured by the citizens with a tomb there, and near it an inscription on the marble. I know not whether any picture of Arcangela Paladini, an excellent embroiderer, except her own portrait, has reached our times. It was hung in the ducal gallery among the portraits of illustrious painters: to be deposited in such a place, and to remain there from 1621, is an unequivocal proof of its merit; since it is the custom of the place not lightly to refuse the portraits of tolerably good painters, but to keep them there as if only lodgers, and then send them to some villa of the prince, when new guests arrive, to take a place in the cabinets which are named *de' Pittori*. Gio. Stefano Marucelli, both an engineer and a painter, was not born in Pisa, but he may be reckoned a Pisan from his long residence and attachment to the place. Having come from Umbria into Tuscany, according to the tradition of the Pisans, he became a pupil of Boscoli, and remaining at Pisa, he contended with the celebrated artists whom we have noticed as employed from time to time in



ornamenting the tribune of the cathedral. The Abraham entertaining the Three Angels is a work of his, commended for felicity of invention, and beauty of colouring. In the church of S. Nicolas at Pisa there remains a memorial of Domenico Bongi of Pietra-santa, who was a follower of Perino del Vaga. He flourished in 1582.

The series of the principal artists of Lucca commences with Paol Biancucci, the best scholar of Guido Reni, whose grace and power of colour he has imitated in many works. He sometimes so strongly resembles Sassoferrato as to be mistaken for him. The Purgatory, which he painted at Suffragio, the picture representing various saints, which he left at the church of S. Francis, two in possession of the noble family of Boccella, and others scattered over the city, are of such merit, that Malvasia should have noticed him among the pupils of Guido. He has also omitted Pietro Ricchi of Lucca, who went to Bologna from the school of Passignano. It is true that the preceptorship of Guido is in this instance doubtful, though Baldinucci and Orlandi both assert it: for Boschini, his intimate friend, says not a word upon the matter, merely observing that Ricchi regretted he had not studied in Venice. It is certain he frequently imitated the forms of Guido; but in colouring and design adhered to the manner of Passignano; he also imbibed the principles of the Venetian school, as we shall relate. Two of his pictures are preserved at the church of S. Francis in Lucca, and others remain in private hands; small remains of a genius very fertile in invention, and of a hand rapid and almost indefatigable in execution. He painted in several cities of France, in the Milanese, and still more in the Venetian states, where he died at Udine, in the MS. guide to which place he is often named.

Pietro Paolini long lived and taught at Lucca; he was a pupil of the Roman school, but to judge from his works one would pronounce him of the Venetian. In Rome he frequented the study of Angelo Caroselli, by education a follower of Caravaggio, but exceedingly expert in copying and imitating. Under him Paolini acquired a manner that shews good drawing, broad shadows, and firm touches, compared by some to the style of Titian, and by others to that of Porde-

none : one also remarks in his works undoubted imitations of Veronese. The martyrdom of S. Andrew, that exists at S. Michele, and the grand picture, sixteen cubits long, preserved in the library of S. Frediano, would be sufficient to immortalize a painter. In this he represented the pontiff S. Gregory, entertaining some pilgrims ; it is a magnificent picture, ornamented in the style of Veronese, with plate and architectural perspective, full of figures, and possessing a variety, harmony, and beauty, that have induced many poets to extol it. His cabinet pictures of conversations and rural festivals, not rare at Lucca, are exquisite. Two, of the Massacre of Valdestain, belonging to the Orsetti family, were especially commended by Baldinucci. The historian remarks that he had a particular talent for such tragic themes, and in general for the energetic ; he admires him less in the delicate, and even accuses him of marking the action of his female figures too strongly. That he could however be very pleasing when he inclined, we are led to believe from his large work in the church of the Trinity ; which he is said to have conducted in this graceful style, to demonstrate that he was not inferior to his rival Biancucci.

It is uncertain whether Pietro Testa, called at Rome Il Lucchesino, was his disciple ; but highly probable, when his age is compared with that of Paolini, that he learnt from the latter the principles of the art, which he had acquired in Lucca before he came to Rome. He there had several masters, was chiefly under Pietro da Cortona, from whose school he was expelled, because he treated the maxims of his master with contempt. He then put himself under Domenichino, on whose principle, says Passeri, he gloried to rely ; but his style, in his own despite, at times approaches nearly to that of Cortona. He has also some resemblance to his friend Poussin, both in his figures (which at one time he made too slender), in his landscapes, and in his study of the antique, of which he was deeply enamoured ; having applied himself to designing the finest specimens in architecture and in sculpture that Rome afforded. In this branch he is excellent. The death of B. Angelo, placed in S. Martino a' Monti, a picture of great force, is the only piece before the public. Testa is more frequently recognised in galleries : there is a Joseph

sold to the Ishmaelites by him in the Capitol ; a Murder of the Innocents, in the Spada palace ; but there are not many of his pictures elsewhere ; for he engraved more than he painted.\* He left some oil-paintings at Lucca, one in a feeble style at S. Romano, several at S. Paolino, in the Buonvisi gallery, and in other places. Two of his works in fresco remain there ; viz. the allegorical picture of Liberty in the senate house, and the small very elegant cupola of the oratory in the Lippi palace. He settled at Rome, where he lived unhappily, and either from despair, or some affront, drowned himself in the Tiber. His fate may teach young artists of genius not to overrate their own talents, nor to dispise those of others. By these failings, Testa alienated the minds of his contemporaries, so that neither in reputation nor in employment was he so successful as many others ; and his perpetual complaints occasioned doubts even of his sanity.

Omitting some scholars of Paolini less addicted to his manner, we shall notice the three brothers, Cassiano, Francesco, and Simone del Tintore. I find nothing recorded of the first that exalts him above mediocrity ; and when one meets with an indifferent picture of the school of Paolini, it is ascribed to Cassiano, or some such pupil ; or sometimes to the dotage of Paolini, when he produced sketches rather than paintings. Francesco is recognised as an able artist in the Visitation, in the apartments of his excellency the Gonfaloniere ; and pieces in the Motroni collection. Simone was expert in depicting birds, fruit, and other objects in the inferior walks of the art, to which I shall here devote a few pages.

And to pursue this pleasing branch of painting, I may observe that Angiol Gori and Bartolommeo Bimbi of Florence distinguished themselves in fruit, and more especially in flowers : the second was the scholar of the first in this line, and of Lippi in figures. Lippi induced Andrea Scacciati to abandon figures for fruit and flowers, and animals, in which

\* Passeri, a great admirer of his tints, pronounces him a master of invention ; and, treating of his engravings, says, "such vigour of conception, such novelty, and such variety, were never the gift of any other artist. He is a poet in all his historic pieces, his composition is full of fancy ; this, however, is not equally commended by all, who look for the simple action without other accessories."



department he succeeded well, and sent many pictures into foreign countries. Bimbi was the Mario of his school. He instructed Fortini, whom we shall notice along with Moro, a painter of flowers and animals. All these gave place to Lopez of Naples, who visited Florence in his journeys through Italy.

The art of painting landscapes, and their introduction into collections, began during this epoch: the first style that became fashionable at Florence was that of Andriano Fiammingo; but Cristofano Allori excelled all by his neat and firm touch, and by the exquisite figures which he introduced into his landscapes. Guasparre Falgani surpassed him in the number of such subjects: he was initiated in the art by Valerio Marucelli, and imitated by Giovanni Rosi, and Benedetto Boschi, the brother of Francesco. The landscapes of this age have often their greens changed into black, and are reckoned of the old school by Baldinucci. The new style was introduced into Florence by Filippo d'Angeli, or Philip the Neapolitan, long retained at the court of Cosmo II.; but chiefly by Salvator Rosa. This artist was brought to Florence by Cardinal Gio. Carlo, and remained there seven years; where as painter, poet, and author of comedies, he was constantly applauded for his fine genius, and his society courted by men of learning, with whom, in every department of letters, the country abounded. He formed no pupils at that place, but many young men became his copyists and imitators, as Taddeo Baldini, Lorenzo Martelli, and others. Antonio Giusti, a pupil of Cesare Dandini, was particularly skilled in this art; but he likewise practised other branches of painting, and Orlandi has described him as universal. Signor da Morrona notices the Poli, two brothers, who executed many pleasing landscapes, known in the collections of Florence and of Pisa.

Passing from landscape to sea views, no Tuscan in this respect equalled Pietro Ciafferi, otherwise called Lo Smargiasso,\* and recorded among the Pisan artists. It is said that he resided long at Leghorn, a place suited to his genius. He there decorated façades of houses with naval enterprises and of such

\* The Bully.

subjects, ports, sea-coasts, and ships, he composed oil paintings, usually highly finished, and ornamented with small figures, well designed and fancifully draped. He likewise succeeded in architectural views. Leghorn and Pisa are rich in his easel pictures, and one in possession of Sig. Decano Zucchetti bears his name and the date 1651.

Perspective was much cultivated at Florence about this period, and the Bolognese carried it to a degree of excellence that will claim attention in the proper place. Lessons in it were given by Giulio Parigi, an excellent architect, and afterwards by Baccio del Bianco, who became engineer to his Catholic Majesty Philip IV. Their theoretic views were seconded by the example of Colonna, who came to Florence in 1638, with Mitelli, a native of that place, and remained in the service of the court. After this period Florence produced painters of cabinet pieces, and in the ornamental line, or rather a new school was founded by Jacomo Chiavistelli, a painter of sound and more chaste taste than was common in that age. One may form an idea of him in several churches, and in saloons in the city, as in that of the Cerretani palace, among his most elegant works. He likewise painted for cabinets, where his perspective pieces are frequently to be met with. Orlandi notices his most considerable pupils, Rinaldo Botti, and his cousin Lorenzo del Moro,\* Benedetto Fortini, and Giuseppe Tonelli, who also studied at Bologna. To these may be added, Angiol Gori, Giuseppe Masini, and others who assisted him about 1658, in painting the corridore of the ducal gallery, which is not their best performance. I find in the anecdotes of Mondina and Alboresi, edited by Malvasia, that Antonio Ruggieri contended with them in Florence: he was, I believe, a scholar of Vannini, and a S. Andrew by him exists in the church of S. Michele, in Berteldi, now called S. Gaetano. Nor were these the only artists capable of introducing figures into their perspectives; but many of the

\* Botti is pronounced a famous fresco painter by Magalotti, in Lett. Pitt. tom. v. p. 229. There are various mechanical works of Lorenzo. He painted the whole ceiling of the church of the Dominicans at Fiesole, which was considered by Conca among the respectable productions of his age.

painters in fresco were, so to say, ambidexter, for each could paint perspectives and figures at the same time.

Portrait painting, the school of the best artists who aspire to fidelity of representation, was greatly promoted by Passignano, who instructed Filippo Furini, surnamed Sciameroni, father of the celebrated Francesco. He taught the art to Domenico and Valore Casini, two brothers, celebrated by Baldinucci : Valore was remarkable for a free pencil, and was a faithful copyist of every lineament. The capital is filled with his portraits. Cristofano Allori painted portraits, both on commission and for studies in the delineation of the most beautiful forms. His portraits on canvas are reckoned valuable, even when the subjects are not known, as that in possession of the senator Orlandini ; and some on small pieces of copper, in the grand Medicean collection. Cerrini, among his disciples, followed his steps ; he is, I think, also admitted into that museum. Giovanni Batista Stefaneschi, a monk of Monte Senario, a scholar of Comodi, and an excellent miniature painter, was conspicuous among the painters of portraits and copyists.

Justus Subtermans, a native of Antwerp, educated by William de Vos, was also greatly admired. Having fixed his residence at Florence, in the time of Cosmo II., he was retained by the court to the end of the reign of Cosmo III. ; and went to other princes in Germany and Italy, ambitious of having a specimen of a portrait painter, esteemed little inferior to Vandyck. He was much esteemed by the latter, who requested his portrait, prefacing his request by sending him his own. Peter Paul Rubens likewise honoured him, and presented him with one of his own historical pictures, regarding him as an honour to their country. Subtermans painted all the living members of the Medicean family, in a variety of attitudes ; and when Ferdinand II. ascended the throne, while still a young man, Subtermans executed a stupendous picture, wholly composed of portraits. He represented in it the ceremony of swearing allegiance to the new sovereign ; and portrayed him with his mother and grandmother, and the senators and nobility who were present. This picture was very large : it has been engraved on copper



and still remains in the gallery. The artist had a neatness and elegance of pencil extraordinary even in the school to which he belonged ; and possessed a peculiar talent of ennobling every countenance without injuring the likeness. It was his practice to study the peculiar and characteristic air of the person, and to impart it to his work ; so that when he would sometimes conceal the face of a portrait, the bystanders could with certainty tell whom it represented, from the disposition of the hands and the figure.

Jacopo Borgognone remained long in Florence, and was highly respected by Prince Matthias ; whose military achievements in Germany and in Italy he represented to the life, as an historian would have described them. This artist's battle-pieces are not rare in Florence ; but I do not know that he had any pupils in that place. The person who promoted most the imitation of Jacopo, and whose works are everywhere, was Pandolfo Reschi, of Dantzic, one of his best scholars ; eminent in landscape in the style of Salvator Rosa, and in architectural subjects. In the hands of Dr. Viligiardi, I saw a picture by him, with a view of the Pitti palace, and the additions to it then wanting ; but which were afterwards supplied by the Austrian princes, to the great ornament of the royal residence. Those additions were from a design of Giacinta Marmi ; but the whole picture was the work of Pandolfo. He enlivened it with figures, and excites surprise by the whole, excepting in the distribution of the light and shadow, in which he is not so happy. One Santi Rinaldi, surnamed *Il Tromba*,\* a painter of battle-pieces and of landscapes, formed himself under Furini : he was contemporary with Pandolfo, but is less known in Florence.

Baccio del Bianco, having become a good designer and tolerable painter in the school of Bilivert, went into Germany with Pieroni, the imperial architect and engineer, from whom he learnt perspective. He afterwards taught it with applause in Florence, as we have said ; and did not omit to exercise his pencil, especially in fresco. Naturally facetious, he became distinguished by his burlesques, which, for the most part, were designed only with the pen. He coloured small

\* The Trumpet.

oil-pictures of much force, *i. e.* portraits in the style of the Caracci, and sometimes painted freaks of scaramouches, and similar abortions.

Gio. Batista Brazze, called Il Bigio,\* a scholar of Empoli, employed his genius in another branch of the capricious: it consisted of what appeared human figures when seen at a distance, but a nearer approach shewed them to be composed of different sorts of fruit, or machines, artfully arranged. Balducci reckons him the inventor of this art; but prior examples may be found in the Milanese school, in which I treat of them fully at the end of the second epoch.

Lastly, mosaic work in hard stone owes its rise in Florence to this epoch; and, after gradually improving during two centuries, is now everywhere known as a work of this capital, almost exclusively its own. In a letter of Teofilo Gallaccini,† we read that this species of mosaic “had been invented in Florence, in the time of Ferdinand I.,” an assertion which is not true. Before that period it flourished in Lombardy. The Carthusian monastery of Pavia had in its pay a family of the name of Sacchi; which has existed there to our own times, and filled the great church with this kind of mosaic. There are specimens of it in Milan, of very ancient date. In that place Giacomo da Trezzo, who executed the tabernacle for the church of the Escorial, which is esteemed the most beautiful and magnificent in Christendom,‡ received his instruction. About the time of Cosmo I., Florence witnessed the rudiments of this art, in a “small picture composed of gems,” which she possessed, as is recorded by Vasari.§ A similar one was executed for Francis I., from a design of Vasari, by Bernardino di Porfirio, of Leccio, “composed of oriental alabaster, and large slabs of jasper, heliotrope, cornelian, lapis lazuli, agate, and other stones and gems, which they estimate at 20,000 crowns.” But pictures so wrought in large pieces, were not of that perfect kind of

\* The Swarthy.

† Lett. Pitt. tom. i. p. 308.

‡ The Ab. Conca, tom. ii. p. 33, writes of this artist, that with this and similar works he acquired so much reputation in Madrid, that the name of a principal street in which he lived was borrowed from his; from the time of Philip II. it has been called *Jacome Trezzo*.

§ Tom. viii. p. 156.

mosaic that contained a vast variety of colours and middle tints. Such are executed in every shade of colour, from the natural stains of the stone ; and the tints are lowered, heightened, and managed, so as almost to rival painting. For this purpose, every species of hard stone is sawed, innumerable colours are selected, graduating from the deepest to the lightest shade, which are kept ready for use. This art was in request at Milan ; where, on account of the vicinity of Alpine countries, abounding in every species of hard stone, it arrived at great perfection. Francesco I., meditating the erection of the magnificent chapel for the sepulture of the royal family, in the church of S. Lorenzo, and the ornamenting it with urns and altars wrought in hard stone, invited Giovanni Bianchi from that city to his court, in 1580, and committed the works in mosaic to his direction. Soon after Ferdinando ascended the throne, and the new art gained ground under him ; it was promoted by Constantino de' Servi, and afterwards by other artists, who improved it. The tables, cabinets, and coffers, small landscapes, and architectural pieces, there executed, and sent as presents to princes, are dispersed over Europe. In one cabinet of the ducal gallery is an exquisite octagonal table, the round central piece of which was designed by Poccetti, and the ornamental border by Ligozzi. Jacopo Autelli executed the work, on which, with numerous assistants, he was employed sixteen years, and finished it in 1649. In the cabinet of cameos and engraved gems are figures in mezzorilievo, and little statues in hard stone, fabricated by the same company of artists ; not to mention what are in the Pitti palace and the church of S. Lorenzo. A similar company still exists, under the direction of the Signori Siries, and abounding in subordinate artists, which is supported with royal magnificence by the prince, for whom it is constantly employed.



## FLORENTINE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH V.

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Pietro da Cortona and his followers.

AFTER the middle of the seventeenth century, the Florentine school, and that of Rome, underwent a remarkable revolution, occasioned by the number of followers of Pietro da Cortona. Sects in painting have the same fate as sects in philosophy; one succeeds another; and the new principles are propagated more or less rapidly, according to the degree of opposition they have to encounter where they happen to be diffused. The manner of Cortona met with considerable opposition in Rome, as we shall find in the proper place. He was invited to Florence by Ferdinand II. about 1640, to ornament the apartments of the Pitti palace; and this work, in which he spent several years, has appeared to connoisseurs the most beautiful he ever performed. He was directed in it by Michelangelo Bonarruoti the younger, a literary man of great judgment; and Cortona appears also to display learning in the execution. In one apartment he painted the four ages, which the poets of all nations have described in imitation of Hesiod; five other chambers were dedicated to five fabulous deities, the chamber of Minerva, of Apollo, of Mars, of Jupiter, and of Mercury. He united the mythology of each with history. Thus, for instance, in the chamber of Apollo, he represents this patron of the fine arts on the ceiling in the act of receiving the young Hercules, who is introduced by Minerva, that he may be instructed; and on the walls he painted Alexander reading the works of Homer, Augustus listening to Virgil, and other similar stories, which are fully described by Passeri in his life of Cortona. The great work was finished by Ciro Ferri; for

after Cortona had begun the chamber of Mercury, on some disgust, he secretly withdrew from court, returned to Rome, and always declined to revisit Florence. There, however, he had laid the foundations of a new school. Baldinucci remarks on the style of Pietro, that it was no sooner seen at Florence, than praised by the best judges.\* The predilection of Cosmo III. contributed to bring it into credit; this prince pensioned Ciro Ferri in Rome, that he might instruct the Tuscans who came there to study. At that time there was no artist of that country who did not imitate this style. We shall now describe and trace it to its origin.

Pietro Berrettini, a native of Cortona, the scholar of Comodi in Tuscany, and of Ciarpi at Rome, is mentioned also among the writers on the art.† He acquired his knowledge of design by copying antique bassorilievos, and the chiaroscuros of Polidoro, a man who appears inspired by the soul of an ancient. Pietro chose Trajan's column as his favourite study; and from it he may have drawn his heavy proportions, and the appearance of strength and robustness, that characterize even his female forms and his children; in their eyes, noses, and lips, he surpasses the medium standard; and their hands and feet are certainly not remarkable for light elegance. But in contrast, or the art of opposing group to group, figure to figure, and part to part, in which he was distinguished, he appears to have followed Lanfranco, and partly to have formed it from the Bacchanalian vases, particularly mentioned in his life by Passeri. His taste may probably have been drawn, in some measure, from the Venetian school; since having gone to study there, and then returned to Rome, he destroyed what he had previously done, and executed his works anew in the Barberini palace, according to the account of Boschini, his great admirer. Generally speaking, he finishes nothing highly but what was

\* Life of Matteo Rosselli, in tom. x. p. 72.

† Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. (tom. viii. p. 258), ed. Ven. "Pietro Berrettini, in addition to the letters pointed out by Mazzucchelli (Scritt. Ital. tom. ii. p. 925), wrote also along with P. Giandomenico Ottonelli da Fanano, a Jesuit, a 'Treatise upon painting and sculpture, their use and abuse; composed by a painter and a theologian.'" This work has become very rare.

intended to be conspicuous; he avoids strong shadows, is fond of middle tints, prefers the less brilliant grounds, colours without affectation, and is reckoned the inventor and chief artist of a style, which, in the opinion of Mengs, combines facility with taste. He employed it in pictures of all sizes with applause; but in painting of furniture, and still more on ceilings, in cupolas, and recesses, he carried it to a pitch of beauty which will never fail to procure him panegyrists and imitators. The judicious division of his historical compositions, which derives aid from the architecture, that skilful gradation by which he represents the immensity of aerial space, his knowledge in the art of foreshortening what is seen from below, that play of light seemingly celestial, that symmetrical disposition of his figures, are circumstances which enchant the eye and fascinate the soul.

It is true that this manner does not always satisfy the mind; for, intent on gratifying the eye, it introduces useless figures, in order that the composition may not be deficient in the usual fulness; and, for the sake of contrast, figures in the performance of the gentlest actions are painted as if the artist was representing them in a tournament or a battle. Gifted by nature with facility of genius, and no less judgment, Berrettini either avoided this extravagance, as in his stupendous Conversion of S. Paul, or did not carry it to that absurdity which in our times has marked his followers, from the usual tendency of all schools to overcharge the characteristic of their master. Hence the facility of this style has degenerated into negligence, and its taste into affectation; until its chief adherents begin as at present to abandon it, and to adopt a superior manner.

But not to wander from the Florentine school, we must confess that this epoch has been the least productive of eminent painters. Pietro had some pupils at that place, who did him equal honour with the Romanelli and the Ferri at Rome. I shall first mention a foreigner, who having established himself at Florence, may be reckoned of that school. Livio Mehus, a native of Flanders, came into Tuscany from Milan, where he had received some instruction from another Fleming, named Charles, was taken under the protection of Prince Matthias, and recommended to Berrettini, who gave him



lessons both in Florence and at Rome. By copying the antique he became a good designer, and he studied colouring at Venice and in Lombardy. He retained little of the manner of Cortona besides the composition. He imitated the Venetians less in colouring, than in his light and firm touches. His tints are modest, his attitudes lively, his shadows most beautiful, and his inventions ingenious. He painted few altar-pieces, but many cabinet pictures, for he was pensioned by the prince, and employed by noble families, in whose houses his works are often to be met with. The historical picture of the Repose of Bacchus and Ariadne, which he painted for Marquis Gerini, in emulation of *Ciro Ferri*, is highly praised. *Ferri* conceived some jealousy of him, when he painted the cupola of the Pace at Florence, where he appears to approach the Lombard school, and even to surpass Cortona.\* He was imitated by a *Lorenzo Rossi*, previously a scholar of *Pier Dandini*, who, according to *P. Orlandi*, executed some elegant small pictures.

Vincenzio Dandini went from the school of his brother *Cesare* into that of Cortona, or rather into the Roman, where he copied with unwearied assiduity the finest specimens in painting, sculpture, and architecture. On this foundation, aided by practice in anatomy, at the academy for the naked figure, which still flourished at Florence, he became superior to his brother in design and in softness of colouring: he also finished more highly than *Cesare*, was more studious in his drapery, and in other branches. In *All Saints* there is a Conception of the Virgin, and three other pictures, by his hand. He was employed in the ducal villas: in that of *Poggio Imperiale* he painted a beautifully foreshortened figure of *Aurora*, attended by the Hours, in a recess he had erected; and at *Petraia* painted in oil the Sacrifice of *Niobe*. In him the pupil of Cortona is very manifest. A similar style, but degenerated both in execution and in manner, is discoverable in *Pietro*, his son and scholar. This artist was superior to all the other Dandini; and by more extensive travels he obtained greater knowledge of foreign painters: it would have been well if he had not attempted to surpass

\* Lett. Pitt. tom. i. p. 44.

them also in his emoluments. From avarice he undertook too many works, and contented himself with mediocrity in study, for which he in some measure compensated by a freedom of pencil that is always admirable. Where well paid, he demonstrated his abilities; as in the cupola of S. Mary Magdalen, in several frescos in the ducal palace at Florence, in the royal villas, and in the copious historical picture of the Taking of Jerusalem, painted in the public palace at Pisa. He also painted some altar-pieces worthy of himself; as the S. Francis in S. Maria Maggiore, or the Beato Piccolomini in the attitude of saying mass, in possession of the Servi; a beautiful picture, full of spirited attitudes. His son, Ottaviano, appears his follower in some semicircular pictures in the cloister of S. Spirito, in a piece representing various saints in the church of S. Lorenzo, and wherever he was employed. One of his grandest works may be seen in S. Mary Magdalen at Pescia, the ceiling of which he painted in fresco.

The Dandini family had many scholars, who, with their descendants, have kept alive the school of Cortona, even to our own days. This school was not eminent; it requires but little examination, or prolixity of description. It has produced some good artists; but few of them are above mediocrity; a fault less to be attributed to their genius, than the times. The more modern style was esteemed the best: the last master seemed to discover new maxims, and abolished the old: and thus artists of little celebrity gave birth to others more minute and mannered, resembling their prototype in maxims, but inferior in reputation. About this time it became fashionable to paint with a certain degree of careless ease, or *Sprezzatura*, as it is styled; and Giordano and some Venetians are applauded for this manner. Several Florentine artists tried to imitate them, and have produced works that resemble sketches: this species of mannerism is not uncommon in other schools. It is only necessary to observe that such artists are as rare in choice collections of pictures, as Andrea del Sarto or Cigoli: the latter are there scarce, because they painted with great care; the former class because they painted with very little. In the work entitled "Series of the most celebrated Painters," we find Antonio Riccianti,

Michele Noferi, and some others whose names are merely mentioned as scholars of Vincenzo; and Gabbiani is the only one particularly praised. In like manner, among the pupils of Pietro Dandini we find the names of Gio. Cinqui, whose portrait is in the ducal gallery, Antonio Puglieschi, of Florence, who studied under Ciro, and Valerio Baldassari of Pescia; but there is a particular eulogy bestowed on Fratinelli, whom we shall notice hereafter. I find also that P. Alberigo Carlini, a Minorite monk of Pescia, was the pupil of Ottaviano, and attended Conca at Rome. He painted some good pictures, in the church of his order at Pietrasanta. To his we may also add the name of Santarelli, a patrician of the same country, who died at Rome.

The most celebrated pupil of the Dandini was Anton Domenico Gabbiani. Before he was the pupil of Vincenzo, he had lessons from Subtermans, and finished his education at Rome under Ciro Ferri, and at Venice, by studying the best masters. We must not give credit to Pascoli, who has represented him as a mean artist.\* Gabbiani ranks amongst the best designers of his age; a collection of his drawings is in the possession of Sig. Pacini, which was often inspected and commended by Mengs for the facility and elegance he there discovered. Many of his designs were engraved and published in his life by Ignatius Hugford. His colouring sometimes borders on the languid, but is generally good: he is correct and natural, especially in fleshy tints; juicy, and tempered by a pleasing harmony. The greatest fault is in his draperies, which, though correct and studied, always exhibit a degree of heaviness in the execution, are too confined, and sometimes not quite true in the colouring. His merit is great in light subjects: in the Pitti, and other palaces of some of the nobility of Florence, his dances of genii and groups of boys are to be met with, and yield little to those of Baciccio. One of the finest is in the house of the Orlandini family; and the Marquis of Riccardi has specimens among the mirrors placed in his collection. His largest and most celebrated work in fresco is the vast cupola of Cestello, which he did not wholly finish. His oil pictures are esteemed

\* In the Life of Luti. See Lett. Pitt. tom. i. p. 69.



precious even in the ducal gallery. Several of his works of unequal merit are preserved in churches; but his S. Philip, in possession of the fathers Dell' Oratorio, justifies the assertion of Redi, that, except Maratta, there was then no painter in Rome that could eclipse him.\* The catalogue of his scholars is extensive; but some of them, as happens to every master, may be also claimed by other preceptors. Benedetto Luti was an honour to Gabbiani and to Florence. Having formed himself in this school, he went to Rome, in hopes of receiving the instructions of Ciro Ferri; but the death of that master intervening, he was guided by his own genius, and the monuments of art. The style he there formed may be considered a compound of various imitations, select in the forms, pleasing and bright in colouring, shewing art in the distribution of light and shade. In that metropolis we shall find him master of the new style; but in Tuscany we cannot point out many of his pictures besides those in the ducal palace: private collections are rich only in his crayon pieces, which are likewise well known out of Italy. There is one of his large pictures on canvas at Pisa, the subject of which is the Vestment of S. Ranieri, the most admired among the larger paintings of the cathedral. Luti sent it to Gabbiani for his correction before it was exhibited; a circumstance highly honourable to the modesty of the scholar and the abilities of the master.† His portrait is in the ducal gallery; and the more rigid critics have been known to say, "Behold the last painter of his school."

Tommaso Redi, a pupil of the same master, is noticed in the "*Lettere Pittoriche*," as a good composer of historical pictures, and is also praised for design, colouring, and spirit. From the school of Gabbiani he went under the tuition of Maratta and Balestra, both respectable artists, and declared enemies of the innovations which have debased our schools for so long a period. Redi also visited the most celebrated schools, for the purpose of studying the old masters, and of making copies of their works, some of which, with a few pieces of his own invention, remain in his family. In the eulogy of Anton Domenico we find honourable mention made

\* Lett. Pitt. tom. ii. p. 69.

† See Lett. Pitt. tom. ii. lett. 35.

of his nephew, Gaetano Gabbiani; of Francesco Salvetti, his intimate friend; of Gio. Antonio Pucci, a painter and a poet; of Giuseppe Baldini, whose career was cut short by death; and of Ranieri del Pace, a native of Pisa, who afterwards became a complete mannerist. Ignatius Hugford, born in Florence, but whose father was a native of England,\* was skilled in recognising the hands of different masters, and likewise painted in a good manner a picture of S. Raphael at S. Felicità, and other pieces, mostly small, which have been admitted into the royal museum. The feeble paintings in possession of the Vallombrosani at Forli, and some of the same stamp at Florence, are likewise by this artist.

Alessandro Gherardini, a rival of Gabbiani, and in the opinion of many, his superior in genius, had wonderful facility in counterfeiting different styles. He would have equalled any of his contemporaries, had he always painted in the style of his Crucifixion of our Lord in Candeli, in which he calls to mind a happy imitation of different schools. It is a work studied in every part, especially in the general tone, which artfully expresses the darkness of that hour. A history piece of Alexander the Great, in Casa Orlandini, with figures of half-length, and executed with great industry, is also held in high esteem; but he aimed at painting pictures of every

\* He was brother to Henry Hugford, a monk of Vallombrosa, to whom we owe the progress of working in *Scagliola*, afterwards successfully practised in Florence by Lamberti Gori, his pupil; and at this day by the Signor Pietro Stoppioni. Although the portraits, and in general the figures, of a variety of colours, are pleasing, yet the *dicromi*, or yellow figures upon a black ground, attract most notice, copied from ancient vases formerly called Etruscan, and these copies either form separate pictures, or are inserted for ornament in tablets. The tragic poet Alfieri caused his epitaph to be inscribed on one of these small tables covered with scagliola work: Being found after his death, it quickly spread abroad, but was not inscribed on his tomb. Upon another of these he had written the epitaph of a great personage, whom he wished to be interred near him; and the two little tablets united together folded one upon another in the way of a *dittico* or small altar, or of a book, on the side of which was written *Alfieri liber novissimus*. In this way others write, on tablets of scagliola, fine precepts from scripture, a philosophy that comes from and leads to heaven, intended to be placed in private sanctuaries, to aid meditation in sight of the crucifix. The silver tablets I have seen for the same purpose are more valuable, but less artificial.

degree of merit. One of his pupils, no less fertile in talent, and named Sebastiano Galeotti, is rather remembered than known at Florence. He left his native place young, travelled about without any fixed residence, and has left specimens behind him in many parts of Upper Italy. He at length settled at Genoa, where we shall again notice him. The ducal gallery contains portraits both of the master and of the scholar, by the side of those of Gabbiani and Redi. Other considerable painters of this epoch have obtained a similar honour; among whom we may mention Agostino Veracini, a scholar of Sebastian Ricci; Francesco Conti, a disciple of Maratta; and Lapi, a follower of Giordano; each of these has successfully imitated his guide.\* The *S. Apollonia* of the first, painted for the church of that name; various *Madonnas* of the second, in the hands of private gentlemen; and the *Transfiguration* of the last, in the ducal gallery, are calculated to do them honour, and even to shed a lustre on their less refined productions. Others now dead have been equally honoured by a portrait: of this number are Vincenzo Bacherelli, Gio. Francesco Bagnoli, Anton Sebastiano Bettini, Gio. Casini, Niccolo Nannetti, and others, mentioned in the "*Museo Fiorentino*."

Giovanni Camillo Sagrestani, a scholar of Giusti, was esteemed at Florence, even during the lifetime of Gabbiani and Gherardini. To study different masters, he visited the best schools, and for some time attended that of Cav. Cignani, whose manner he copied rather than emulated. One of his *Holy Families* is in the *Madonna de' Ricci*, the beauty of which has more of ideal cast, and the colouring more florid, than is usual with his contemporaries of this school. One of the first judges in Florence assured me that this painting was the work of Sagrestani, although others ascribe it to his scholar, Matteo Bonechi. Bonechi had excellent parts, but not an equal knowledge of the art, in which he is reported to have been instructed by a species of dictation; for he practised under the eye, and was directed by the voice of his master. He thus became one of those practical artists, who make up for

\* In his larger works (the altar-pieces at the *Missionari* and at the *Monastero Nuovo*), it would appear that Conti aimed at approaching the style of *Trevisani*.



the poverty of their design by their spirit and colouring. Some of his pictures would, in any collection, be calculated to attract the eye. Among his works in fresco, the picture at Cestello, where he finished what was begun by Gabbiani, is worthy of record; and also that in the Capponi palace, near the Nunziata, where he continued the work of Marinari.

About this time Cignani died in Bologna, and Gio. Gioseffo del Sole, denominated the modern Guido, enjoyed the highest reputation. Florence employed three of his eminent pupils; one of the two Soderini, Meucci, and Ferretti, who, although called da Imola, was born and lived in Florence. Mauro Soderini enjoyed the reputation of a good designer, and aimed at beauty and effect. The Death of S. Joseph, in the cathedral, is said to be by his hand, though it is in fact by Ferretti; the Child revived by S. Zanobi, in the church of S. Stephen, is really his. Vincenzo Meucci was chiefly employed in works of perspective, which he executed in parts of Tuscany, and even in the cupola of the royal chapel in S. Lorenzo. If any one could dispute with him pre-eminence in fresco-painting, it was his fellow-disciple, Giovanni Domenico Ferretti, whose works may be seen in Florence, in other parts of Tuscany, and at Bologna; from which he appears to have surpassed Meucci in fancy and in spirit, especially at the Philippini at Pistoia, where his performance in the cupola is highly praised. In fresco works they were both excellent; but in oil paintings often too hasty, an error into which all fresco painters, not excepting the most esteemed, have fallen. Hence Ferretti, although he painted the Martyrdom of S. Bartolommeo, for the church dedicated to that saint at Pisa, in an excellent style, did not give equal satisfaction by his History of S. Guido, in the archiepiscopal church. Several of the works of Meucci are dispersed through various churches in Florence; and in a chapel of the Nunziata, where he painted the recess, he coloured a Madonna, which is allowed to be one of his most diligent and best-finished pictures. He was there rivalled by Giuseppe Grisoni, a scholar of Redi: and it is reported that vexation at this circumstance shortened his days. Grisoni had travelled more than he in visiting the schools of Italy, had even gone to England, and acquired great skill in figures, and still more in landscape. He

therefore was induced to add landscape not only to historical, but also to portrait painting ; as, in the instance of a portrait of himself, one of the most respectable in the second chamber of painters. He added it also to the S. Barbara, painted in competition with Meucci ; and it does honour to the school in form, relief, and taste of colouring. He likewise painted other pieces on the same plan, in which, however, he did not succeed so well.

Meucci and Grisoni cannot be reckoned in the same rank with Luti ; but if all are to be estimated by the times in which they flourished, each was eminent in his day. I had noticed them briefly in my first edition, and some painters have informed me, that with them I ought to have mentioned Giuseppe Zocchi, a painter of note. I now correct my error, and produce what information the noble family of Gerini, under whose protection he was received when a boy, and who, after his elementary studies at Florence, sent him to Rome, to Bologna, and other parts of Lombardy, for his instruction, have supplied me. I may be allowed to add, that the Florentine nobility have always been most liberal in this way ; and there are not a few living artists who owe their education in the fine arts to the bounty of some noble family : such clients are an ornament to a nobleman, and are not to be numbered among his servants. Zocchi had a genius fertile in invention, pliant in imitation, and judicious in selection ; and hence, at the conclusion of such a course of study, he was able to compose large works with skill, and to colour beautifully. He painted four pretty large frescos in the villa Serristori, beyond the gate of S. Nicholas, some apartments in the Rinuccini palace, and one in the Gerini gallery ; and these are believed to be his best works of this sort. In smaller pieces he was still greater ; as in his oil-picture of the festivities at Siena, on the arrival of the Emperor Francis I., a work true in the perspective, and graceful in the multitude of figures. It is deposited in the splendid Sansedonii collection, at Siena, where the entertainment given to the Grand Duke Peter Leopold may also be seen : with this object the painter went to Siena, where he caught the epidemic disorder that raged in 1767, and soon after died at Florence.

On turning to other parts of Tuscany, we find them from

the beginning of the eighteenth century full of the followers of Cortona; San Sepolero boasted Zei, of whom I find no further account than that of his painting an altar-piece representing the souls in purgatory, for the cathedral of that place, a work extremely well coloured, and conducted in the maxims of the school, though the countenances are of a common cast; and, if we except the liberating angel, of poor expression. Among this sect we cannot include Gio. Batista Mercati, one of the latest painters of that city, not unknown at Rome, and much noted in his native place, where he painted either at a more mature time of life, or with greater pains. Two of his historical frescos, representing our Lady, are in S. Chiara; and at S. Lorenzo there is a picture of the titular with other saints; in both there is an air apparently drawn from the school of the Caracci, especially in the breadth of the drapery, which is well cast and skilfully varied. In the Guides to Venice and to Rome, several of his works are mentioned, and in that of Leghorn, the only picture in the cathedral esteemed worthy of notice is that of the Five Saints, painted by Mercati with great care. Orlandi notices Tommaso Lancisi, a scholar of Scaminossi, and two of his brothers, and adds that painting was hereditary in this family.

One only of the countrymen of Berrettini is known to me as his follower, Adriano Palladino, mentioned by Orlandi, which is the only trace of him that I have discovered.

Arezzo abounds with pictures in the manner of Cortona. Salvi Castellucci, the scholar of Pietro, either at Florence or at Rome, was a great imitator of his style, and painted with expedition, according to the practice of the school. He executed many good pieces in the cathedral and other churches, besides numerous cabinet pictures in private houses, estimable for the facility and good taste of their colouring. One of his frescos, representing our Lady surrounded by the patron saints of the city, is in the public palace; but he is greater in oil-painting. He had a son, on whom he bestowed the name of Pietro, probably in honour of his master. He also was a follower of Cortona, but never equalled his father.

Pistoia, however, had two Gimignani, the father Giacinto, and Lodovico, his son, of whom it is disputed which was the most eminent. From the school of Poussin, Giacinto entered



that of Berrettini; and as he approached nearer his first master in design and composition, so in colouring and in taste for architecture he came nearest to the second. He moreover took the lead in works of fresco. Here he rivalled Camassei and Maratta, at the baptistery of S. Gio. Laterano, where he painted the histories of Constantine, besides leaving specimens in different parts of Rome, in the Niccolini palace at Florence, and other places. In some pictures he emulated Guercino, as for instance in the Leander in the ducal gallery, which was long considered as a Guercino. Though Lodovico was the scholar of Giacinto, he is not so correct in design, but was superior to his father in all the faculties that excite pleasing emotions; his ideas are more beautiful, his tints more lovely, his attitudes more spirited, and his harmony more agreeable. It would appear either that the style of his maternal uncle, Orbetto, had attracted his attention, or that Bernini, the director of his studies, had led him into this path. He obtained great applause for his works in fresco, and those he executed at Rome in the church of the Virgins are studied by artists for the attitudes, the clouds, and the grace of the wings with which his angels were furnished. He chiefly resided at Rome, which possesses several of his paintings for churches, and a greater number for halls and private rooms; being moreover much employed in these for foreign countries. Two histories of S. John by the hand of Giacinto are in the church dedicated to that saint at Pistoia; and there was also a S. Rocco in the cathedral, esteemed excellent. Lodovico executed a beautiful picture for the church of the Capuchins, now converted into a parish church.

After the death of both, Lazzaro Baldi still remained, another great ornament of the school of Cortona, and of Pistoia, his native place. He may be there recognised in two pictures, the Annunciation in the church of S. Francis, and the Repose in Egypt in that of the Madonna della Umiltà. This latter place is a majestic octagonal temple, executed by Ventura Vitoni of Pistoia, the great pupil of Bramante, and surmounted by a cupola, reckoned among the noblest in Italy. Baldi established his abode in Rome; where he was much employed, as well as in other parts of the states of the Church. One of his most studied pictures is at S. Camerino, and repre-

sents S. Peter receiving the pontifical power. A still more recent artist is Gio. Domenico Piastrini, a scholar of Luti, who in the porch of Madonna della Umiltà, filled two large spaces with pictures, illustrative of the history of this church, and who rivalled the best followers of Maratta, in S. Maria in Via Lata, at Rome. It is not foreign to this period to notice Gio. Batista Cipriani, who was born in Florence, but descended from a family of Pistoia;\* especially as he left specimens of his pencil in the neighbourhood of the places we have just mentioned. Two of his altar-pieces were in the abbey of S. Michael-on-the-Sea; one of S. Thesaurus, the other of S. Gregory VII., which are valuable, as Cipriani painted but little. His excellence lay in design, which he acquired from the collection of the studies of Gabbiani. Having afterwards gone to London, he was much employed by the celebrated Bartolozzi, who has immortalized the painter by engravings of his inventions. We might augment our catalogue with the two Giusti and Michele Paoli, a Pistoian of the school of Crespi; but they did not attain maturity, if we depend on the information afforded by the continuator of *Felsina Pittrice*.†

Of those within the Florentine territory, the Pisans, and of those beyond it, the artists of Lucca, remain to be considered. Camillo Gabrieli, a scholar of Ciro, was the first who transplanted the style of Cortona into Pisa; and in this manner executed a good oil-painting at the convent of the Carmelites, and several for private individuals: in this kind of painting he was more happy than in fresco. In this line, however, his memory is honoured in his native place, both for his works in the grand saloon of the Alliata palace, and in the apartments of other noble houses; and likewise on account of his pupils,

\* See Saggio Istorico della R. Galleria de Firenze, tom. ii. p. 72. This work, valuable for its learning and authenticity, is written by Sig. Giuseppe Bencivenni, a gentleman of Florence, and formerly director of the ducal gallery, known by his other literary labours, on the lives of the most eminent painters, by the life of Dante, and by the learned dissertation on coins, appended to the lives of the followers of Cortona. He arranged the collection of modern coins, that of engravings and of drawings, and the paintings of the ducal gallery; of these, and also of the gems and medals, he has there left manuscript catalogues.

† See that work at p. 232.

the two Melani, who contributed much to his reputation. We shall notice Francesco among the professors of architectural design: Giuseppe, his brother, and a knight of the Golden Spur, became no common artist in figures, and was worthy of painting in the cathedral a large oil-picture of the death of S. Ranieri. Although this piece ranks in the scale of mediocrity in this sanctuary of the arts, it does honour to its author; the invention is good, the perspective regular, and exhibits no marks of carelessness. But his place is among the painters in fresco; in which department he ornamented with figures the architectural works of his brother; and has shewn himself tenacious of the manner of Cortona, both in what is commendable in it, as the perspective, colouring, and harmony; and also where it is less praiseworthy, as in the heaviness and imperfect finish of the figures.

With a similar instance we commence the series of artists of Lucca: the two brothers, Ippolito and Giovanni Marracci, obtained equal applause in different branches of the art; the former was a painter of architecture, the latter of figures; and of him only we shall speak. Although little known beyond Lucca, he is reckoned among the eminent scholars and most successful imitators of Pietro da Cortona; and merits this name, either when he painted in fresco, as in the cupola of S. Ignatius, at S. Giovanni; or when he wrought in oil, as in several pictures in the possession of the brotherhood of S. Lorenzo, in the collegiate church of S. Michael, and in other places. With equal success two other artists, natives of Lucca, educated in his school, became imitators, for a period, of Pier Cortona. These were Giovanni Coli and Filippo Gherardi, who were trained in the school of their native place, and resembled each other no less in style than in disposition; so that though they usually painted in the same piece, all their joint labours appear the work of a single artist. They afterwards adopted a manner that participates of the Venetian and Lombard schools; and painted the vast ceiling of the library of S. Giorgio Maggiore at Venice. Rome possesses some of their stupendous works in the church of the Lucchesi, and in the magnificent Colonna gallery. The most celebrated picture with which they ornamented their native place was the fresco of the tribune of the church of



S. Martin, and next to it that in S. Matthew's, which they decorated with three oil-pictures. After the death of Coli, his companion continued to paint in Lucca: the whole cloister of the Carmelite monastery was painted by him alone.

The manner of Cortona was likewise adhered to by Gio. Batista Brugieri, a scholar of Baldi and of Maratta, highly applauded for his works in the chapel of the Sacrament, at the Servi, and his other productions in public. P. Stefano Cassiani, from the fraternity to which he belonged, surnamed *Il Certosino*, or the Carthusian, painted in fresco the cupola of his church, and two large histories of our Lady, besides other reputable works in the style of Cortona, at the Certosa of Pisa, of Siena, and elsewhere. Girolamo Scaglia, a disciple of Paulini and of Gio. Marracci, is surnamed *Parmegianino*. In architecture he imitated Berrettini, as is remarked by Sig. da Morrona;\* in his shadows he followed Paulini, and approached Ricchi: as a painter his effect was superior to his design; or as it was observed by the Cav. Titi (p. 146) on beholding his picture of the Presentation, painted at Pisa, it exhibits extreme industry and very little taste. Gio. Domenico Campiglia was reckoned among the best designers in Rome; and of him the engravers of antiquities particularly availed themselves. He was not without merit as a painter; and in Florence, where he executed some pictures, his portrait has a place among those of eminent artists. A picture painted by Pietro Sigismondi, of Lucca, for the great altar of S. Nicholas in Arcione at Rome, is honourably mentioned by Titi: I know not whether any of his works remain in his native place; and the same is the case with Massei and with Pini.

I shall close this series with two other artists; and had the age produced many like them, Italian painting would not have declined so much as it has done during the 18th century. Giovanni Domenico Lombardi lived not, like his pupil, Cav. Batoni, within the enlightening precincts of Rome, but in merit he was at least equal to Batoni. He formed his style on the works of Paulini, and improved it by studying the finest colourists at Venice, and by paying attention to the school of Bologna. The genius of this artist, his taste, his

\* Tom. iii. p. 113.

grand and resolute tone, appear in several of his pictures, executed in his best time, and with real pains. Such are his two pieces on the sides of the choir of the Olivetani, which represent their founder, S. Bernard, administering relief to the citizens infected with the plague. There are two others in a chapel of S. Romano, painted with a magic force approaching to the best manner of Guercino; and one of them seems the work of that artist himself. He should always have painted thus; and never have prostituted his pencil to manufacture pieces at all prices. Batoni, who will be noticed in our third book among the Roman masters, supported better his own dignity and that of the art. He adhered in a great measure to the maxims of this school, a circumstance which did not altogether please his first master, who, on examining his early performances, remarked, that they required a greater covering of dirt, for they appeared too trimly neat. One who has not an opportunity of examining his capital works, may satisfy himself in Lucca, either in the church of the Olivetine fathers, where he painted the Martyrdom of S. Bartolommeo; or in that of S. Catherine of Siena, where she is represented receiving the mystic wounds.

The example of Cortona influenced none in the inferior walks of the art, except a few ornamental painters, and some artists who accompanied their figures by landscapes. The painters of landscapes, flowers, &c., continued to follow their original models. Chiavistelli, for instance, has been followed by various artists in fresco, who besides executing figures, exercised, as before remarked, other branches of painting. Pure architectural and ornamental painting in good taste are, however, distinct arts; and to attain excellence in them requires all the faculties of man. Angiol Rossi, of Florence, applied himself to it, as I believe, in Bologna; and assiduously practised it at Venice, as we are informed by Guarienti. Two artists of Lucca, Pietro Scorzini and Bartolommeo Santi, received their education at Bologna, and were the favourite decorators of many theatres. Francesco Melani, of Pisa, adhered strongly to Cortona. As learned in perspective as his brother was in figures, his style was so similar, that no architectural painter was so well suited to accompany the figures of the other. This will be allowed by all who view the ceiling in the church of S. Matthew at Pisa, their finest work, or their

paintings in Siena, and at other places, where they were employed together. They educated a pupil worthy of them, in Tommaso Tommasi. of Pietra Santa, a man of vast conception, who succeeded in Pisato to the commissions bestowed upon his masters, and produced pleasing specimens of his powers in the nave of the church of S. Giovanni. Ippolito Marracci, of Lucca, the scholar of Metelli, appears a successful rival of his master, either when he painted by himself, as in the Rotonda, at Lucca, or when associated with his brother, as was generally the case. Domenico Schianteschi, a disciple of Bibieni, lived in San Sepolcro; his perspectives in that city in the houses of many of the nobility, are much esteemed.

Florence has boasted professed portrait-painters, even to the present time; among whom Gaetano Piattoli is particularly extolled. He was pupil to a French artist, Francesco Riviera, who resided and died at Leghorn, and was very much prized in collections for the excellence of his *Conversazioni* and Turkish ballets. He is well known too, in other countries; for he was employed to take portraits of the foreign nobility who visited Florence. The portrait of himself, which he painted for the ducal gallery, indicates the style of the rest. An illustrious female artist emanated from the school of Gabbiani, although assisted in her studies by other masters, and this was Giovanna Fratellini, who was not without invention, and most expert in portrait-painting. She executed in oil, in crayons, in miniature, and in enamel, various portraits of the family of Cosmo III. and of other princes, to paint whom she was sent by her sovereign to several cities of Italy. That which she painted of herself, is in the ducal gallery: in it she has blended the employment of the artist with the affection of a mother. She is represented taking a likeness of Lorenzo, her only son and pupil, who died in the flower of his age. It is painted in crayons, an art in which she may be called the Rosalba of her time. Domenico Tempesti, or Tempestino, is rather included among engravers than painters; though he was instructed by Volterrano in Florence, in the latter art, and exercised it with credit. He is mentioned by Vianelli in the catalogue of his pictures. It would appear that he was the same Domenico de Marchis, called Tempestino, whom Orlandi casually notices in the article of Girolamo Odam, whom



Domenico had initiated in the elements of landscape painting. Orlandi gives also a separate article, under the head of Domenico Tempesti, in which his voyages through Europe, and his long residence at Rome, are dwelt upon.

Many landscapes, chiefly rural views, painted by Paolo Anesi, are dispersed through Florence, and there are many of them in Rome. Francesco Zuccherelli, a native of Pitigliano, born in the year 1702, was his scholar. He resided a long time at Rome, and first entered the school of Morandi, and afterwards of Pietro Nelli. His intention was to study figures, but by one of those circumstances which discover the natural predilection, he applied himself to painting landscape; and pursued it in a manner that united strength and sweetness; and has been highly extolled over all Europe. His figures were elegant, and these he was sometimes employed to introduce in the landscapes and architectural pieces of other artists. His principal field in Italy was Venice, until the celebrated Smith made him known in England, and invited him to that island, in which he remained many years, exercising his pencil for the court, and for the most considerable collections of pictures. He enjoyed the particular esteem of Count Algarotti; in the possession of whose heirs are two landscapes by Tesi, with figures by Zuccherelli: of the first artist I shall again speak in the school of Bologna. Algarotti was commissioned by the court of Dresden to procure the works of the best modern painters, and suggested to Zuccherelli subjects for two pictures, in which he succeeded admirably, and was employed to repeat them for the king of Prussia. In his old age he returned to Rome, and was employed there, at Venice, and in Florence, where he died in 1788. These anecdotes I obtained, along with many others, from the Sig. Avvocato Lessi, a gentleman deeply versed in the fine arts.

The name of this artist brings to a fair conclusion the series of Florentine painters, which has been continued for little less than six centuries, in an uninterrupted succession of native artists, without the intervention of one foreign master in this school, at least one so eminent as to mark an era. With the exception of the last years, in which art was on the decline throughout Italy, the Florentine school, with all its merit,

undoubtedly very great, owes its progress to native genius. It was not unacquainted with foreign artists, but from them it disdained to borrow; and its masters never adopted any other style on which they did not engraft a peculiarity and originality of manner.

I might write much in praise of masters now living,\* but I propose not to enter on their merits, and leave them wholly to the judgment of posterity. In other arts I indulge a greater latitude, but not frequently. I may add that during the course of six centuries, the artists of Florence have been fortunate in a government most auspicious to the fine arts. The last princes however of the Medicean family had shewn more inclination than activity in patronising them; and the reign of the Emperor Francis I., though distinguished for enterprise,† was nevertheless that of an absent sovereign. The accession of the Grand Duke Peter Leopold to supreme

\* It was necessary to confine myself thus in the preceding edition. In the present we may give free scope to our commendation of Tommaso Gherardini, a Florentine, and pupil to Meucci; and who, having completed his studies in the schools of Venice and Bologna, succeeded admirably in basso-relievo and chiaroscuro. He decorated a large hall in the Medicean gallery in fresco, and painted likewise much in oil for the imperial gallery of Vienna, for German and English gentlemen, and various countries that have ornamented their collections. He shewed, at least for his age, no less skill in fresco histories, which are seen in many Florentine palaces and villas. The best of these are such as he executed in mature age, or at his own suggestion; like his *Parnaso in Toscana*, placed in the Casa Martelli, one of his patrons from his early years; besides others in the noble houses of Ricciardi and Ambra. He died in 1797; the senator Martelli, on the decease of the archbishop his uncle, and that of his father, continued his patronage to the artist, and considers him as one who has reflected the greatest degree of credit on his house. The clients of that family, from the time of Donatello, have been numerous, a taste for the fine arts being hereditary in the family. The master of the academy, Pietro Pedroni, ought not to be here omitted; an oil-painter of merit, whose four pictures, executed subsequent to his studies at Parma and Rome, are an ornament to his native place. Owing to ill health, he produced little during his residence at Florence, which, added to other disappointments, induced him, always the best resource, to travel. If not a rare painter, he was at least an able master; profound in theory, and eloquent in conveying his knowledge to the pupils, of whom history will treat in the ensuing age. Their success, their affection and esteem for Pedroni, is the best eulogy on him which I can transmit to posterity.

† See *Il Saggio Istorico* of Sig. Pelli, towards the conclusion.

power in Tuscany, in 1765, marked a new era in the history of the arts. The palace and royal villas were repaired and embellished; and amid the succession of undertakings that attracted the best artists, painting was continually promoted. The improvement of the ducal gallery was most opportune for it; and afforded new commissions to painters, and new specimens of the art: for the prince ordered all the inferior pieces to be removed from the collection, and their place to be supplied by vast numbers of choice pictures. Fine specimens of antique marbles were likewise added: to him Florence owes the Niobe of Praxiteles,\* the Apollo, and other statues; the basso-relievos, and busts of the Cæsars, which complete the grand series in the corridor: the cabinets of the gallery were then only twelve in number, and they contained a confused assemblage of paintings, statues, bronzes, and drawings, antiquities, and modern productions. He reduced this chaos to order; separated the different kinds, assigned separate apartments to each, made new purchases of what was before wanting, and increased the number of cabinets. This great work, one branch of which he was pleased to commit to my charge,†

\* See *Le Notizie su la Scoltura degli Antichi e i vari suoi Stili*, p. 39. This short tract, illustrative of many marbles in the ducal gallery, is inserted in the third volume of "*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*." It was intended as a preface to a full description of the Museum, which was then in the press, but it was suspended in consequence of the numerous changes and additions made in that place.

† It was the cabinet of antiquities, not then arranged. In each class I have noticed the additions of Leopold. To the busts of the Cæsars I was able to add about forty, some of which had been purchased, and others removed from the royal palaces and villas. See the Description above quoted, p. 34. The collection of heads of philosophers and illustrious men was almost all new. I give an account of it in p. 85. The series of busts of the Medicean family was completed at the same time, and Latin inscriptions were added, which are to be found in various descriptions of the gallery, with some errors, that are not to be attributed to me, but to the printers; and this remark applies to other royal epitaphs, as published in many books. The cabinet of antique bronzes is described in p. 55. For the collection of antique earthenware, see p. 157; of Greek and Latin inscriptions on stones, see p. 81. For the Etruscan and carved cinerary urns, see p. 46. This cabinet I also endeavoured to illustrate in "*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*," &c. published at Rome, in 1789. For the cabinet of antique medals, arranged by the celebrated Sig. Ab. Eckell, see p. 101; the others, arranged by Sig. Pelli, are mentioned a little before.



was worthy of record. I laid it before the public in 1782, in a memoir, which was inserted also in the forty-seventh volume of the *Journal of Pisa*. Whoever compares this book with the *Description of the Gallery*, published in 1759, by Bianchi, will clearly perceive that Leopold was rather a second founder than a restorer of that emporium of the fine arts : so different is the arrangement, so remarkable are the additions to the building, to its ornaments, and to the articles it contains.\* I have been diffuse in my description of the antiquities which appeared to me deserving of more particular elucidation ; of the pictures I merely indicated the artist and the subject. Since that period, other descriptions of the gallery, by very able writers, have been given to the public, in which my nomenclature and expositions of the antiquities have been adopted ; but a fuller and better catalogue of the paintings is given on the plan of that of the imperial cabinet of Vienna, and similar works.

Ferdinand III., who now for five years has promoted the welfare of Tuscany, succeeded no less to the throne of his august father, than to the protection of the fine arts. The new buildings already completed, as the right wing of the Pitti palace, or now begun, as the vestibule of the Laurentian library, which is to be finished upon a design of Michelangelo, are matters foreign to my subject. Not so, however, are the additions made by the prince to the gallery and the academy of design. To the first he has added a vast number of prints and pictures of those schools in which it was formerly deficient ; and the gallery is enriched by a collection of Venetian, and another of French masters, which are separately arranged in two cabinets.† The academy, since 1785, had been as it

\* After the departure of the prince, his bust in marble was erected, and beneath it the following inscription, of which he was pleased to approve :

PETRVS. LEOPOLBVS. FRANCISCI. AVG. F. AVSTRIACVS. M. D. E.  
AD. VBBIS. SVAE. DECVS. ET. AD. INCREMENTVM. ARTIVM. OPTIMARVM  
MVSEVM. MEDICEVM  
OPERIBVS. AMPLIATIS. COPISQVE. AVCTIS  
ORDINANDVM. ET. SPLENDIDIORE. CVLTV. EXORNANDVM. CVRAVIT  
ANNO. M.DCC.LXXXIX.

† He employed in this work the highly-esteemed Sig. Cav. Puccini, from whom I understand, that almost a third of the pictures now in the

were, created anew by his father; had obtained a new and magnificent edifice, new masters, and new regulations, circumstances already well known over Europe, and here unnecessary to be repeated. This institution, which required improvement in some particulars, has been at length completed, and its apartments and its splendour augmented by the son, seconded by the superintendence of those accomplished connoisseurs, the Marchese Gerini, the Prior Rucellai, and the Senator Alessandri. To the artists in every branch of the fine arts which were before in Florence, he has recently added the engraver Sig. Morghen, an ornament to the city and the state. The obligations of the fine arts to Ferdinand III. are eloquently stated by Sig. Cav. Puccini, a nobleman of Pistoia, and superintendent of the ducal gallery, in an oration on the arts, pronounced not long ago in this academy, of which he is the respected secretary, and since published, accompanied by engravings.\*

gallery were placed there by the munificence of Ferdinand. Sig. Puccini has arranged them in a manner so symmetrical and instructive, as to form a model for all other collections.

\* In 1801 Lodovico I. began his reign in Tuscany. Dying shortly after, he was succeeded by the infant Carlo I., under the regency of the queen-mother Maria Louisa. From this period the arts have experienced new patronage and encouragement. The very copious and select Salvetti library has been appropriated for the use of the academy; a noble example to all parts of Italy, possessing similar institutions. A new improvement also here made, is the reunion in one place of masters in scagliola, and mosaic-work, gems, and the restoring of pictures, an occupation recently introduced; and in place of a master, who formerly presided, a director, with greater authority and emolument, has been appointed. Sig. Pietro Benvenuti, whom I dare not venture to commend as he deserves, for he is still living, was selected for this charge. The addition of casts also by our new rulers is of great utility, in particular those from the works of the celebrated Canova, who has been requested to produce a new statue of Venus, on the model of the Medicean, lost to us by the chance of war. The honour conferred by the queen regent upon the arts deserves likewise a place in history, who, in the meeting of the academy, held in 1803, Sig. Alessandri being president, distributed rewards to the young students, and encouraged them to do well. It was upon this occasion that the same Cavaliere Puccini, secretary to the institution, delivered another excellent discourse, intended to prove that the pursuit of the fine arts forms one of the most expeditious and least perilous paths to human glory;—a discourse that, equally for the credit of the writer and of the fine arts, was given to the world at Florence, in the year 1804.

## BOOK II.

## SIENESE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH I.

## The old Masters.

THE Sienese is the lively school of a lively people; and is so agreeable in the selection of the colours and the air of the heads, that foreigners are captivated, and sometimes even prefer it to the Florentine. But this gaiety of style forms not the only reason of this preference; there is another, which few have attended to, and none have ever brought forward. The choicest productions of the painters of Siena are all in the churches of that place; and he who wishes to become acquainted with the school, after having seen these, need not be very solicitous to visit the private collections, which are numerous and well filled. In Florence it is otherwise: no picture of Vinci, of Bonarruoti, of Rosso, is to be seen in public; none of the finest productions of Andrea, or of Frate, and few of any other master who has best supported the credit of the school. Many of the churches abound in pictures of the third and fifth epochs; which are certainly respectable, but do not excite astonishment, like the works of the Razzi, the Vanni, and other first-rate artists, everywhere to be met with in Siena. They are, moreover, two different schools, and ought not to be confounded together in any work of art; possessing, for a long period of time, different governments, other heads of schools, other styles, and not affected by the same changes. A comparison between the two schools is drawn by P. della Valle,\* whom we have mentioned, and

\* See Lettere Sanesi, tom. ii. let. 23, addressed to the author of this work.



shall afterwards mention with respect ; and his opinion appears to be, that the Florentine is most philosophical, the Sienese the most poetical. He remarks on this head, that the school of Siena, from its very beginning, displays a peculiar talent for invention ; animating with lively and novel images the stories it represents, filling them with allegory, and forming them into spirited and well-constructed poetic compositions. This originates in the elevated and fervid genius of the people, that no less aids the painter, whose poetry is addressed to the eye, than the bard who yields it to the ear. In the latter, and also in extemporary poets, the city abounds, and still maintains in public estimation those laurels which, after Petrarca and Tasso, her Perfetti won in the capital. He likewise observes, that those artists particularly attended to expression. Nor was this difficult, in a city so adverse to dissimulation as Siena, whose natural disposition and education have adapted the tongue and countenance to express the emotions of the heart. This vivacity of genius has perhaps prevented their attaining perfection in design, which is not the great attribute of those masters, as it is reckoned of the Florentines. To sum up all, the character of the school of Siena is not so original as that of some others ; and we shall find, during its best period, that some of its artists distinctly imitated the style of other painters. With regard to the number of its artists, Siena has been prolific in the proportion of its population ; its artists were numerous while it had many citizens, but on the decrease of the latter, its professors of the fine arts also diminished, until every trace of a school was lost.

The accounts of the early painters of Siena are rather confused during the three first centuries, by the plurality of the Guidi, the Mini, the Lippi, the Vanni (abbreviations of Giacomo, Filippo, Giovanni), and such sort of proper names as are used without a surname ; hence it is not sufficient to peruse only such accounts, we must reflect on them and compare them. They are scattered in many historians of the city, especially in Ugurgieri, who was pleased to entitle his work, "*Le Pompe Sanesi*," in the Diary of Girolamo Gigli ; and in several works of the indefatigable Cav. Gio. Pecci, whom we have before noticed. Many manuscripts, rich in anec-

dotes of painting, still remain in the libraries : of this number are the histories of Sigismondo Tizio, of Castiglione, who lived at Siena from 1482 to 1528 ; "The Cathedral of Siena," minutely described by Alfonzo Landi ; the "Treatise on Old Paintings," of Giulio Mancini ; and some "Memoirs" of Uberto Benvoglianti, whom Muratori denominates "*diligentissimus rerum suæ patriæ investigator.*" From these, and other sources,\* P. della Valle has drawn what is contained in the "*Lettere Sanesi,*" and repeated in the notes on Vasari concerning the school of Siena. By the work of Della Valle it has acquired a celebrity to which it has long been entitled. I take him for my guide in the documents and anecdotes which he has given to the public ;† in the older authorities I follow Vasari and Baldinucci in many circumstances, but dissent from them in others ; and, hostile to error, and anxious for the truth, I shall pursue the same plan with regard to the historians of the school of Siena. I shall omit many names of old masters, of whom no works now remain, and here and there shall add a few modern artists who have come to my knowledge, by the examination of pictures, or by the perusal of books.

The origin of the Sienese school is deduced either from the crusades in the east, whence some Grecian painter had been brought to Siena : or from Pisa, which, as we have seen, had its first artists from Greece. On such a question every one may judge for himself ; to me, the data necessary for resolving it appear to be wanting. I know that Italy was never destitute of painters, and artists who wrought in miniature ; that from such, without any Grecian aid or example, some Italian schools took their origin. Siena must have had them in the twelfth century. The "*Ordo officiorum Senensis Ecclesiæ,*" which is preserved in the library of the academy at Florence, was written in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and exhibits initial letters, surrounded with illumina-

\* See Lett. Sen. tom. ii. p. 23, et sequent.

† In regard to these documents the public is much indebted to the Abate Ciaccheri, the learned librarian of the city, who employed himself for many years in collecting them ; but his eyes failing him, it became necessary that others should publish them ; the excellent historian has frequently made mention of him.

tions of little stories, and ornaments of animals. They are painted in vermilion, in a very hard and meagre style; but they are valuable on account of their era, 1213, in which they were executed by Oderico Canonico, of Siena.\* Similar books were ornamented by the same painter in the parchment of the leaves, and painted on the covers without;† and afford a proof that thus the art of ornamenting with miniatures might lead to large compositions. All, however, more or less, savour of the Greek design; either because the Italians were originally disciples of the Greeks, dispersed over Italy, or because they regarded the Grecian masters as models, and ventured not to attempt much beyond them.

The most ancient pictures in the city, the Madonna of the Graces, the Madonna of Tressa, the Madonna of Bethlehem, a S. Peter, in the church dedicated to that saint; and a S. John the Baptist, surrounded by many small historical representations, at S. Petronilla, are believed to be older than 1200; but it is by no means clear that they are the works of Italians, though often believed such from their initial characters, plaster, and design. On the two last the names of the saints near the figures are in Latin characters; a circumstance, however, which does not prove an Italian painter. On the mosaic-works at Venice, on the Madonna of Camerino, brought from Smyrna,‡ and on other pictures executed by the Greeks for Italian cities, ignorant of their language, they wrote, or got others to write, inscriptions in Latin; and they did the same on statues.§ The method of painting on

\* The work was published by Trombelli, at Bologna, in 1766.—Della Valle, tom. i. p. 278. What he adds, that this very Oderico may be the Oderigi da Gubbio, noticed by Dante in the xith canto of his *Purgatorio*, ought not to be admitted. Dante might, for the sake of rhyme, change Oderico into Oderigi; but he has said, in the middle of the verse, that the celebrated miniature-painter was a native of Gubbio. Moreover, the latter, who died about 1300, could not have painted in 1213.

† See Della Valle, tom. ii. p. 273.

‡ This is an Annunciation, with the following verse:

*Virgo parit Christum velut Angelus intimat ipso.*

The error in the last word stands on the picture.

§ Hard by the cathedral of that city there are two lions, on one of which, in a mixture of Greek and Latin characters, is written,

*Mahister Theude fecit (fecit) & fevit fieri ambos istos.*



gilt plaster, which we observe in some old pictures, decidedly Italian, is no argument; for I have several times observed a similar practice in what was unquestionably the work of a Greek artist. The drawing of the features in those pictures, the grimness of the aspect, and the composition of the stories, all accord with the productions of the Greeks. They may, therefore, have been painted by Greek artists, or by a scholar, or, at least, by an imitator of the Greeks. Who, then, can determine whence the artist came, whether he was a restorer of painting, and whether he executed those paintings at Siena, or sent them from some other place? This is certain, that painting quickly established itself at Siena, sent out roots, and rapidly multiplied its blossoms.

The series of painters known by name commences with Guido or Guidone, already noticed in the beginning of this volume. He flourished before Cimabue of Florence saw the light; and seems to have been at the same time an illuminator of manuscripts and a painter. The writers of Siena have declaimed against Vasari and Baldinucci for omitting this artist; notices of whom could not have escaped the former, who was many times at Siena, nor the latter, who was made acquainted with them before the publication of his "Decennali." Cav. Marmi, a learned and celebrated Florentine, thus notices the omission in one of his letters.\* "Baldinucci laboured to make us credit the restoration of painting by Cimabue and Giotto; and to give stability to his hypothesis, it is probable that he omitted to make any mention of the painters who, independent of the two just named, departed from the raw and feeble manner of the Greeks." And Guido certainly left it not a little behind, in his picture of the Virgin, now hung up in the Malevolti chapel, in the church of S. Domenico. On it he has thus inscribed his name and the date:

"Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amenis  
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit agere poenis."

An. 1221.

And this example was often followed by the masters of this school, to the great benefit of the history of painting. The

\* See Lettere Sanesi, tom. i. p. 243.

countenance of the Virgin is lovely, and participates not in the stern aspect that is characteristic of the Greeks; we may discover some trace of a new style in the drapery. The Madonnas of Cimabue, which are at Florence, the one in the church of the Trinity, the other in S. Maria Novella, are not, however, inferior. In them we may discern the improvement of the art; a more vivid colouring, flesh-tints more true, a more natural attitude of the head of the infant, while the accompaniments of the throne, and of the glory of angels, proclaim a superior style.

On this subject I make two remarks, in which I widely dissent from the opinion of the author of the *Sieneſe Letters*, without committing any breach of our long-established friendship. The one is, that to prove Guido superior to Cimabue, he frequently compares the Madonna of S. Domenico, which is the only one of his pictures which he mentions,\* with the paintings of Cimabue, which are numerous, and full of subject; and without setting any value on the colouring, the fertility of invention, and the various other qualities in which the Florentine surpassed the artist of Siena, he dwells on certain little particulars, in which it appears that Guido was superior. An artist of whom it is not known that he ever attempted any picture but Madonnas, might become more or less perfect in this subject; but painting is not so much indebted to him, as to one who has carried it to the higher walks of the art; a merit which Marco of Siena, a writer not inclined to favour the Florentines, denies not to Cimabue, as we shall find in the fourth book. The other circumstance alluded to is, that when he mentions a picture which does honour to the fame of Cimabue, he attempts to discredit its history, and the tradition; as I have already observed with regard to the two large pictures in the church of Assisi, and am now under the necessity of remarking with regard to the two Madonnas at Florence above mentioned. He “strongly suspects”† them to be the work of Mino da Turrita, since mosaic, in which Mino was expert, is there represented by a skilful hand; and Cimabue was not dexterous in that art; as if a painter could not represent buildings without being an archi-

\* Tom. ii. p. 15.

† P. 288.

fect, or garments without knowing how to cut them out, or drapery without being versed in the art of weaving. He even doubts whether Giotto visited France, for, had this been the case, he, and not Simone da Siena, would have painted the portrait of Laura; as if history did not inform us that Giotto visited that country about 1316, long before the period when Petrarca first became enamoured of that beauty. He has introduced some other speculations, which he would not have admitted, had he not been betrayed into it, almost involuntarily, by a system which has some probable foundation, but is carried to an extravagant length. I should have been silent on this subject; but when writing of these artists it became me to recollect that the *unicuique suum* was no less the duty of the historian than the judge.

The authors of chronicles require correction on the era of this painter. The most undoubted picture of Guido is that bearing the date 1221, for the other in the church of S. Bernardino, dated 1262, is ascribed to him without sufficient evidence. It is hardly probable that he who was so eminent in a new art in 1221, was still alive in 1295, as is affirmed by some,\* on the faith of a sum of money paid to one Guido, a painter. The celebrated Guido must then have been at least 105 years of age: it is more probable that he was dead, and the name applied to another Guido, without any danger of a mistake.

It is generally believed that the elder Guido instructed F. Mino, or Giacomino da Turrita, the celebrated artist in mosaic, of whom we have spoken in the first book. On the era of Mino also much has been written without sufficient authority. Baldinucci says he died about 1300; and omits to mention in his Life that he was employed in 1225; although this date is legible on the mosaic of Mino in the church of S. Giovanni at Florence, in letters a cubit in length.† This circumstance has likewise escaped the historians of Siena, some of whom have prolonged his life to the year 1298, on

\* See Lett. Sen. tom. ii. p. 276.

† "Vigintiquinque Christicum mille ducentis," &c.—Vide Piacenza, tom. i. p. 70. Baldinucci was extremely diligent in his research of epochs; but he took care not to mention this, inasmuch as it overturned his system.



the authority of payment made to Minuccio, a painter; and others have extended it to about 1200, on account of the tomb of Boniface VIII., which is said to be the work of Turrita. The utmost period that can be granted them is about 1290; for Titi observes, in his *Description of the Paintings in Rome*, that Mino finished the mosaic of S. Maria Maggiore in 1289, and died, after beginning another in S. Giovanni Laterano, which was completed by Gaddo Gaddi in 1292. This renders it extremely doubtful that F. Mino was taught painting by Guido, that he imparted it not only to Giotto, whom, for other reasons, we have excluded from his school, but to the Sienese artists, Memmi and Lorenzetti,\* and even that he was a painter; all which is founded on the following memorandum, under the year 1289, in a manuscript in the library of Siena: "Paid on the twelfth day of August, nineteen lire to Master Mino, the painter, who painted the Virgin Mary, and other SS. in the council-room of the public palace, the balance, &c."

He who is here denominated *Maestro Mino*, not Fra Mino; who is sometimes called Minuccio, a diminutive not fitted for an old monk, and appears to have been employed in Siena when Fra Mino was at Rome, is another artist. Thus we discover another eminent painter of the name of Mino, or Minuccio, who seems to be in reality the author of the picture of 1289, above alluded to, which remained in the council-hall even within my memory, and of others, down to 1298. He there represented the Virgin and Child, surrounded by angels, and under a canopy, supported by apostles and the patron saints of the city. The size of the figures, the invention and the distribution of the work, are surprising for that age; of the other qualities one cannot speak with certainty; for it was repaired in 1321 by Simone da Siena, and there are beauties in the features and the drapery that can be ascribed only to the restorer. The mistake thus occasioned by

\* History only gives him some assistants in mosaic; at Pisa, Tafi and Gaddo Gaddi; at Rome, in S. Maria Maggiore, a Franciscan monk, who there executed a portrait of himself, and inscribed his name, that is now illegible, and his native place, which was Camerino. One F. Giacomo da Camerino painted in the cathedral of Orvieto in 1321, and it is probable that this is the same artist.

the same name being cleared up, the system of the learned author of the *Lettere Sanesi*, is in part confirmed, and in part falls to the ground. He is right in refusing to Giotto certain Sieneſe pupils, referred to him only from traces of a more modern ſtyle ; for we here diſcover an artiſt who made ſome advances towards the new manner even previous to Giotto, who, in 1289, was only thirteen years of age. Now this Mino, and Duccio, of whom we ſhall ſoon treat, might certainly have formed pupils able to compete with the ſchool of Giotto, and even in length of years to ſurpaſs Giotto himſelf. There is no reaſon, however, to prefer the Sieneſe painters to Cimabue, on the ſtrength of this painting, as the author in queſtion has ſo often done. Compariſon ought to be employed between painter and painter, between contemporary and contemporary. F. Mino, to whom this ſingle picture was attributed, is now ſhewn to have been merely a moſaic-worker : Mino or Minuccio began to be known when Cimabue was fifty years of age ; and is the author of a ſingle work, not ſo free from retouches, nor ſo large as that of Aſſiſi, already deſcribed. The compariſon then is not juſt.

Every ſchool thinks itſelf ſufficiently honoured when it can produce two or three painters of the thirteenth century : the ſchool of Siena is peculiarly rich in them, and theſe are recorded in the twenty-fifth letter “ On the diſciples of Guido.” As uſual I ſhall omit the names of thoſe leaſt entitled to recollection. I will not affirm that all of them proceeded from the ſchool of Guido ; for in a city where the fine arts flouriſhed ſo rapidly, maſters unknown to us may have been produced. Much leſs will I aſcribe artiſts of other cities to this ſchool. In the manuſcripts of Mancini, one Bonaventuri da Lucca is mentioned, who is the Berlingieri already mentioned.\* I neither aſſign him to Guido nor to Giunta. Who can tell whether Lucca had not alſo in thoſe early times an original ſchool, now unknown to us ? Setting aſide uncertain points, therefore, we can only aſſert, that after the middle of the century, Siena abounded in painters, more, perhaps, than any other city of Italy : and the cauſes of this are as follows.

The cathedral was begun ſeveral years before, in a ſtyle of

\* See ante, p. 37.

magnificence suited to the lordly views of the citizens. It was not a work to be completed in a short time : hence it was frequently interrupted, and a long period had elapsed before it was finished. During this time many architects (*magistri lapidum*) and sculptors either were invited from other places, or were reared up in the city ; and in 1250 they formed a corporate body, and required particular laws.\* Although nothing is ascertained with regard to their mode of study, it is natural to suppose that the study of sculpture contributed to the advancement of painting, a sister art. The celebrated battle of Monte Aperto, in which the people of Siena defeated the Florentines, happened in 1260. This victory produced an era of peace and opulence to the city, and encouraged both in public and in private the arts depending on luxury. The victory was ascribed to the interference of the blessed Virgin Mary, to whom the city was consecrated ; the adoration of her votaries increased, and her images were multiplied in the streets, and in all other places ; and thence painting obtained fresh encouragement and new followers.

Ugolino da Siena should be referred to this era ; he died decrepit in 1339, and consequently might have been born before 1260. We cannot agree with Vasari, who insinuates that he was the scholar of Cimabue ; nor with Baldinucci, who ingrafts him on his *tree* ; nor yet with others who assert that he was the pupil of Guido ; for the latter must have been dead when Ugolino was very young. That he was educated in Siena, seems to me highly probable, from the number of masters then in that city, and because the colouring of his Madonna of Orsanmichele at Florence is in the style of the old school of Siena ; less strong and less true than that of Cimabue and the Florentines. This fact appears to me of importance, for it depends on the mechanism of the art, which was different in different schools. Design at that early period savoured more or less of the Greeks ; and in this respect Ugolino adhered to them too closely. “ He painted pictures and chapels over all Italy,” says Vasari ; and, if I am not mistaken, he came to Florence after his travels, and at length died at Siena.

\* See Lett. Sen. p. 279.



Duccio di Boninsegna is another master of this age, of whom I shall speak in another place, as the inventor of a new species of painting. Tizio says he was the pupil of Segna, an artist now almost unknown in Siena. He must, however, have enjoyed great celebrity in his day among his country men; for Tizio informs us that he painted a picture at Arezzo, containing a figure which he pronounces excellent and highly esteemed. He has transmitted to us the following remarkable testimony concerning Duccio: "*Ducius Senensis inter ejusdem opificii artifices eâ tempestate primarius; ex ejus officinâ veluti ex equo Trojano pictores egregii prodierunt.*"

The *eâ tempestate* refers to 1311, when Giotto was at Avignon; and when Duccio was employed on the picture that still exists in the opera-house, which was completed in three years, and almost forms an era in the art. It was large enough to have formed a picture for the great altar of the metropolitan church for which it was intended. On the side facing the people he painted large figures of the Virgin, and of various saints; on that fronting the choir he represented scriptural subjects, in many compartments, in which he introduced a vast number of figures a palm in length. Pius II. relates in his Annals of Siena, which were never published, that it cost 2,000 florins; others raise it to 3,000; but not so much on account of the workmanship as the profusion of gold and ultra-marine. The style is generally thought to approach the Greek manner; the work, however, is the most copious in figures, and among the best-executed productions of that age. Duccio was employed in many parts of Tuscany, and in the church of the Trinity at Florence he painted an Annunciation which, in the opinion of Baldinucci, "leaves no doubt that he was a scholar of Giotto, or of his disciples." But this will not be granted or believed by those who have seen it; for both the colouring and the style are totally dissimilar. Chronology, too, opposes the conclusion; unless we introduce here also a confusion, arising from artists with similar names: Duccio painted from 1282,\* and died about 1340.†

The history becomes more complete when we arrive at the celebrated Simone Memmi, or Simone di Mar-

\* Lett. Sen. tom. i. p. 277.

† Ibid. tom. ii. p. 69.

tino,\* the painter of Laura, and the friend of Petrarca, who has celebrated him in two sonnets that will hand him down to the latest posterity. The poet has also eulogized him in his letters, where he thus speaks: “duos ego novi pictores egregios. . . Joctum Florentinum civem, cujus inter modernos fama ingens est, et Simonem Senensem;” which is not, however, comparing him to Giotto, to whom he pays a double compliment, but it is giving Memmi the next rank. In such a convenient place the poet would not, in my opinion, have omitted *Jocti discipulum*, had he been acquainted with such a circumstance: but he appears to have no knowledge of it; and this renders it doubtful whether Simone was the pupil of Giotto at Rome, notwithstanding the assertion of Vasari, who adds that the latter was then engaged in the mosaic of the *Navicella*. The writers of Siena contradict him with good reason; for in 1298 Simone was only fourteen years of age.† They reckon him the scholar of their Mino, and certainly he derived much from the large fresco before noticed: but as he retouched it himself, we cannot put much faith on the resemblance. His colouring is more vivid than that of the followers of Giotto, and in floridness it seems a prelude to Baroccio. But if he was not the scholar of Giotto, he may have assisted him in some of his works, or, perhaps, studied him closely, as many eminent painters have often done with the best masters. This may account for his imitating

\* Martino was the father of Simone; Memmo or Guglielmo his father-in-law: and in the inscriptions on his pictures he sometimes assumes the one name, and sometimes the other.—Benvoglianti.

† I conjecture this on the authority of Vasari, who says, that he died in 1345, at the age of 60. In the genuine books at S. Domenico, of Siena, we find this sentence “Magister Simon Martini pictor mortuus est in curiâ; cujus exequias fecimus . . 1344.” Since Vasari approaches so near the truth in the time of the painter’s death, we may reasonably credit him also in his age. Mancini says he was born about 1270; which gives occasion for P. della Valle to mention Simone as a contemporary, and a competitor of Giotto at Rome. I cannot agree with him on this date, and the information drawn by him from books belonging to the Sienese hospital, that Simone was in Siena in 1344, only a few months before his death, at the court of the Pope at Avignon, strengthens my opinion. I cannot believe that an old man of seventy-four would transfer his residence from Siena to Avignon. If we credit Vasari, the difficulty vanishes, inasmuch as Simone, being then scarcely sixty, might be equal to undertake so long a journey.

Giotto so admirably in S. Peter's at Rome ; a merit which procured him an invitation to the papal court at Avignon, where he died. The picture of the Vatican has perished ; but some of his other works still exist in Italy ; and they are not so numerous at Siena as in Pisa and Florence. In the Campo Santo of Pisa we find various actions of S. Ranieri, and the celebrated Assumption of the Virgin, amid a choir of angels, who seem actually floating in the air, and celebrating the triumph. Memmi was excellent in this species of composition, as I believe, from the numerous pictures of this subject which he painted at Siena, where there is one at the church of S. John, which is more copious but not more beautiful than that at Pisa. Some of his larger works may be seen in the chapter-house of the Spanish Friars at Florence ; several histories of Christ, of S. Domenico, and of S. Peter Martyr ; and there the Order of the Preaching Friars are poetically represented as engaged in the service of the church, in rejecting innovators, and in luring souls to paradise. Vasari, to whom the inventions of Memmi appear "not those of a master of that age, but of a most excellent modern artist," especially praises the last : and, indeed, it might be supposed that it was suggested by Petrarch, did not a comparison of dates refute such an idea. The picture was painted in 1332, and Simone went not to France till 1336 ; what is said about the portrait of Laura in the chapter-house is a mere fable. Taddeo Gaddi, an undoubted pupil of the improved and dignified school of Giotto, was there his competitor, and as far surpassed Memmi in the qualities of that school, as he was excelled by the latter in spirit, in variety of the heads and attitudes, in fancy of the draperies, and in originality of composition. Simone paved the way to more complex pictures, and extended them over a whole façade, so as to be taken in at one glance of the eye ; whereas Giotto used to divide a large surface into many compartments, in each of which he painted an historical picture.

Although I do not usually dwell on miniature painting, I cannot resist mentioning one which is to be seen in the Ambrosian library at Milan, which appears to me a singular production. In that place, there is a manuscript of Virgil, with the commentary of Servius, which formerly belonged to Pe-



trarea. In the frontispiece is a miniature that is reasonably conjectured to have been suggested to Simone by the poet, who has subjoined the following verses :

" Mantua Virgilium qui talia carmina finxit,  
Sena tulit Simonem digito qui talia pinxit."

The artist has represented Virgil sitting in the attitude of writing, and with his eyes raised to heaven, invoking the favour of the Muses. Æneas is before him in the garb and with the demeanour of a warrior, and, pointing with his sword, intimates the subject of the Æneid. The *Bucolics* are represented by a shepherd, and the *Georgics* by a husbandman ; both of whom are on a lower foreground of the piece, and appear listening to the strain. Servius, in the mean time, appears drawing aside a veil of great delicacy and transparency, to intimate that his readings unveil what would otherwise have remained obscure and doubtful to the reader of that divine poet. An account of this picture is contained in a letter of the secretary Ab. Carlo Bianconi,\* where the author praises the originality of the idea, the colouring and harmony of the picture, the propriety and variety in the costume according with the subject. He also remarks a little rudeness in the design, more of truth than of beauty in the heads, and the largeness of the hands ; that usually, indeed, were the characteristics of every school at this period.

Simone had a relation named Lippo Memmi, whom he himself instructed in the art. Although he was not equal in genius to Simone, he succeeded admirably in imitating his manner, and, aided by his designs, produced pictures that might have passed for the work of the former, had he not inscribed them with his name. When he wrought without such assistance, there is a manifest mediocrity in his invention and design ; but he is still a good colourist. A picture executed by them both is preserved in S. Ansano di Castelveccchio of Siena.† In Ancona, Assisi, and other places, pictures existed

\* See Lett. Senesi, tom. ii. p. 101.

† There is on it " A. D. 1333, Simon Martini et Lippus Memmi de Senis me pinxerunt." It is now in the ducal gallery at Florence. It may be remarked on the chronology of this painter, that where we find not Memmi but only Lippo or Filippo, it does not always seem intended for him. Thus the M. Filippo, who received a sum of money in 1308,

that were begun by the former, and finished by the latter. There is a picture wholly the work of Lippo in Siena; and the author of the Description of Pisa records one at the church of S. Paul in that place, which is not without merit. In my first edition, implicitly following the writers of chronicles, I mentioned a Cecco di Martino as the brother of Simone. But on considering that he flourished about 1380, and that there was a less celebrated Simon Martino, in Siena, about 1350, mentioned by Cittadini, I do not judge it right to follow their authority.

An artist named Lorenzo, and familiarly Lorenzetto, was the father of another family of painters: he had a son named Ambrogio, who is surnamed Lorenzetti by historians. A large picture by this artist, on which he subscribes himself *Ambrosius Laurentii*, is to be seen in the public palace, and may be designated a poem of moral precepts. The vices of a bad government are there represented under different aspects, and with appropriate symbols; accompanied by verses explanatory of their nature and consequences. The Virtues, too, are there personified with suitable emblems: and the whole is adapted to form governors and politicians for the republic, animated by the spirit of genuine patriotism alone. Had there been a greater variety in the countenances of the figures, and a superior arrangement in the piece, it would have been little inferior to the finest pictures in the Campo Santo of Pisa. Siena possesses many of his frescos and large pictures; but they are not so surprising as his smaller works, in which he appears as the forerunner of B. Angelico, whom we have commended in another place. I have observed nothing similar in his contemporaries; and it possesses a nationality of character that prevents his being confounded with the followers of Giotto: the ideas, the colouring, and the draperies, are wholly different. In a similar taste is a picture in the possession of Sig. Abate Ciaccheri, librarian to the university of Siena, where Ambrogio painted some very original works, in which he far surpassed the Orcagni. His

and that Lippo, who in 1361, is said to be the assistant of another artist (Lett. Sen. tom. ii. p. 110), most probably are not to be identified with Memmi. He was younger than his relation, and, according to Vasari, survived him fourteen years.

style was admired in Florence; where, to please his friends, who were desirous of seeing a specimen of his art, he painted several pieces from the life of S. Nicholas, in the church of S. Proculus, that were afterwards transferred to the abbey.

Another son of Lorenzo was called Pietro, and, in conjunction with his brother, painted the Presentation, and Nuptials of Our Lady, in the hospital of Siena, on which the following inscription was legible: *Hoc opus fecit Petrus Laurentii et Ambrosius ejus frater*, 1335. The inscription is preserved by Cav. Pecci, who in 1720, when the painting was destroyed, transcribed it most opportunely for correcting Vasari, who had read *Petrus Laurati* instead of *Laurentii* in another inscription; from which he concluded this artist not to be the brother of Ambrogio; and from some similarity between his style and that of Giotto, had concluded that he was the disciple of the latter: but it is highly improbable that with such a father and with such a brother, Pietro would have gone from home for instruction. Vasari gives, however, a most favourable opinion of this illustrious Sieneſe, which may suffice to vindicate his impartiality. He ſays of one of his pictures, “that it was executed with a better design and in a ſuperior manner to any thing that Tuscany had then ſeen;” and in another place he asserts, that Pietro “became a better master than either Cimabue or Giotto.” What could he have ſaid further? might it have been asserted that he was, if not the diſciple of Giotto, at least his fellow-ſtudent in the ſchool of F. Mino? (Vasari, tom. ii. p. 78, ed. Sen.) But granting that Giotto was not his master, how are we to believe him his fellow-ſtudent? The firſt pictures of Giotto are traced to 1295; thoſe of Pietro to 1327. And where, when, or to whom did F. Mino teach painting? Pietro’s hiſtorical picture of the Fathers dell’ Eremo remains in the Campo Santo of Piſa, where, in conformity with eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, he has painted the various diſcipline of thoſe recluses. This picture, if I am not miſtaken, is richer in ideas, more original, and better conceived than any one in that place. In the ducal gallery there is a copy of this picture, if not a duplicate by the artiſt himſelf: the taſte of the colouring certainly belongs not to the Florentine, but to the Sieneſe ſchool, of that period.



After painting had attained so high a degree of excellence in Siena, it was liable to decline, both from the usual lot of the most auspicious eras, in which an age of servile imitation, and of hurried execution, generally succeeds, and also from the terrible plague which, in 1348, desolated Italy and Europe; sweeping off distinguished masters and pupils in every school. Siena, however, did not lose her Lorenzetti, who constituted her ornament for several years; but if her population at one time equalled 75,000, it was afterwards greatly diminished. She could, however, still vie in the number of her artists with Florence itself. This clearly appears from "The Statutes of the Painters of Siena,"\* published by P. della Valle, in his first volume, letter sixteen. They are drawn up with the characteristic simplicity, clearness, and precision of the thirteenth century; and are a very admirable body of regulations for the due propriety and direction of artists, and for the honour of the art. We can discern that this society consisted of cultivated and well-educated persons; and it does not excite astonishment to find that, democratic in government as Siena then was, the highest magistrates of the republic were sometimes elected from among the professors of the art. They formed a body corporate; not merely a fraternity, nor an academy of design; and received their charter, not from the bishop, but from the city, or the republic, in 1355. Some have conjectured that those statutes are as old as the preceding century; and that they were translated into Italian from the Latin about 1291: for Tizio informs us that, in this year, "*Statuta maternâ linguâ edita sunt ad ambiguitates tollendas.*" But Tizio must have meant the statutes concerning wool, and others then existing; and those of the artists may have been framed at a subsequent period. Indeed, the manner in which they are drawn up, without a reference to preceding ordinances, indicates a first edition. If there were statutes published in the vulgar tongue in 1291, why was the sanction of the law deferred for 66 years? or why are the new not distinguished from the old, as is usual in similar codes?

\* Statuti dell' arte de' Pittori Senesi.

In the code to which I refer, the names of a great number of artists are inscribed, who lived after 1350 and at the beginning of the next century. With the exception of a few who merit some consideration, I shall pass them over in silence as I did in the Florentine school. I find among them Andrea di Guido,\* Giacomo di Frate Mino, and Galgano di Maestro Minuccio; and I bring these forward to confirm what I have before observed, that painters of the same name have introduced confusion into the history of this school. I also find there N. Tedesco, Vannino da Perugia, Lazzaro da Orvieto, Niccolò da Norcia, Antonio da Pistoia, and other foreign artists: thence I infer that Siena, like a university for painting, had furnished masters to various cities of Italy, and other countries. We here meet with some painters of whom there still remains some trace in history, or in the inscriptions on pictures. Martino di Bartolommeo is the artist who, in 1405, painted the Translation of the Body of S. Crescentius at the cathedral, and of whom a still better picture remains at S. Antonio Abate. His family name brings to mind Bartolommeo Bolonghino, or Bolgarino, mentioned by Vasari as the best pupil of Pietro Laurati, and the painter of some excellent pictures in Siena, and other parts of Italy. He was a man of rank, and obtained the honour of the magistracy. Andrea di Vanni is undoubtedly the painter of the S. Sebastian in the convent of S. Martin, and of the Madonna surrounded by saints in that of S. Francis, an artist not unknown beyond the limits of his native country, especially in Naples, where he painted before 1373. He was likewise employed in public embassies, and, like another Reubens, was a magistrate, and ambassador of the republic to the Pope; and was honored by S. Catherine of Siena, who in one of her letters, gives him some excellent advice on the subject of government.

About the year 1370 flourished Berna (i. e. Bernardo) da Siena, of whom Vasari says, that "he was the first who painted animals correctly;" and at the same time allows him

\* This Guido da Siena is, perhaps, the one mentioned by Sacchetti in his eighty-fourth tale, and of whom there remains a picture in the church of S. Antonio, painted in 1362.—Baldinucci.

no common merit in the human figure, especially in what regards expression. One of his frescos remains in the parish church of Arezzo, more praiseworthy on account of the extremities, in which he was superior to many of that age, than for the drapery or the colouring, in which many artists surpassed him. He died in the prime of life, about the year 1380, at S. Gimignano, after having made considerable progress in a copious work, consisting of some subjects from sacred history, that still remains in that parish church. The work was continued with a superior colouring, but with a less pure design, by Giovanni d'Asciano, who is his reputed scholar. The whole still exists, and thirteen of the pictures, or perhaps more, are the work of the scholar, who exercised his art at Florence, under the protection of the Medicean family, much respected by his fellow-artists. As those two painters lived long abroad, I find no mention of them in the catalogue just quoted. There is a well-executed altar-piece in Venice, with the name *Bernardinus de Senis*. Some of his pictures have been discovered in the diocese of Siena, by the Archbishop Zondadari, who has formed a good collection of ancient pictures of the Sienese school. In these pictures, Berna appears to be a pretty good colourist, a talent which he does not display in his frescos. Luca di Tomè, another scholar of Berna, noticed by Vasari, is there mentioned. One of his Holy Families remains at S. Quirico, in the convent of the Capuchins, and bears the date of 1367. It has not sufficient softness, but in other respects is very reputable.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century, not only individual painters, but whole families of artists, had multiplied, in which the art for a long series of years descended from father to son. This circumstance contributed greatly to the progress of painting; for the master, who is likewise the father, teaches without any feeling of jealousy, and generally aims at forming a pupil superior to himself. The family of the Fredi, or the Bartoli, became celebrated beyond all the rest. The reputation of Taddeo, who began to be distinguished in the fourteenth century, rose very high. In the records he is styled *Thaddæus magistri Bartholi magistri Fredi*,\* from

\* Manfredi.



his father\* and grandfather, artists of some name. By him, "as the best master of the age," says Vasari, the chapel of the public palace was painted, where some historical pieces, representing our Lady, are yet to be seen; and in 1414 he ornamented the adjoining hall. Besides some pictures from sacred history, he there formed, as it were, a gallery of illustrious men, chiefly republicans; and for the edification of the citizens, added some Latin and Italian verses; a mode of instruction very liberally employed in this school. The chief merit of the work lies in the dignity and originality of its invention, which was afterwards imitated in part by Pietro Perugino, in the hall of the Exchange, at Perugia. The portraits are ideal; they are dressed in the costume of Siena, when they represent Romans and Grecians, and their attitudes are not happy. His pictures at Pisa and in Volterra, mentioned by Vasari, still exist; and that of the Arena in Padua, in the tribune of the church, is well preserved. In it we discover practical skill, little variety, and less grace in the heads, feeble tints and imitations of Giotto, that lose their value on a comparison with the original. His small pictures do him greater honour: an imitation of Ambrogio, his great prototype, is conspicuous, and also the subdued but agreeable colouring of this school; which, like all the others in Italy, excelled about this period more in small than in large proportions.

The manner of Taddeo was greatly aggrandized by Domenico Bartoli, his nephew and disciple. Foreign connoisseurs behold with delight the various fresco pictures which he painted in the pilgrims' ward of the hospital, representing the circumstances of its foundation, and the exercises of Christian charity bestowed upon the sick, the dying, and the indigent. On comparing these one with another, the artist displays considerable improvement, and a greater freedom than usual from the old dryness; his design and perspective are better, his compositions more scientific; without taking into account the richness and variety of ideas, which he has

\* In the parish church of S. Gimignano is an historical fresco of this artist, dated 1356, and in that of S. Agostino, a painting in a much better style, according to Vasari, executed in 1388, which date P. della Valle gives as 1358.

in common with the artists of this school. From those pictures Raffaello and Pinturicchio, while painting at Siena, took many of their notions of national costume, and, perhaps, of some other particulars; for it is characteristic of great minds to derive advantage even from examples not above mediocrity.

Thus the art was gradually advancing in the republic, when new opportunities were afforded for producing works on a grand scale; occasions in which genius is developed and invigorated. Siena gave Pius II. to the chair of S. Peter, who, to the most ardent love of his country, united a taste for magnificence; and, during his residence in the city, it was embellished with architecture and every kind of ornament. He would have been still more profuse, had he not, disgusted with the ingratitude of the people, turned his attention and beneficence to Rome. Among other advantages he conferred on the state of Siena, was that of adding to its territory the city of Corsignano, his native palace; which, from him, was afterwards called Pienza. The new city received another form, and new edifices, among which was the cathedral. It was erected in 1462, and for its decoration he invited the best artists of Siena, Ansano and Lorenzo di Pietro, Giovanni di Paolo, and Matteo his son. Their style was laborious and minute, the universal character of that age; for the manner of painting was introduced and transferred from one country into another, without our being able to discover where it originated; but in the arts depending on design, as we have before remarked, when the path was once opened, the natural genius of each school will regulate its progress. These four are mentioned in the catalogue of Siennese artists; and Ansano, or Sano, at one time enjoyed the highest reputation. About 1422 he had painted the beautiful fresco over the Roman gate; and has represented the Coronation of the Virgin: it is much in the style of Simone, and in some respects surpasses him. A picture by this artist, of inferior merit, remains in the church of Pienza. Lorenzo di Pietro, surnamed *Il Vecchietta*, was eminent in sculpture and in casting in bronze. He was less successful in painting, and offends by hardness, as far as we can determine from the small remains of him in Siena, for there are none existing at Pienza. A picture of his, with

the date 1457, was lately added to the Medicean gallery. Giovanni di Paolo makes a good figure in Pienza; and a still better in a Descent from the Cross, painted four years afterwards in the Osservanza of Siena; in which the defects of the age are counterbalanced by qualities, at that time by no means common, displaying considerable knowledge of the naked figure.

Matteo di Giovanni was then young, but surpassed them all in the extent of his genius. This is the Matteo denominated by some the Masaccio of this school, although there is a great distance between him and the Florentine Masaccio. The new style of Matteo begins to be recognised in one of his two pictures in the cathedral. He afterwards improved it in his works in the church of S. Domenico, at Siena, in Madonna della Neve, and in some other churches; and it was he who excited the Neapolitan school to attempt a less antiquated style. Having learnt the process of painting in oil, he imparted softness to his figures; and from his intimacy with Francesco di Giorgio, a celebrated architect,\* he imbibed a good taste in buildings, and diversified them very ingeniously with alto and basso relievos. He foreshortened level objects well; he cast draperies with more of nature, and with less frippery than was common in that age; if he imparted little beauty to the features, he attained variety of expression; and was attentive in marking the muscles and veins in his figures. He did not always aim at novelty and display; on the contrary, after painting a Murder of the Innocents, which was his best composition,† he often repeated it in Siena, and in Naples, but always with improvements: his most studious picture on this subject is that at the Servi of Siena, painted in 1491, which must have been near the close of his life. He was accustomed to introduce into his pictures some episode, unconnected with the principal story, in small figures, a style in which he excelled. The noble house of Sozzini

\* He was a good sculptor; and, according to the custom of the time of uniting the three sister arts, he also practised painting, but not with great success. I have not seen any of his pictures but a Nativity, in which he chiefly appears emulous of Mantegna. It is in the possession of Sig. Abate Ciaccheri, whose collection will greatly assist any one desirous of becoming acquainted with the school.

† An engraving of it is in the third volume of *Lettere Sanesi*.



and other families in Siena, possess several of his small pictures. As an artist, he is inferior to Bellini, to Francia, or Vannucci; but surpasses many others. Another eminent Sieneſe, who flouriſhed in the firſt ages of oil painting, is made known to us by Ciriaco Anconitano,\* who was acquainted with him in 1449, at the court of Leonello, Marquis of Eſte. This artiſt was named Angelo Parrasio: he painted the nine muſes in the palace of Belfiore, near Ferrara, in imitation of the manner of Giovanni and Ruggieri da Bruggia.

\* In the fragment of a letter, quoted by Sig. Abate Colucci in *Antichità Picene*, tom. xv. p. 143. "Cujus nempe inclytæ artis et eximii artificum ingenii egregium equidem imitatoreſ Angelum Parrasium Senensem, recens picturæ in Latio ſpecimen vidimus," &c.

## SIENESE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH II.

Foreign Painters at Siena. The origin and progress of the modern style in that city.

BEFORE this era we have met with no strangers who had taught painting or changed the manner of this school. The art had there existed for three centuries, almost always,\* under the guidance of native painters; and it had even been provided by the statutes of the art, that no foreigner might be encouraged to practise it at Siena. In one chapter it is enacted, that "any stranger, wishing to be employed, shall pay a florin;" and elsewhere, that "he may receive a just and sufficient recompense to the extent of twenty-five livres." The provision was subtle: on the one hand they did not, with marked inhospitality, positively exclude strangers; but, on the other, they deprived them of any chance of rivalling the artists of the city in employment at Siena. Hence it came to pass, according to P. della Valle, that no pictures of other schools, but those of a late period, are to be found there. But this circumstance, though favourable to the artist, was detrimental to the art: for the school of Siena, by admitting strangers, would have swelled the list of her great masters; and she might have kept pace with other schools; but this she neglected, and, after having vied with the Florentine school in painting, and even surpassed it for some years, towards the close of the fifteenth century Siena could not, perhaps, boast of a better artist than Capanna, who executed

\* Baldinucci, in his *Life of Antonio Veneziano*, contends that this artist resided, during some time, at Siena; but the silence of the city historians leads us to doubt the truth of his assertion.

some façades from the designs of others;\* or than Andrea del Brescianino, who, in conjunction with one of his brothers, is said to have painted some pictures, with which I am unacquainted, in the church of the Olivetine Friars. They have been more commended by historians than Bernardino Fungai, an artist whose style was modernized, but dry,† than Neroccio, or any other Sienese painter of that period; but they could not be compared to the best masters of Italy. The nobility perceived the decline of the native school, and the necessity of supporting it by the accession of foreign artists; they wished for such assistance, to the dissatisfaction, probably, of the populace, every where apt to contend that the provender of the land should rather feed the native beast of burden than the foreign steed. The Florentine style of painting found its way to Rome; but ancient rivalry and political jealousy prevented its introduction into Siena. Perugia seemed a less objectionable ally; and from that place, first Bonfigli, and afterwards his scholar Pietro Perugino, who executed two pictures at Siena, were invited; and at length several scholars of the latter were called, who remained in the service of two celebrated natives of Siena. The one was Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, who soon after became Pius III. For the purpose of decorating the sacristy of the cathedral, and the chapel of his family, with various pictures from the life of Pius II. he invited Pinturicchio to Siena. This artist carried along with him other scholars of Perugino, and even Raffaello himself, who is reported to have designed either wholly, or in a great measure, those historical pictures. The other was Pandolfo Petrucci, who, for some time, usurped the government of the republic: eagerly desirous of embellishing the palace and some churches, he availed himself of Signorelli, and of Genga,‡ and recalled Pinturicchio.

\* Vasari calls him "a pretty good master" in the life of D. Bartolommeo: from the note of Bottari on this passage we collect that he flourished about 1500. Gigli makes him the master of Beccafumi.

† There is a Coronation of the Virgin by him at Fonte Giusta, and a picture, representing various saints, at Carmine, dated 1512.

‡ See Lett. Sanesi, tom. iii. p. 320, where the inscription of Signorelli on his pictures in the Petrucci palace is quoted, and Vasari is corrected.



This passed at the beginning of the sixteenth century ; for the sacristy was completed in 1503 ; the return of Pinturicchio took place in 1508 ; and, after a short interval, it appears that Genga, the scholar of Perugino, and Signorelli, came to Siena. From that period, the Sieneſe ſchool began to aſſume the modern ſtyle ; and deſign, a full tone of colouring, and perſpective, all attained perfection in a few years. Had Siena produced a family equal to the Medicean in taſte, power, and a diſpoſition to encourage the fine arts, what might it not have attained ! Siena about this time could boaſt of four men of talents admirably adapted to produce a great revolution in the art, and theſe were Pacchiarotto, Razzi, Mecherino, and Peruzzi, all of whom (with the exception of Razzi), Baldinucci, for ſome reaſon unknown to me, has derived from the ſchool of Raffaello. The works of Raffaello, then a young man, and of other foreign artiſts, far from reſſing their ſpirit, awakened in them an honourable emulation. Whoever compares the pictures of Matteo with their works, would conclude that many years had intervened ; yet they were all living at the death of Matteo. We now come to the bright era of the ſchool of Siena ; and to the conſideration of its moſt eminent maſters.

Jacopo Pacchiarotto\* followed the manner of Pietro more cloſely than any of them, although he was not his ſcholar, and, perhaps, had not been out of Siena before 1535. In that year there happened an inſurrection of the people againſt the government, in which he was a ring-leader, and would have ſuffered an ignominious death, had he not been ſaved by the Oſſervantine fathers, who concealed him for ſome time within a tomb. From thence he withdrew to France, where he aſſiſted Rosso, and is ſuppoſed to have died. Siena poſſeſſes ſeveral of his cabinet pictures and altar-pieces, in the ſtyle of Perugino ; eſpecially a beautiful one in the church of S.

\* He is thus named by Baldinucci : but Vaſari, in his Life of Razzi, mentions a Girolamo del Pacchia, a rival of Razzi himſelf ; and this perſon appears to be Pacchiarotto. He alſo mentions Giamo, or Girolamo del Sodoma, who died young ; and whom both Orlandi and Botari have confounded with Pacchiarotti ; when we ought rather to believe that he was a pupil of Razzi, and died while he was yet young.

Christopher. In his frescos, in the church of S. Catherine and of S. Bernardino, where he emulated the ablest artists of Siena, he appears great in composition. The most admired is the copious picture representing the Visit of the Virgin, S. Catherine, to the body of S. Agnes of Montepulciano: the others are executed in a similar taste. He appears to have studied Raffaello with the greatest care; and there are heads and whole figures so lively, and with such a grace in the features, that, to some connoisseurs, they seem to possess the ideal. Nevertheless, his Pacchiarotto is almost unknown beyond the limits of his native place, for he is only incidentally mentioned by Vasari; and his works have passed under the name of Perugino, or of his school.

Giannantonio Razzi, surnamed *Il Sodoma*, undoubtedly enjoyed the citizenship of Siena; but it is disputed whether he was born at Vergelle, a Sienese village, or at Vercelli, in Piedmont. Vasari expressly states, that he was invited to Siena by some of the noble family of Spannocchi, and that he was a native of Vercelli. He is supported by Tizio, Giovio, Mancini, and all who wrote before Ugurgieri. I am confirmed in it by observing his carnations, his style of *chiaroscuro*, and other peculiarities of the old school of Milan, and of Giovenone, who flourished at Vercelli: and of this style there appears to me traces in the works of Gio Antonio; especially in those he executed shortly after he left his master. I have not observed the historical pictures of S. Benedict, which he painted at Monte Oliveto about 1502, and are so ably described by Sig. Giulio Perini, secretary to the academy of Florence. I have seen those he executed at Rome in the pontificate of Julius II. He painted several in the Vatican, that were defaced, because they did not satisfy the Pope. Raffaello substituted other pictures, but spared the grotesques. Razzi afterwards executed some pictures from the life of Alexander the Great, in the Chigi, now the Farnese palace. The nuptials of Roxana, and the suppliant family of Darius, are the best of them. They do not exhibit the facility, grace, and dignified heads that characterize the style of Vinci; but they shew much of his *chiaroscuro*, which was then greatly followed by the Lombards: perspective, their hereditary attribute, is conspicuous; they

abound in gay images, in little cupids with their arrows, and a pomp that is captivating.

His works in Siena, the fruit of his studies in Rome, and of his mature age, are still superior. The Epiphany, in the church of S. Augustino, appeared wholly in the style of Vinci to an eminent foreign connoisseur, who mentioned it to me with rapture. The flagellation of Christ, in the cloister of S. Francis, is preferred to the figures of Michelangelo by judges of the art : Razzi never produced a finer picture. Some think as highly of his S. Sebastian, now in the ducal gallery, supposed to have been copied from an antique Torso. The Swoon of S. Catherine of Siena, which he painted in fresco in a chapel of S. Domenico, is a picture in the manner of Raffaello. Peruzzi greatly admired it, and affirmed that "he had never seen a swoon so naturally represented." The air and varied expression in the heads are not borrowed from any artist, and on this account he seems to have extorted the applause even of Vasari. His models, as usual with other artists of this school, were selected from among the Sienese, whose heads possess a great innate gaiety, openness, and spirit. He painted frequently in a hurried manner, without preparatory study ; especially in his old age, when reduced to poverty at Siena, he sought for employment at Pisa, at Volterra, and at Lucca : but in all his pictures I discover traces of an able artist, who, though careless of excellence, never painted badly. Vasari, the great enemy of his fame, generally styles him Mattaccio,\* ascribing to chance, to fortune, or to fancy, whatever he performed well ; as if his usual style had been that of a bad painter. Here Vasari betrays a want of memory ; for he confessed in the life of Mecherino, that Razzi "possessed the grand principle of design ;" in another passage he praised the brilliant colouring he brought with him out of Lombardy ; and before noticing the works of his old age, often pronounced the others beautiful, sometimes *most* beautiful and wonderful : hence it may be said of him, *modo ait, modo negat*. Guided by public estimation, Giovio has written of Razzi in a different manner, when speaking of the death of Raffaello, he subjoins : "plures pari pene gloriâ certantes artem exceperunt, et in his Sodomas

\* Mattaccio signifies a buffoon.—Tr.



Vercellensis.”\* He who objects to the testimony of this eminent scholar, will receive that of a celebrated painter: Annibale Caracci, passing through Siena, said, “Razzi appears a very eminent master of the greatest taste, and few such pictures are to be seen.”†

During the many years that Giannantonio lived at Siena, he must have educated many pupils. A few only are noticed by Mancini, in one of his Fragments;‡ Rustico, the father of Cristofano, an excellent painter of grotesques, with which he filled Siena; Scalabrino, a man of genius and a poet;§ and Michelangiolo Anselmi, or Michelangioli da Siena, a painter claimed by several places. We shall consider him in the school of Parma, as he left no work in Siena, except a fresco in the church of Fonte Giusta, a production of his youth, and not worthy of so great a name. A scholar of Razzi, his assistant, and finally his son-in-law, was Bartolommeo Neroni, called Maestro Riccio, who, after the death of the four great pillars of the school of Siena, supported its reputation, and probably educated one of its restorers. He may be recognized at the Osservanti, in a Crucifixion with three saints standing around, and people in the distance. But his master-piece was a Descent from the Cross, much in the manner of Razzi, at the Derelitte. Some of his other pictures yet remain in the city, in which he appears to mingle the style of his father-in-law, with a certain resemblance to the manner of Vasari, in the distribution of his tints. He is known to have been excellent in perspective, and particularly so in painting

\* In P. della Valle, in the Supplement to the Life of Razzi, See Vasari, edit. of Siena, p. 297. In the following page there is a chronological error. He agrees with Baldinucci that Razzi was born in 1479, and says that his picture of S. Francis was executed in 1490, that is, when the artist was about eleven years of age.

† See also Perini, in his “Lettera su l’ Archicenobio di Monte Oliveto,” p. 49, where he defends Razzi from the charge of indecorum made by Vasari, on a view of the grotesques and fancy subjects which he painted in that place.

‡ Tom. iii. p. 243.

§ I am in doubt as to his native place. The name of one Scalobrinus Pistoriensis, a painter of merit, and belonging to the same age, is found inscribed at the church of S. Francesco, without the Tuscan gate, where he left seven specimens of altar-pieces.—*Memorie per le belle Arti*, tom. ii. p. 190.

scenery ; a specimen of which was engraved by Andreani. He was greatly skilled in architecture, and had a pension from the magistrates of Lucca for his assistance in their public works. Some books include among his disciples Anselmi, who was rather his kinsman ; and Arcangiolo Salimbeni, who finished some of his works after his death, and on this account only has been supposed his scholar. From him we shall commence a new epoch in this school.

Domenico Beccafumi derived the surname of Mecherino from a citizen of Siena, who, having remarked him when a shepherd boy designing something on a stone, argued favourably of his genius. Obtaining the consent of his father, he brought him to the city, and according to Gigli, recommended him to Capanna as a scholar. He there employed himself in copying the designs of eminent artists, and in imitating the pictures of Pietro Perugino, whose manner he first adopted. His works in the cathedral of Pisa exhibit a dryness, though they are the productions of his maturer years.\* Having gone to Rome in the pontificate of Julius II., a new scene was opened to him in the specimens of ancient sculpture, of which he was a most sedulous designer, and in the pictures in which Michelangelo and Raffaello had assayed their skill. After two years, he returned home, and there continued his close attention to design, found himself strong enough to contend with Razzi ; and if we may credit Vasari, even to surpass him. He had acquired skill in perspective, and was fertile in invention. In Siena, Mecherino is ranked after Razzi ; and the many places where they vied with each other, facilitates the comparison. At first he humoured his placid disposition by painting in a sweet style ; at that time he made choice of beautiful airs for his heads ; and frequently inserted the portrait of his mistress in his pictures. In this style is his fine pictures at the church of the Olivetines of S. Benedict ; in which he represented the titular saint, with S. Jerome, and the Virgin S. Catherine, and added some circumstances of

\* See Sig. da Morrona, tom. i. p. 116. Mecherino there painted the Evangelists, and some historical pieces from the life of Moses : Razzi executed in the same place a Descent from the Cross, and an Abraham offering his Son, which are among his last, and not his best works.

her life in small figures. The last annotator on Vasari prefers this work to many other pictures of Mecherino, and laments, that, captivated by the energy of Bonarruoti, he had deviated from his original manner. And, indeed, when he aspired to more vigour, he frequently appears coarse in his proportions, negligent in his extremities, and harsh in his heads. This defect so increased in his old age that his heads of that period appeared without beauty even to Vasari.

His mode of colouring is not the most true ; for it was mannered with a reddish hue, which is, however, fascinating and cheerful to the eye ; it is neat, clear, and of such a body, that it remains on walls at this day, in the highest preservation. A few of his works remain in Genoa, where he painted the palace of Prince Doria ; they are not numerous at Pisa ; but they abound in his native place, both in public and in private. His merit was greater in distemper than in oil colouring ; and his historical frescos do him greater honour than his other paintings. His skill was great in distributing them to suit the place, and in adapting them to the architecture ; he ornamented them with grotesque decorations in such a manner that he required not the aid of gilt stucco, or other gaudy trappings. These inventions have such felicity, that a single glance recalls the story to the memory of one acquainted with its circumstances. He treats his subject copiously, with dignity, and with perfect nature ; he imparts grandeur to it by his architectural views, and elegance by introducing the usages of antiquity. He peculiarly delighted in the more recondite principles of the art, then less generally employed ; as peculiar reflections of fires and other lights ; difficult foreshortenings, especially applied to ceilings, very rare in lower Italy. Vasari has described his figure of Justice ; the feet of which are in dark shadow, gradually diminishing to the shoulders, which are vested with a most brilliant celestial light ; “ Nor is it possible,” says he, “ to imagine, much less to find, a more beautiful figure ..... amongst all that ever were painted to appear foreshortened when viewed from below.” According to this verdict, Mecherino deserves the appellation of the Correggio of lower Italy, in this very difficult branch of painting ; for no modern artist had attempted so much before his time. The above-mentioned



figure is painted on the vaulted ceiling of the consistory of government; and the artist has arranged below it various oval and square pictures, each representing some memorable exploit of a republican hero. He pursued the same idea in an apartment in the mansion now in possession of the Bindi family, which P. della Valle reckons his master-piece. The figures resemble those in the Logge of Raffaello; they are better coloured than those in the consistory, and being smaller are, on that account, better designed; for the style of Mecherino resembles a liquor which retains its qualities when shut up in a phial, but evaporates when poured into a larger vessel. This circumstance, however, was common to many others; his peculiarity consists in what he communicated to Vasari; that, "out of the atmosphere of Siena, he imagined he could not paint successfully;" an effect, according to P. Guglielmo, of the climate, which would be a happy secret for peopling it with painters. Perhaps it is to be explained by the greater degree of tranquillity that he enjoyed at home, in the society of his friends, among the people ready to encourage him by praise, not to chill him by reproach, and surrounded by all the spectacles and the lively genius of his country; objects eagerly desired by the natives of Siena, but not easily found in other places.

The style of Mecherino, now described, expired with him: for his pupil, Giorgio da Siena, became a painter of grotesques, and imitated Gio. da Udine, both in his own country and at Rome: Giannella, or Gio. da Siena, turned his attention from painting to architecture; and Marco da Pino, surnamed also da Siena, united a variety of styles. Baglione, and the historians of Siena, say, that he was there educated by Beccafumi, and Baldinucci adds, likewise by Peruzzi: P. della Valle, from his brilliant colouring, denies him to them, and assigns him to Razzi. All, however, are agreed that he obtained his knowledge principally from Rome, where he first painted from the cartoons of Ricciarelli or of Perino; and if we may credit Lomazzo, was instructed by Bonarruoti. We cannot readily find any Florentine capable of following the precepts of Michelangelo, without ostentation; but he acquired the principles without the affectation of displaying his knowledge. His manner is grand, select, and full of

elegance : it is adduced by Lomazzo as a model for the human figure, and for the just distribution of light according to the distance of objects ; a department of the art in which he shares the glory with Vinci, Tintoretto, and Barroccio. He painted little in Siena except a picture, with which I am not acquainted, in the mansion of the Francesconi family ; and few of his works are to be seen at Rome, with the exception of a *Pietà*, in an altar of *Araceli*, and some frescos in the church *Del Gonfalone*. Naples was his field ; and there he will appear as a master and historian of that school.

If conjecture were allowable in assigning masters to painters of the old schools, I should be inclined to reckon *Daniele di Volterra* rather the scholar of *Mecherino*, then of *Razzi* or *Peruzzi*. We know for certain that he studied at Siena in early life, when those three artists kept an open academy. *Peruzzi* was wholly a follower of *Raffaello* ; *Razzi* disliked the Florentine style ; and *Beccafumi* alone aspired to be esteemed a faithful imitator of *Bonarruoti* : by regarding him, therefore, as a master of *Daniele*, we can best account for the already noticed predilection of the latter for the style of *Michelangelo*. No artist was capable of initiating him better in the art of casting in bronze than *Mecherino* ; or afford him more frequent examples of that strong opposition of bright and sombre colours in some works of *Daniele*. Yet I will not depart from the correct rule which forbids us in such doubtful points to depart readily from history ; for each painter was always free to choose his style ; he might be directed in one path by his master, and drawn a different way by his own genius, or by accidental circumstances.

*Baldassare Peruzzi* is one of the numerous individuals whose merit must not be measured by their good fortune. Born in indigent circumstances in the diocese of *Volterra*, but within the territory of *Siena*, and of a *Sienese* father,\* he was nurtured amid difficulties, and through life the perpetual sport of misfortune. Reckoned inferior to his rivals, because he was as modest and timid as they were arrogant ; despoiled of his whole property in the sack of *Rome* ; constrained to exist

\* The *Sienese* historians prove this in opposition to *Vasari*, who makes him by descent a *Florentine*.—See *Lett. Sen.* tom. iii. p. 178.

on a mere pittance at Siena, at Bologna, or at Rome,\* he died when he began to be known, not without suspicion of being poisoned, and with the affliction of leaving a wife and six children almost beggars. His death demonstrated to the world the greatness of his genius; and the justness of his epitaph, in which he is compared to the ancients, is allowed by posterity. General consent ranks him among the best architects of his age; and he would have been classed with the greatest painters, had he coloured as well as he designed, and always been equal to himself; a thing he could not command during a life so chequered and wretched.

After Peruzzi had received the elements of the art in his native place from an unknown master, he went to Rome for the completion of his studies, in the time of Alexander VI. He knew, admired, and imitated Raffaello (of whom some suppose him a pupil), especially his Holy Families.† He approached him nearly in some frescos; such as the Judgment of Paris in the castle of Belcaro, which is deemed his best performance, and the celebrated Sybil foretelling the birth of Christ to Augustus, in the Fonte Giusta, of Siena, admired as one of the finest pictures in that city. He imparted to it such a divine enthusiasm, that Raffaello himself never surpassed him in treating this subject; nor Guido, nor Guercino, of whom so many Sybils are exhibited. In great compositions, such as the Presentation in the PACE at Rome,‡

\* For his labours in the cathedral of Siena he had thirty crowns a year; as the architect of S. Peter's two hundred and fifty. He derived little advantage from private commissions, for people generally took advantage of his modesty, in either not paying him at all, or rewarding him scantily.

† I saw one in possession of Cav. Cavaceppi in Rome, of which this great connoisseur used to say, that it might pass for a Raffaello, if it had been as like in colouring as in every thing else. The Sergardi family at Siena have another, and a Holy Family, by Razzi, as its companion. These are reckoned among their first performances, and are believed to have been painted in competition with each other. In that of Peruzzi one recognizes, even at that time, that elegance of design which he delighted afterwards to exhibit in his figures, especially in the Chigi, now called the Farnese palace.

‡ It is a fresco, and though retouched, surprises at once by the novelty and expression of the figures. A. Caracci designed it for one of his studies.



he designs well, gives a faithful representation of the passions and embellishes the subject by appropriate edifices. His oil paintings are very rare; those representing the Magi, which are shewn in many collections at Florence, Parma, and Bologna, are copies from one of his chiaroscuros, which was afterwards coloured by Girolamo da Trevigi, as we are informed by Vasari. I was told at Bologna, that the picture of Girolamo was lost at sea, and that the picture which the Rizzardi family of that place possess, is a copy by Cesi. His small altar-pieces are uncommonly scarce likewise: and I am unable to point out any of them but one, which contains three half-length figures of the Virgin, the Baptist, and S. Jerome, and is at Torre Babbiana, eighteen miles from Siena.

What I have here related would have added to the glory of any other artist; but is little to the merit of Baldassare. His genius was not limited to the production of excellent cabinet pictures and frescos. I have already said he was an architect, or a universal architect; and in this profession, the fruit of his assiduous study of ancient edifices, he ranks among the foremost, and is even preferred to Bramante. The encomiums bestowed on him by the most celebrated writers on architecture are mentioned in the *Sienese Letters*.\* No one has done him greater honour than his scholar Serlio, who declares in his fourth book, that, whatever merit his work possesses, is not due to himself, but to Baldassare da Siena, of whose manuscripts he became the heir, and the plagiarist, if we are to credit Giulio Piccolomini† and his other townsmen. The declaration above stated absolves Serlio from this imputation, unless it is insisted that he ought to have affixed the name of Baldassare to every anecdote that he learnt or took from those manuscripts, which it would be unreasonable to demand. He has, indeed, frequently mentioned him, and commended him for a sound taste, for facility, and elegance, both in designing edifices and in ornamenting them. His peculiar merit lies in giving a pleasing effect to his works; and I have not observed any idea of his which in some way does not exhibit the stamp of a lively imagination. This

\* Lett. vii.

† Siena Illustre.

character is apparent in the portico of the Massimi at Rome, the great altar of the metropolitan church of Siena, and the large gateway of the Sacratì palace at Ferrara, which is so finely ornamented, that it is named among the rarities of that city, and, in its kind, even of Italy. But what chiefly establishes his reputation as a man of excellent and various genius, is the Farnese palace, which is “executed with such exquisite grace, that it appears created by enchantment.”\*

He was eminently skilled in ornamenting façades; in painting so as to represent real architecture, basso-relievos of sacrifices, Bacchanalian scenes, and battles, which “serve to maintain buildings sound and in good order, while they improve their appearance,” according to Serlio.† He left fine specimens of this art at Siena and in Rome, where he was followed by Polidoro, who carried it to perfection. Peruzzi practised it at the Farnese palace in those pictures in green earth, with which he covered the outside, and still more in the internal decorations. Not to mention F. Sebastiano, Raffaello himself was employed in the same place, and in one apartment, finished, without assistance, the celebrated Galatea. Baldassare painted the ceiling and the corbels with some fables of Perseus, and other heroes: the style is light, spirited, and resembles that of Raffaello, but is unequal to that of his model. Though inferior in figures, he was not behind in some other branches. His imitation of stucco ornaments appears so relieved, that even Titian was deceived by it, and found it necessary to change his point of view before he could be convinced of his error. A similar ocular deception is produced by the hall where a colonnade is represented, the intercolumniations of which make it appear much larger than it really is. This work induced Pietro Aretino to say, that the palace “contained no picture more perfect in its kind.”‡ Had the scenes he painted for the plays, represented in the Apostolical palace for the amusement of Leo X. survived to our days, the perspective paintings of Peruzzi would have obtained greater fame than the Calandra of Card. da Bibbiena. It would have been said of

\* The expression in the original is: “condotto con quella bella grazia che si vede-non murato, ma veramente nato.”—Vasari.

† P. 191.

‡ Serlio, l. c.

him, as of the ancient, that he discovered a new art, and brought it to perfection. The observation of Vasari, Lomazzo, and other old writers, that Peruzzi was not to be surpassed in perspective, has been recently confirmed by Sig. Milizia in the *Memoirs of Architects*. In this art he appears to have given the first and most classic examples. When I have occasion hereafter to notice celebrated perspectives in Rome, in Venice, or Bologna, we must recollect, that if others surpassed him in the vastness of their works, they never did so in their perfection. Maestro Riccio is praised in Siena as second to him in perspective, and was his scholar for some time, but afterwards imitated the figures of his father-in-law.

The merit of Baldassare in grotesque is better seen at Siena than in Rome. This sort of painting, the offspring of a whimsical fancy, was congenial to Mecherino and to Razzi; both practised it with success. The latter, born to conceive and to execute it with unpremeditated facility, painted in this style in the Vatican, and obtained the approbation of Raffaello, who was unwilling to cancel his grotesques as he did his historical compositions: he also executed others at Monte Oliveto that are highly facetious, and may be called an image of his own brain. Cristoforo Rustici and Giorgio da Siena obtained great fame in this style; but none of them equalled Peruzzi. This artist, graceful in all his works, was most elegant in grotesque; and amid the freedom that a subject wholly capricious inspires, he preserved an art which Lomazzo has studied, in order to comprehend its principles. He employs every species of idea: satyrs, masks, children, animals, monsters, edifices, trees, flowers, vases, candelabra, lamps, armour, and thunderbolts; but in their arrangement, in the actions represented, and in every other circumstance, he bridled his caprice by his judgment. He distorts and connects those images with a surprising symmetry, and adapts them as devices emblematic of the stories which they surround. Living in the brightest period of modern art, he is, in short, one of the individuals most interesting in its history. He had many pupils in architecture, but few in painting: among the latter a Francesco Senese, and a Virgilio Romano, who are commended by Vasari for their frescos, and to whom grotesques, of uncertain origin, are attributed in Siena.



Somewhat later, but certainly before the complete revival of the art at Siena, I am disposed to class a fresco painter, whom Baglione and Titi call Matteo da Siena; but who is named Matteino in his native place, that he may not be confounded with the Matteo of the fourteenth century. He lived at Rome in the time of Niccolo Circignani, in whose pictures, and in those of artists of the same class, he inserted perspectives and landscapes. The efforts of his pencil may be seen at S. Stefano Rotondo, in thirty-two historical pictures of martyrs painted by Circignani, which have been engraved by Cavalieri. Many landscapes are in the Vatican gallery, which are beautiful, although in the old style. At the age of fifty-five he died at Rome, where he was established in the pontificate of Sixtus V. These circumstances make it appear unlikely, that he either painted in the Casino of Siena about 1551, or in the Lucarini palace, with Rustichino.

I shall now give some account of the *chiaroscuro* executed in mosaic, which owe their perfection to the school of Siena, during the epoch of which we are about to finish our account. I have already mentioned the erection of the magnificent cathedral of Siena, a work of many years; and may now add, that though grand in all its parts, nothing shewed such originality, or was so generally admired, as the pavement around the great altar, all storied with subjects taken from the New Testament, of which the figures were surrounded by appropriate ornaments, which served to vary and divide the immense ground of the painting. A succession of artists always labouring to improve this work, carried it to an astonishing pitch of excellence. The nature of the stone quarries in the Sieneſe territory, afforded also facilities to the art which could not be attained in other places. It originated, like other arts, from small and rude beginnings. Duccio commenced this ornamented pavement. The part which he executed is constructed of stones, in which the contours of the figures are scooped out: it is a dry, but not ungraceful production of the thirteenth century. The woman in the choir who kneels with her arms leaning on a cross, and, as an inscription informs us, implores the mercy of the Lord, is the work of Duccio: it probably represents Christian piety; and both the attitude and the countenance are expressive of what she asks. Those

who continued the pavement immediately after Duccio, are not so well known. We read of Urbano da Cortona, and Antonio Federighi, who designed and executed the two Sybils; the rest was the work of artists of little note. All, however, improved the art in some degree, cutting the figures with the chisel, and filling up what was removed by the iron, with pitch or some black composition; a rude sort of chiaroscuro. To them succeeded Matteo di Giovanni, who, from an attentive consideration of what his predecessors had done, fell on a method of surpassing them. He remarked a vein of the marble in the drapery of a figure of David, which formed a very natural fold, and by the contrast of the colours made the knee and leg appear in relief: in like manner he discovered in a figure of Solomon a shade of colour in the marble, well suited to produce effect. He then selected marbles of different colours; and joining them after the manner of an inlaying with stained wood, produced a work that was entitled to the name of a marble chiaroscuro. In this manner he executed without assistance a Slaughter of the Innocents, a composition which he frequently repeated, as we before remarked. He thus opened the path for Beccafumi's histories, who wrought in a superior style a large part of that pavement, which his exertions, says Vasari, rendered "the most beautiful, the largest, and most magnificent that was ever executed." This work employed his leisure hours till he attained to old age; and though painting interrupted his labours, he did not abandon it until his death, and hence, some of the historical compositions were completed by other hands, as is supposed from his cartoons. He executed the Sacrifice of Isaac, in figures as large as life; and Moses striking the Rock, with a crowd of Hebrews rushing to catch the water, and slake their thirst; besides several other subjects, described by Vasari; and more minutely by Landi.\* I subjoin a few observations on the mechanism of the art. The first attempt of Beccafumi was to compose a picture of inlaid wood, which

\* Lettere Senesi, tom. iii. lett. 6. See also lett. 8, page 223, where there are many observations on the design of Mecherino, and on the execution committed to the Martini, brothers, and eminent sculptors of that period. For the prints from their works by Andreani and Gabugiani, see the notes of Bottari on the Life of Mecherino, p. 435.

was long preserved in the studio of Vanni, and afterwards was in the possession of the counts of the Delci family. He represented the Conversion of S. Paul in this piece, by employing wood of the colours only that were necessary to produce a *chiaroscuro*. After this model he selected white marble for the light parts of his figures, and the very purest for the catching lights; grey marble for the middle tints, black for the shadows, and for the darkest lines he sometimes employed a black stucco. He cut the pieces of these marbles, which are all indigenous, and inlaid them so nicely, that the joinings are not easily discernible. This has induced some to believe that white marble is alone employed in this pavement, and that the middle tints and shadows are formed by certain very penetrating colours, capable of softening the marble and of colouring it throughout. We learn from a letter of Gallaccini, that this idea was adopted by some natives of Siena, and it appears from another of Mariette, that this great connoisseur was impressed with it, and gained over Bottari to his opinion.\* But we may discover the seams between the different colours; and this circumstance induces the author of the *Sieneſe Letters* and the best-informed persons, to disbelieve the artificial colouring of the marble. The truth is, the secret of colouring marble was not then known, but was afterwards discovered in Siena by Michelangelo Vanni, who has transmitted the memory of his invention to posterity.† He erected a monument for his father, Cav. Francesco, with columns, ornaments, festoons, and figures of children; accompanied by a genealogy of the family, all designed on a white slab, and every part carefully and appropriately coloured, so as to resemble mosaic of different marbles. It is supposed that the colours were imparted to the marble by some mineral essences, because they penetrated a considerable way. He entitles himself the inventor of this art, in the monumental inscription. A secret of this nature was known to Niccolò Tornioli, of Siena, about the year 1640; and this artist is said to have painted a Vero-

\* See *Lett. Pittoriche*, tom i. p. 311, and tom. iv. p. 344. See also *Notes on Vasari*, tom. iv. p. 436, ed. Fiorentin.

† He inscribed the monument, "Francisco Vannio . . Michael Angelus . . novæ hujus in petrâ pingendi artis inventor et Raphael . . Fili parenti optimo m. p. a. 1656.



nica in that manner, the marble of which he caused to be sawed, and the same picture was found on each side of the section.\* He was probably a scholar of Vanni; and the latter seems anxious by the inscription that he should not claim the honour of the invention. The connection of the subject has led me to notice these two artists in this place. Their true place is in the third epoch of the Sienese school, to which I proceed.

\* See the note of Bottari on Gallaccini's letter, tom. i. p. 308.

# SIENESE SCHOOL.

## EPOCH III.

The Art having declined in Siena through the disasters of the State, is revived by the labours of Salimbeni and his sons.

WE have related the progress and best works of the Sienese school from the beginning to about the middle of the sixteenth century, but we have not considered a circumstance that adds greatly to the merit of the artists of that period. If we search into the history of that half-century, we shall find that all Italy groaned under the pressure of public calamities ; but Siena, to a greater degree, and for a longer period than any other place, endured an accumulation of the most terrible evils. Famine, pestilence, and a suspension of commercial intercourse, afflicted other states, but here they seem to have exhausted their rage : civil commotions and external enemies agitated other states, but here, during a period of years, they allowed not a moment of tranquillity. The republic of Siena, strong in the valour of her citizens, was feeble in every thing besides : it resembled a gulph, where tempests are more frequent and more violent than on the ocean. The usurpation of the Petrucci, the dissensions between the nobles and the people, and jealousy of foreign powers, who sought her subjugation, kept Siena in constant alarm, and often incited to arms and to bloodshed. The remedy which they now expected in the protection of the emperor, at another time from France, only served to aggravate internal commotion and foreign aggression. Amid this perpetual agitation, I know not whether most to admire the genius of the people, ever directed to the decoration of their houses and public edifices, or the spirit of the artists, who could summon all the powers of their minds to such efforts : similar instances are rare in other

countries. The year 1555 at length arrived, when Cosmo I. deprived the Sienese of their long defended liberty. To any enemy but the Florentines they would have submitted with less reluctance; and our astonishment is lessened on finding that, on this occasion, two-thirds of the inhabitants abandoned their native soil, refusing to live subject to enemies so abhorred.

At this time, and in the disasters above alluded to, the city lost many able artists, and several families, from whom eminent artists were descended, and whose Sienese origin is confirmed by history. Camillo Mariani was born at Vicenza, and his father was a native of Siena, who had expatriated himself on account of the wars; and Baglione praises the cabinet pictures of this artist, who died at Rome, with the reputation of an excellent sculptor. I likewise find at Bologna an Agostino Marcucci, of Siena, who is wholly unknown in that place, probably because he was the son of an emigrant. He was a disciple of the Caracci, till a schism arose in that school, when he ranged himself with the foremost adherents of Facini, the leader of the party, and they had the boldness to set up a new academy in opposition to that of the Caracci. He continued to reside in Bologna, and to teach to the time of his death, and is reckoned by Malvasia among "the first men" of that age. Of his scholars, Malvasia mentions only Ruggieri, and he only notices one of his pictures at the Concezione,\* to which several others are added in the New Guide.

Siena, in the mean time, began to be reconciled to the new government, which, through the prudence of Cosmo, appeared rather a reformation than a new domination. No long time elapsed before the void left in the city by the artists, who had emigrated, was filled up. Rustico had remained there, as well as his superior, Riccio, who painted the celebrated scene already noticed, on the coming of Cosmo. Siena also possessed Tozzo and Bigio, whom Lancillotti reckons "among the most famous painters," I believe, in small figures; and it is not easy to distinguish between those two artists, who had an extraordinary similarity of style. Arcangiolo Salimbeni, who is expressly said by Baldinucci to be a "scholar of Federigo Zuccari," may have received the rudiments of the

\* See Malvasia, tom. i. p. 579; and tom. ii. p. 355.



art from one of them. Perhaps, as the historian goes on to say, during his residence at Rome he might contract an intimate friendship with Zuccari; but the style of Salimbeni discovers very opposite principles from those of that master, and notwithstanding all researches, no one has succeeded in finding pictures of his that bear indications of that school. He loved precision more than fulness of design; and we may even observe in him an attachment to the manner of Pietro Perugino, as was observed by Della Valle with regard to a Crucifixion attended by six Saints, in the parish church of Lusignano. In his other pictures at Siena, especially in the S. Peter-Martyr, in possession of the Dominicans, he appears wholly modern;\* but diligent, and free from the defects we observe in Federigo, who may be considered as a professed mannerist. It was the good fortune of the Sieneſe ſchool, that Riccio was ſucceeded by this artiſt, who, if he had not a lofty genius, poſſeſſed, at leaſt, the judgment to avoid the faults of his contemporaries. Hence, amid the degeneracy of the neighbouring ſchools, this remained but ſlightly infected; and the new diſciples it ſent forth contributed to the improvement of the art. They were not ſo much attached to home as Mecherino; they painted equally well beyond the territory of Siena; they viſited very diſtant cities, and in them all left ſpecimens of their art, both in public and in private, which are ſtill preſerved. After receiving the firſt inſtruction from Salimbeni, or ſome leſs-known artiſt, each choſe his own guide.

After receiving the rudiments of the art at Siena, Pietro Sorri went to Florence, under Paſſignano, and became his ſon-in-law, and the aſſociate of his labours in that place and in Venice. He emulated the ſtyle of Paſſignano, which partook, as we have obſerved, of the Florentine and the Venetian: he ſucceeded ſo well, that their works bear a perfect reſemblance, and are held in equal eſtimation. He

\* It has his name and the year 1579, which date muſt be falſe. The widow of Arcangiolo married again, and bore Francesco Vanni in 1565. Conſequentlly the latter could not be the ſcholar of Arcangiolo, though ſuch an idea is verſy prevalent; and he could give leſſons only for a ſhort time to his ſon, Ventura, or to Sorri, and Caſolani, if the period of their birth is true.

painted less expeditiously than his father-in-law, but his colouring was more durable, and his design more graceful. The convent of S. Sebastian, ornamented by a competition of the best Sienese artists of this epoch, has one of his pictures, which are rather uncommon in Siena, for his best years were spent in other places. He was much at Florence; visited many other Tuscan cities, and there is scarcely any considerable place among them which cannot boast the efforts of his easy and graceful pencil, particularly Pisa, the cathedral of which could not but attract such an artist. He represented the Consecration of that church on one large canvas, and, on another, Christ disputing with the Doctors, which is inscribed with his name; and never did he approach nearer to the excellence of Paul Veronese in architecture and other accompaniments. He was employed in the Carthusian monastery of Pavia, and also in Genoa as a preceptor in that school.

Casolani took his surname from Casole, the little town from which his family removed to Siena. In the ducal gallery of Florence there is a portrait of a lady with three men, in the same piece, which is said to represent Lucrezia Piccolomini, with her three sons, Alessandro Casolani, Francesco Vanni, and Ventura Salimbeni, whom she bore to different husbands, in the course of a few years. This makes Alessandro the step-son of Arcangiolo Salimbeni, and the uterine brother of Ventura and of Vanni. I cannot find this story in any author, except in Niccolò Pio, a Roman writer of no authority, whose manuscript, containing notices of two hundred and fifty artists, which was drawn up about 1724, is preserved in the Vatican library.\* The old writers of Siena take no notice of so remarkable an event, and we cannot, therefore, give credit to Pio, a stranger, and a modern author. The relation then in which Alessandro stands to Arcangiolo is that of scholar; but he learnt more from Cav. Roncalli in Siena and in Rome. He remained long in the latter city: designed the finest works it contained, and obtained some idea of different styles. This knowledge was increased by a journey which he made some years afterwards to Pavia, where he painted in the Carthusian monastery, and other

\* See letter 127 in vol. v. of *Lett. Pittor.*, in which there is a catalogue of those painters.

places. His manner is wonderfully varied. It exhibits traces of the best style of Roncalli, good design, sobriety of composition, modesty of colouring, and tranquil harmony. He seems also to have aimed at originality, for he was continually altering his style, mingling it with the graces of various artists, and sometimes striking out into a novel path. He possessed promptness of genius and of execution: he was quick in committing his ideas to the canvas; and when dissatisfied with his work, he often chose to cancel the whole, rather than correct a part. Although unacquainted with ideal beauty, he was esteemed by Guido, who may be considered as the father of modern painters, and who said of him "this truly is a painter." Whoever would see his best work, may examine the Martyrdom of S. Bartholomew, at the Carmine of Siena. It is a picture of considerable size, and with great variety in the figures and in the expression, and altogether excites surprise. We are told that when Roncalli had examined it, he exclaimed, that the art of that period was comprised in such a picture. But the short life of Casolani prevented him attaining the excellence this specimen promised. His works are in various cities of Tuscany, and also in Naples, Genoa, and Fermo, in the metropolitan church of which there is a picture of S. Louis of France, numbered among the choice paintings in that city.

A good many of his works in Siena shew traces of, and even whole figures by, other hands; having been finished by Vanni, and Ventura Salimbeni, or by other artists of different schools. Ilario Casolani, his son, by a daughter of Rustici, finished the Assumption for the church of S. Francis; and afterwards went to Rome, where he was "noticed by Cav. Pomaranci, out of respect to his father," says Mancini, as of a thing he knew, and adds, that Pomaranci had good hopes of him. Baglione and Pio called him Cristoforo, a name he, perhaps, received along with several others at baptism; and which probably the Sienese artist thought more becoming at Rome than Ilario, since he is named Cristoforo by Roncalli. Under Pomaranci he became a proficient in his style of fresco, and imitated it particularly at Madonna de' Monti, in pictures from the history of the Virgin, and in an Ascension on the ceiling; the best work, perhaps, he produced. Titi uniformly names him Cristoforo Consolano; but



a consideration of the anecdotes of Mancini and Baglione leads us to convert it into Casolano. A Resurrection of Lazarus, begun by Alessandro for the church of S. Francis, was finished by Vincenzo Rustici; probably his scholar and his kinsman, and the least celebrated among this family of painters. One of his pictures, intended for Santuccio, was finished by Sebastiano Folli. His frescos are more numerous at Siena than his oil-pictures: the ornamental parts are superior to his figures, in which he inclined to mannerism; his compartments are beautiful, his architecture finely conducted, his imitations of stucco deceive the eye, and he was expert in foreshortening what was to be seen from below. In 1608 he painted the frescos of S. Sebastian, in competition with various artists, and in this trial of skill he only yields to Rutilio Manetti. In the Guide of the Cav. Pecci, I find mention made of designs of Casolani, executed in fresco by Stefano Volpi, whose name frequently occurs in that work, and who was probably a scholar of that excellent artist.

Cav. Ventura, the son of A. Salimbeni, is reckoned the third scholar of that master, though his lessons from Arcangiolo must have been but few. The young man left his home early, and journeying through the cities of Lombardy, studied the works of Correggio and others, whose taste began to be applauded in Tuscany. He went to Rome in the pontificate of Sixtus V. and raised a very favourable opinion of his genius, which, giving himself up to dissipation, he did not fulfil. In that city he left many frescos that are praised by Baglione, among which, the Abraham entertaining the Angels, in a chapel of the Gesù, appears the work of a consummate painter. It has something lively and graceful in the colouring and the countenances: it also shews attention to design and chiaroscuro, which he afterwards neglected in his paintings. In conjunction with Vanni he executed some ceilings, and, perhaps, derived advantage from observing this painter. In many of his works he resembles him in his imitation of Baroccio, and hardly yields to him in grace of contour, in expression, and in delicacy and clearness of colouring. He is admired in the church of S. Quirico, and in that of S. Domenick: in the one is his Appearance of the Angel at the Sepulchre; in the other a Crucifixion, with various Saints,

superior to the generality of his works. In Siena there are others of great merit, especially where he painted in the vicinity of the works of the best masters of his school. He likewise executed some beautiful historical pieces when he vied with Poccetti, in the cloister of the Servi at Florence, and in the cathedral of Pisa, where he was surrounded by such great painters. His Marriage of the Virgin, in the cathedral of Foligno, his S. Gregory, in the church of S. Peter at Perugia, his works in Lucca, Pavia, and various cities of Italy, justify the remark of Baglione, that Salimbeni was impatient of remaining long in any one place. In Genoa, however, his stay was not so short. The beautiful chamber in the Adorno palace, and other works he there executed, are still in existence, while others have perished. He went to Genoa at the same time with Agostino Tassi, who served him for an ornamental and landscape painter, and, perhaps, it was through him that Ottavio Ghisconi, of Siena, came to that place, an artist forgotten in the annals of his own country; in fresco he was more lively than correct. He studied at Rome under Cherubino Alberti; but his country, his style, and the time of his arrival at Genoa, afford ground to suspect that he had also received lessons from Salimbeni. Soprani gives Ventura the surname of Bevilacqua, an addition to his name granted him by Cardinal Bevilacqua when he knighted him in Perugia.

Cav. Francesco Vanni, in the opinion of many, is the best painter of this school; and is reckoned one of the restorers of Italian painting in the sixteenth century. The early instruction of his genius is to be assigned with greater probability to his brother than to his step-father. At sixteen he went to Rome, for the purpose of designing after Raffaello and the best masters. He was for some time under the tuition of Gio. de' Vecchi, whose style he introduced into his native country. There are specimens of him in many churches, and it is related that they were not relished by his fellow-citizens; a circumstance which might occasion him uneasiness at the time, but soon after afforded him a lasting source of satisfaction. It induced him to examine the pictures of Lombardy, as his brother had done: and having remained in Parma to design some of them, he afterwards went to Bo-

logna, where he was assiduously occupied. Ugurgieri writes that he was at that place in 1667, at which time he was twelve years old: this I believe to be incorrect; for it was unknown to Mancini, who was acquainted with Vanni. Malvasia repeats it on the authority of Ugurgieri; but he can discover nothing further of Vanni, at Bologna, than his being there after he had arrived at manhood, and designing in the academy of Facini and Mirandola, to which he was probably introduced by his countryman Marcucci. He left works at Bologna, in the style of the Caracci, if he is the painter of a Madonna, which was shewn me as a Vanni, in a cabinet of the Zambeccari collection. His *Flight into Egypt*, painted for the church of S. Quirico, in Siena, bears also undoubted marks of the Bolognese school.

Although he attempted other styles, he was not, like Casolani, an adherent to none. Vanni attached himself to the elegant and florid manner of Barocci, in which he was eminently successful. Of this, the *Humiliation of Simon the Sorcerer*, which he painted on a stone slab for the church of S. Peter at Rome, affords a proof; though recently cleaned with little judgment, it is still an object of admiration. Both the design and colouring are in the manner of Barocci; and it is prepared with due regard to the humidity of that church; nor has it been found necessary, as has happened to other pictures, to remove it. He also painted in Siena, and in other Italian cities, where he has approached the manner of Barocci more closely than Viviani, or any other pupil of that artist. His *Marriage of S. Catherine*, with a numerous group of angels, at the Refugio, is much praised in Siena; as is the *Madonna*, surrounded by saints, painted for the church of Monna Agnese; and the *S. Raymond walking on the Sea*, in the possession of the Dominican Fathers, which is supposed by some to be his best picture in Siena, where his works are very numerous. Among the finest pictures in the cathedral of Pisa, is the *Dispute about the Sacrament*, painted in emulation of his brother Ventura, who had surpassed his usual style in the altar-piece of the angels. At the Umiltà of Pistoia, in the convent of the Camaldules of Fabriano, and in that of the Capuchins of S. Quirico, are some of his most exquisite works; and they are so numerous in other places, that



I do not imagine a full catalogue of them has ever been made out. He is generally a follower of Barocci, as we have observed ; and amateurs, deceived principally by his colouring, and the heads of his boys, which appear cast in the mould of Barocci, frequently confound the latter with Vanni : but one, well acquainted with Federigo, observes in him more grandeur of design, and greater freedom in the touches. The pictures which Vanni executed negligently, or at low prices (of which there are several at Siena), can hardly be recognized as his.

By the example and lessons of Vanni, the honour of painting was long supported at Siena. He taught many pupils, who did not, however, rigidly adopt his style ; but, as is usually the case, imitated the master most recently in vogue. We shall begin with his two sons, to whom he had given the names most celebrated in the art. Michelangelo, the eldest, we have mentioned with applause, as the inventor of staining marble ; but he did not attain much celebrity except in this art. I know not whether he was ever out of Siena, and there we find few of his paintings, except a S. Catherine in the act of praying with the Redeemer, which was painted for the Olivetine monks. Raffaele, the second, left an orphan at the age of thirteen, was recommended to Antonio Caracci, and in that school, according to Mancini, made such progress as even to surpass his father ; but this is not the opinion of posterity. All allow that he possessed grandeur of design, and a fine taste in shadows and in colouring, with some resemblance to Cortona, who drew after him even his contemporaries. The Birth of the Virgin Mary, in the Pace at Rome, and several of his other pictures, have no small portion of the ideas and contrasts of the followers of Cortona. He lived long in Rome, and is frequently mentioned by Titi. Tuscany is not deficient in his works. At the church of S. Catherine, at Pisa, is a picture of the titular Saint ; Florence possesses the pictures of the Riccardi saloon ; and at the church of S. George, in Siena, is his Procession of our Saviour to Calvary. These are esteemed among his finest productions ; and the last is characterized as his master-piece. Both brothers had the honour of knighthood ; but it was most worthily bestowed on the second.

Contemporary with the Cav. Raffaello, as well as his assistant at S. Maria della Pace at Rome, and in several places at Siena, we find the name of Bernardino Mei. I am unacquainted with that of his master; and P. della Valle, who saw several of his works, sometimes compares him to the Caracci, at others to Paul Veronese, and to Guercino, much as the eclectic philosophers adopt or change the maxims of the different schools. He commends him for the airs of his heads, and, as one of his best productions, alludes to a fresco in the Casa Bandinelli, with an Aurora in a ceiling, and with several other elegant figures and designs.

Francesco di Cristofano Rustici, called Rustichino, is still better known in Siena. He obtained the name of Rustichino, either because he was the last of a family that had produced three painters before him, or because he died in the outset of life. This circumstance, perhaps, contributed to his reputation. All his remaining works are beautiful, which seldom happens to artists who live to a great age, and who abate in diligence as they advance in reputation and in years. He is a graceful follower of Caravaggio; and particularly excels in confined or candle lights, much in the style of Gherardo della Notte; but is perhaps more select. The Dying Magdalen, in possession of the grand duke of Tuscany, and the S. Sebastian, cured by S. Irene, which belongs to Prince Borghese, in Rome, are in this style. But it was not the only one in which Rustichino painted. He visited Rome, and studied the works of the Caracci and of Guido, of which traces may be discovered in his works; but, at the same time, all of them possess a certain originality, and something peculiarly his own. The best of all his pictures at Siena is an Annunciation, in Provenzano, before which the Virgin, S. Catherine, prays, surrounded by a multitude of angels. If Rustichino pleases in other works, in this he enchants us. He began a work on the history of the city in the public palace, in which his father, whose figures were not equal to his decorations, was also employed, and it was finished by other artists.

Rutilio Manetti, or, as Pecci writes it, Mannetti, followed Caravaggio with less discrimination, but with greater force in the shadows. His pictures at Siena are easily recognised by invariably partaking of a certain sombre hue, which deranges the

balance and participation of light and shade. The same objection lies against many of his contemporaries of every school. The method of purifying colours, and of composing vehicles,\* had degenerated; and the injury sustained from this defect was not observed in the pictures: the artist only looked to the grand effect, to which the age so much aspired. Manetti united an improved design to ideas above the common order, and beautiful architecture; and hence, at times he approaches rather to Guercino than to Caravaggio. In the cathedral of Siena is his Elijah under the Juniper Tree, in which the historian of that church commends the force of the colouring, which is juicy and natural. Many of his works remain in the Carthusian monastery of Florence, and in several churches of Siena, the most admired of which is the Repose of the Holy Family, in S. Peter's of Castelveccchio. In private collections, where pictures are better preserved than in churches, we find very beautiful Madonnas by this artist; and there is a most exquisite Lucretia in the possession of the Bandinelli family. He sometimes departed from his usual manner, as in the Triumph of David, in the ducal gallery, in which the shadows are not so dark, and the tone of the whole

\* The idea that the brilliant colouring of the Venetian school was owing to the use of a peculiar vehicle for the colours, or a certain varnish, has been long entertained by artists and connoisseurs; and the opinion has been sanctioned by great names; yet it is highly probable that the great secret of the Venetian painters consisted not in vehicles nor in varnishes, but in employing mineral colours, and in laying them on the canvas as little mixed as possible. No colour derived from the vegetable kingdom will stand well when mixed with oil, and our best colours are composed of metallic oxides, or earthy bodies highly charged with those oxides. When colours are much mixed on the palette they become invariably muddy, and to him who aims at brilliancy of colouring no maxim is of greater consequence than *to keep his palette as clean as possible*. The use of transparent colours in the shadows is another great cause of brilliancy, and this cannot be obtained by the use of mixed colours. It is produced by what is called glazing, or laying transparent colours one over another. In nothing is the effect of glazing, in giving transparency, more obvious, than the astonishing clearness of the skies and water in the works of the best Dutch artists. That the magical effect of Kuyp's pictures is thus produced, I had an opportunity of knowing from the blunder of a picture-cleaner, who thought he had made a great discovery when he found the Rhine of a deep blue in a picture by this master; from



is more lively. Mention is made in the "*Lettere Pittoriche*,"\* of Bernardino Capitelli, a scholar of Manetti, and an etcher; and in the third volume there is casual mention of one Domenico Manetti, probably of the same family, but not to be mistaken for the great individual of the same name. He appears rather to have employed himself in ornamenting private collections, and painted a Baptism of Constantine for the casa Magnoni, that has been much commended.

Astolfo Petrazzi, as well as Vanni, was a pupil of the younger Salimbeni and of Sorri; and seems, more than any other, to have adhered to the manner of his master. He frequently aims at pleasing, and not unfrequently chooses his models from the schools of Upper Italy. A Marriage-feast of Cana, by his hand, in a private house, brings Paolo strongly to our recollection. His Communion of S. Jerome, in the possession of Augustine friars, partakes, perhaps, too strongly of the manner of the Caracci. This picture, which he painted at Rome, was much admired at Siena, and was the origin of his great employment in that city, where his pictures are always decorated with most pleasing choirs of angels. His cabinet pictures were also lively: witness the Four Seasons at Volte, a seat of the noble family of Chigi. He kept an open academy for painting in his house, much frequented by natives of Siena, and honoured by the attendance of Borgognone, who stopped some months with Astolfo before he went to Rome. Hence, many of this artist's early battle-pieces and landscapes are to be met with at Siena: the house of Sig. Decano Giovanelli, a literary ornament of that city, abounded with them.

I find some other painters of this school who are known beyond the state of Siena. Antiveduto Grammatica, an eminent Siennese, was known at Rome, where he was president of the academy of S. Luke. He was deprived of that office for attempting to substitute one of his own copies for a S. Luke by Raffaello, which he had sold to a gentleman. He had a

which, along with the varnish, he had removed a thin coating of yellow, with which the blue was glazed over, to produce the beautiful greenish hue of the water. (Note by Dr. Traill.)

\* Tom. i.

peculiar talent in the art of copying, especially heads, and on this account he was a good portrait painter. Although we are not certain that he had any master but one Domenico Perugino, a painter of little wooden scenes,\* he obtained applause in large compositions. There is an Annunciation by Grammatica of a most brilliant colouring, in the hospital of the Incurables; and several of his other pictures in different churches. He died at Rome in 1626.

Two other artists, unknown in their native place, are made known to me by their signatures. On a Last Supper, in the convent of the Angioli, below Assisi, I discovered "Franciscus Antonius Senensis," 1614, or thereabouts. The style has enough of Baroccio to lead me to suspect that he was the scholar of Vanni, or of Salimbeni: nor must he be reckoned the meanest of that school, for he was master of expression in a degree superior to mediocrity. The figure of the departing Judas is the image of desperate resolve, and would be much better had he not given it the feet of a bat, a grotesque conceit. In the same neighbourhood, at the church of Foligno, I read, beneath a Holy Family, the name of "Marcantonio Grecchi," and the date 1634. The style is solid, expressive, and correct; more resembling Tiarini di Bologna than any master of Siena. Niccolo Tornioli, lately mentioned, painted in the church of S. Paul, at Bologna, in various cities of Italy: in Siena he left, perhaps, no picture in public but the Vocation of S. Matthew, still remaining in the custom-house. Towards the close of the century, painting was practised at Siena chiefly by foreigners. Annibale Mazzuoli, a fresco-painter of rapid execution, but little merit, was most em-

\* His name alone survives in Perugia; though it is believed that one of his pictures remains in the church of S. Angelo Magno, at Ascoli, where the figure of S. Giovanni is ascribed by Lazzeri, in his "*Ascoli in Prospettiva*," to one Giandomenico da Perugia, and a landscape to Gio. Francesco da Bologna, that is to say, to Grimaldi. The figure is in the Guercino taste, according to the opinion of Sig. Orsini; but I cannot conceive how he or the Sig. Mariotti (p. 273) should not have remarked that it must be the production of Giandomenico Cerrini, of Perugia, contemporary with Grimaldi and Guercino, and not of that Domenico, the painter of wooden scenes, who lived about an age anterior to them.

ployed : he afterwards went to Rome, and is the last name inserted in the Eulogies of Pio.

Painting came again into repute at Siena about 1700, when its credit was restored by Cav. Giuseppe Nasini, a scholar of Ciro Ferri. Nasini possessed qualities for which I have commended many of his nation ; fervid genius, fertile imagination, and a poetic vein ; but his poetry was of the species that prevailed in Italy during his younger days, a composition unrestrained by fixed rules. To this spirit we not unfrequently discover some analogy in his paintings, in which we could desire to find more order, a more choice design, and colouring less vulgar. He always shews, however, a taste for allegory, great command of pencil, and an imposing air ; and the observation of Redi, that “ he stuns the beholder,” is not without some foundation.\* This remark was made when Nasini had finished the cupola of the chapel of S. Anthony, in the church of the Apostles at Rome, in which chapel there is a picture by Luti. He afterwards entered into a competition with Luti, and the first artists then in Rome, in the large Prophets of the Lateran cathedral. His masterpiece is supposed to be the S. Leonard, in Madonna del Pianto at Foligno, the ceiling of which he painted with good frescos. Siena contains some of his finest productions of every kind ; above all, the pictures of the Novissimi, intended for the Pitti palace, but transferred from it to the church of the Conventuals. It contains a number of figures neither so select nor so well arranged as to arrest the eye ; but he who would contemptuously overlook it, let him say how many painters then in Italy could have produced such a picture ?

Giuseppe brought up two pupils in his house. He had a brother named Antonio, a priest, whose likeness is among the eminent portrait painters in the gallery at Florence. Cav. Apollonio Nasini, the son of Giuseppe, was inferior to his father in the profession, yet assisted him in his greatest works, and held an honourable rank among his contemporaries. Gioseffo Pinacci, of Siena, a disciple of Mehus in figures, and of Borgognone in battle-pieces, lived in the time of Nasini. He was a good painter of portraits, and made a considerable

\* Lett. Pittoriche, tom. ii. p. 69.



fortune, first at the court of Carpio, viceroy of Naples, and afterwards in the service of the grand duke Ferdinand at Florence, where several of his works remain. But his chief merit consisted in a knowledge of the pencilling of the old masters. Nicolo Franchini distinguished himself rather by restoring the work of other hands than by his own productions, and thus furnished Pecci with much convenient information for his City Guide; "by his skill," says the Cavaliere, "in restoring injured specimens to their original beauty, without applying to them a fresh pencil, and in supplying the faded colours with others taken from paintings of less value, he entitled himself, in fact, to the praise of a new discovery." We shall here conclude the school of Siena, and shall add in its praise, that if it did not produce painters of the very highest class, it at least boasts many artists, eminent when we consider their era, and few inferior, or not above mediocrity.\* It indeed appears, that either a genius for painting is natural to that people, or that none of them have embraced the art who were not capable of prosecuting it successfully.

\* A few of the names that obtained least celebrity in Siena are pointed out by P. M. della Valle in the third volume of the *Lettere Senesi* (p. 459), among which are found Crescenzo Gamberelli Nasinesco, Deifobo Burbarini, a poor artist, Aurelio Martelli, called *Il Mutolo*, Gio. Batista Ramacciotti, a priest and connoisseur in painting; and the same may be said of Bernardino Fungai, and of the noble Marcello Loli, of Galgano Perpignano, with others of like merit, either omitted or slightly mentioned by Sig. Pecci. P. della Valle excuses himself from the task of treating of them in favour of happier writers; but as we do not pretend to aspire to that felicity, we shall leave others to avail themselves of the father's liberality.

## BOOK III.

## ROMAN SCHOOL.

I HAVE frequently heard the lovers of art express a doubt whether the Roman school possesses the same inherent right to that distinctive appellation as the schools of Florence, Bologna, and Venice. Those of the latter cities were, indeed, founded by their respective citizens, and supported through a long course of ages ; while the Roman school, it may be said, could boast only of Giulio Romano and Sacchi, and a few others, natives of Rome, who taught, and left scholars there. The other artists who flourished there were either natives of the cities of the Roman state, or from other parts of Italy, some of whom established themselves in Rome, and others, after the close of their labours there, returned and died in their native places. But this question is, if I mistake not, rather a dispute of words than of things, and similar to those objections advanced by the Peripatetic sophists against the modern philosophy ; insisting that they abuse the meaning of their words, and quoting, as an example, the *vis inertiae* ; as if that, which is in itself inert, could possess the quality of force. The moderns laugh at this difficulty, and coolly reply that, if the *vis* displeased them, they might substitute *natura*, or any other equivalent word ; and that it was lost time to dispute about words, and neglect things. So it may be said in this case ; they who disapprove of the designation of school, may substitute that of academy, or any other term denoting a place where the art of painting is professed and taught. And, as the learned universities always derive their names from the city where they are established, as the university of Padua or Pisa, although the professors may be all,

or in great part, from other states, so it is with the schools of painting, to which the name of the country is always attached, in preference to that of the master. In Vasari we do not find this classification of schools, and Monsignor Agucchi was the first to divide Italian art into the schools of Lombardy, Venice, Tuscany, and Rome.\* He has employed the term of schools after the manner of the ancients, and has thus characterized one of them as the Roman school. He has, perhaps, erred in placing Michelangelo, as well as Raffaello, at the head of this school, as posterity has assigned him his station as chief of the school of Florence; but he has judged right in classing it under a separate head, possessing, as it does, its own peculiar style; and in this he has been followed by all the modern writers of art. The characteristic feature in the Roman school has been said to consist in a strict imitation of the works of the ancients, not only in sublimity, but also in elegance and selection; and to this we shall add other peculiarities, which will be noticed in their proper place. Thus, from its propriety, or from tacit convention, the appellation of the Roman school has been generally adopted; and, as it certainly serves to distinguish one of the leading styles of Italian art, it becomes necessary to employ it, in order to make ourselves clearly understood. We cannot, indeed, allow to the Roman school so extensive a range as we have assigned to that of Florence, in the first book; nevertheless, every one that chooses may apply this appellation to it in a very enlarged sense. Nor is the fact of other artists having taught, or having given a tone to painting in the capital, any valid objection to this term; since, in a similar manner, we find Titiano, Paolo Veronese, and Bassano, in Venice, though all of them were strangers; but, as they were subjects of her government, they were all termed Venetians, as that name alike embraces those born in the city or within the dominions of the Republic. The same may be said of the subjects of the Pope. Besides the natives of Rome, there appeared masters from many of her subject cities, who, teaching in Rome,

\* Bellori, *Vite de' Pittori*, p. 191. "The Roman school, of which Raffaello and Michelangelo were the great masters, derived its principles from the study of the statues and works of the ancients."



followed in the steps of their predecessors, and maintained the same principles. Passing over Pier della Francesca and Pietro Vannucci, we may refer to Raffaello himself as an example. Raffaello was born in Urbino, the subject of a duke, who held his fief under the Roman see, and who, in Rome, held the office of prefect of the city; and whose dominions, in failure of male issue, reverted to the Pope, as the heritage of the Church. Thus Raffaello cannot be considered other than a Roman subject. To him succeeded Giulio Romano and his scholars; followed by Zuccari, and the mannerists of that time, until the art found a better style under the direction of Baroccio, Baglione, and others. After them flourished Sacchi and Maratta, whose successors have extended to our own times. Restricted within these bounds, the Roman may certainly be considered as a national school; and, if not rich in numbers, it is at least so in point of excellence, as Raffaello in himself outweighs a world of inferior artists.

The other painters who resided in Rome, and followed the principles of that school, I shall neither attempt to add to, nor to subtract from it; adopting it as a maxim not to interfere in the decision of disputes alike idle and irrelevant to my subject. Still less shall I ascribe to it those who adopted a totally different style, as Michelangelo da Caravaggio, an artist whom Lombardy may lay claim to, on account of his birth, or Venice, from his receiving his education in that city, though he lived and wrote in Rome, and influenced the taste of the national school there by his example and that of his scholars. In the same manner other names will occasionally occur in the history of this school: it is the duty of the historian to mention these, and it is an incomparable triumph to the Roman school, that she stands, in this manner, as the centre of all the others; and that so many artists could not have obtained celebrity, if they had not seen Rome, or could not have claimed that title from the world unless they had first obtained her suffrage.

I shall not identify the limits of this school with those of the dominions of the Church, as in that case we should comprise in it the painters of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, whom I have reserved for another volume. In my limits I

shall include only the capital, and the provinces in its immediate vicinity, as Latium, the Sabine territories, the patrimony of the Church, Umbria, Picenum, and the state of Urbino, the artists of which district were, for the most part, educated in Rome, or under the eyes of Roman masters. My historical notices of them will be principally derived from Vasari, Baglione, Passeri, and Leone Pascoli. From these writers we have the lives of many artists who painted in Rome, and the last-named author has included in his account his fellow-countrymen of Perugia. Pascoli has not, indeed, the merits of the three first writers; but he does not deserve the discredit thrown on him by Ratti and Bottari, the latter of whom, in his notes to Vasari, does not hesitate to call him a wretched writer, and unworthy of credit. His work, indeed, on the artists of Perugia, shews that he indiscriminately copied what he found in others, whether good or bad; and to the vulgar traditions of the early artists he paid more than due attention. But his other work, on the history of the modern painters, sculptors, and architects, is a book of authority. In every branch of history much credit is attached to the accounts of contemporary writers, particularly if they were acquaintances or friends of the persons of whom they wrote; and Pascoli has this advantage; for, in addition to information from their own mouths, he derived materials from their surviving friends, nor spared any pains to arrive at the truth (see "*Vita del Cozza*"). The judgment, therefore, which he passes on each artist, is not wholly to be despised, since he formed it on those of the various professors then living in Rome, as Winckelman has observed (tom. i. p. 450); and, if these persons, as it is pretended, have erred in their judgment on the Greek sculptors, they have certainly not erred in their estimate of modern painters, particularly Luti, to whom I imagine Pascoli, from esteem and intimacy, deferred more than to any other artist.

We have from Bellori other lives, written with more learning and criticism, some of which are supposed to be lost. He had originally applied himself to painting, but deserted that art, as we may conjecture from Pascoli (*Vita del Canini*), and attached himself to poetry and the study of antiquities.

His skill in both arts manifests itself in the lives he has left, which are few, but interspersed with interesting and minute particulars of the characters of the painters and their works. In his plan, he informs us he has followed the advice of Niccolò Poussin. He also composed a "Description of the figures painted by Raffaello, in the churches of the Vatican;" a tract which contains some severe reflections on Vasari,\* but is nevertheless highly useful. We also find a profusion of entertaining anecdotes in Taja, in his "Description of the Vatican;" and in Titi, in his account of the pictures, sculpture, and architecture of Rome. This work has recently been republished, with additions, and we shall occasionally quote it under the name of the "Guide." Pesaro is indebted for a similar "Guide" to Signor Becci, and Ascoli and Perugia to Signor Baldassare Orsini, a celebrated architect. We have also the *Lettere Perugine* of Sig. Dottore Annibale Mariotti, which treat of the early painters of Perugia, with a store of information and critical acumen that render them highly valuable. To these may also be added, the *Risposta* of the above-named Sig. Orsini, whom I regret to see entering on Etruscan ground, as he there repeats many ancient errors which have long been exploded by common consent: in other points it is a treatise worth perusal. If we turn to "Descriptions," we have them of several periods, as that of the Basilica Loretana, and that of Assisi, composed by P. Angeli; the account of the Duomo of Orvieto, written by P. della Valle; and the works on the churches of S. Francesco di Perugia, and S. Pietro di Fano, by anonymous writers. The Abbate Colucci has favoured us with recent notices on various artists of Piceno, Umbria, and Urbino, in his "Antichità Picene," extended, as far as my observation goes, to tom. xxxi.† The

\* Lett. Pittor. tom. ii. p. 323; and Dialoghi sopra le tre Arti del Disegno. In Lucca, 1754.

† This work contains contributions from various quarters. I have not, however, made an equal use of all; as I believe some pictures to be copies, which are there referred to as originals; and as several names mentioned may with propriety be omitted. In my references, I shall often cite the collections; sometimes also the authors of some more considerable treatises, as P. Civalli, Terzi, Sig. Agostino Rossi, Sig. Arciprete Lazzari, respecting whom I must refer to the second index, where will be found the titles of their respective works.



learned authors whom I have named, and others to whom I shall occasionally refer, have furnished the chief materials of my present treatise, although I have myself collected a considerable part from artists and lovers of art, either in conversation or in my correspondence. Thus far in the way of introduction.

# ROMAN SCHOOL.

## EPOCH I.

### Early Artists.

IF we turn our eyes for a moment to that tract of country which we have designated as falling within the limits of the Roman school, amidst the claims of modern art, we shall occasionally meet with both Greek and Latin pictures of the rude ages, from the first of which we may conclude that Greek artists formerly painted in this part of Italy, and from the latter, that our own countrymen were emulous to follow their example. One of these artists is said to have had the name of Luca, and to him is ascribed the picture of the Virgin, at S. Maria Maggiore, and many others in Italy, which are believed to be painted by S. Luke the Evangelist. Who this Luca was, or whether one painter or more of that name ever existed, we shall presently inquire. The tradition was impugned by Manni,\* and after him by Piacenza (tom. ii. p. 120), and is now only preserved among the vulgar, a numerous class indeed, who shut their ears to every rational criticism as an innovation on their faith. This vulgar opinion is alike oppugned by the silence of the early artists, and the well attested fact, that in the first ages of the Church the Virgin was not represented with the Holy Infant in her arms,† but had her hands extended in the act of prayer. This is ex-

\* "Dell' errore che persiste," &c.; see the second index. It was opposed by Crespi, in his "Dissertazione Anticritica," referred to in the same index. It was also opposed by P. dell' Aquila, in the "Dizionario portatile della Bibbia, tradotto dal francese," in a note of some length, on the article S. Luca.

† See the *Opuscoli Calogeriani*, tom. xliii., where a learned dissertation is inserted, which shews that this custom was introduced about the middle of the fifth century, on occasion of the Council of Ephesus.

emplified in the funeral vase of glass in the Museo Trombelli at Bologna, with the inscription MARIA, and in many bassi-relievi of Christian sarcophagi, where she is represented in a similar attitude. Rome possesses several of these specimens, and others are to be found in Velletri.\* It is, however, a common opinion, that these pictures are by a painter of the name of Luca. Lami refers to a legend of the fourteenth century of the Madonna dell' Impruneta, where they are said to be the works of a Florentine of the name of Luca, who, for his many Christian virtues, obtained the title of saint.† They are not, however, all in the same style, and some of them bear Greek inscriptions, whence we may conclude that they are by various hands, although they all appear to have been painted in or about the twelfth century. This tradition was not confined to Italy, but found its way into many of the eastern churches. The author of the "Anecdotes des Beaux Arts," relates that the memory of a Luca, a hermit, who had painted many rude portraits of the Virgin, was held in great veneration in Greece; and that through a popular superstition he had succeeded to the title of S. Luke the Evangelist. Tournefort ("Voyage," &c.) mentions an image of the Virgin at Mount Lebanon, attributed by the vulgar to S. Luke; but which was doubtless also the work of some Luke, a monk in one of the early ages.

More considerable remains, both of the Greek and Italian artists of the thirteenth century, are to be found in Assisi, as related in my first book; and to those already mentioned as painted on the walls, may be added others on panel, all by unknown artists; particularly a Crucifixion in S. Chiara, of which there is a tradition, that it was painted before Giunta appeared. Another picture, anterior to this period, and bearing the date of 1219, is to be seen at Subiaco; it is a consecration of a church, and the painter informs us that *Conciolus pinxit*. If, in addition to these, we inquire after the miniature

\* Engraved by command of the learned Cardinal Borgia. The artists began about the middle of the fifth century, to represent her with the Infant in her arms.

† "The painter was a man of holy life, and a Florentine, whose name was Luca, and who was honoured by the common people with the title of saint."—Lami, *Deliciæ Eruditorum*, tom. xv.



painters, we may find specimens of them in abundance, in the library of the Vatican, and other collections in Rome. I shall name only S. Agostino, in the public library of Perugia, where the Redeemer is seen in the midst of saints, and the opening of Genesis is painted in miniature: a design, which, from the angular folds of the drapery, partakes of the Greek style, but still serves to prove this art to have been known at that time in Umbria. In addition to what I have remarked, I may also observe, that in Perugia, in the course of the same century, the artists were sufficiently numerous to form an academy, as we may collect from the "*Lettere Perugine*," and these, when we consider the time, must have been in great part miniature painters.

It is now time to notice Oderigi of Gubbio, a town very near to Perugia. Vasari tells us that he was a man of celebrity, and a friend of Giotto, in Rome; and Dante, in his second "*Cantica*," calls him an honour to Agobbio, and excelling in the art of miniature. These are the only authorities that Baldinucci could have for transferring this ancient artist to the school of Cimabue, and ingrafting him in his usual manner on that stock. Upon these, he founded his conjecture; and, according to his custom, gave them more weight than they deserved. His opinion, however amplified, reduces itself to the assumption, that Giotto, Oderigi, and Dante, were lovers of art, and common friends, and became therefore acquainted in the school of Cimabue: a very uncertain conclusion. We shall consider this subject more maturely in the school of Bologna, since Oderigi lived there, and instructed Franco, from whom Bologna dates the series of her painters. It is thought, too, that he left some scholars in his native place, and not long after him, in 1321, we find Cecco, and Puccio da Gubbio, engaged as painters of the cathedral of Orvieto; and about the year 1342, Guido Palmerucci of the same place, employed in the palace of his native city. There remains a work of his in fresco in the hall, much injured by time; but some figures of saints are still preserved, which do not yield to the best style of Giotto. Other vestiges of ancient paintings are to be seen in the *Confraternita de' Bianchi*, in whose archives it is mentioned, that the picture of S. Biagio was repaired by Donato in 1374, whence it must

necessarily be of a very early period. This and other interesting information I obtained from Sig. Sebastiano Rangiasei, a noble inhabitant of Gubbio, who has formed a catalogue of the artists of his native city, inserted in the fourth volume of the last edition of Vasari.

We are now arrived at the age of Giotto, and the first who presents himself to us is Pietro Cavallini, who was instructed by Giotto, in Rome,\* in the arts of painting and mosaic, both of which he followed with skill and intelligence. The Roman Guide makes mention of him, and that of Florence refers to a Nunziata at S. Mark ; and there are others mentioned by Vasari as being in the chapels of that city, one of which is in the Loggia del Grano. The most remarkable of his works is to be seen in Assisi. It is a fresco, and occupies a large façade in one division of the church. It represents the crucifixion of our Saviour, surrounded by bands of soldiers, foot and horse, and a numerous crowd of spectators, all varying in their dress and in the expression of their passions. In the sky is a band of angels, whose sympathizing sorrow is vividly depicted. In extent and spirit of design, it partakes of the style of Memmi, and in one of the sufferers on the cross, he has shewn that he appreciated and successfully followed his guide. The colours are well preserved, particularly the blue, which there, and in other parts of the church, presents, to use the language of our poets, a heaven of oriental sapphire.

Vasari does not appear to have been acquainted with any scholar of Pietro Cavallini, except it be Giovanni da Pistoja ; but Pietro, who lived in Rome the greater part of his life, which was extended to a period of eighty-five years, must have contributed his aid in no small degree to the advancement of art, in the capital, as well as in other places. However this may be, in that part of Italy, pictures of his school are still found ; or at least memorials of the age in which he

\* So says Vasari, who writes his life, but Padre della Valle thinks it highly probable that he was the scholar of Cosimati, and not of Giotto ; as Cavallini was contemporary with Giotto. I agree that he was only a few years younger, and might have received some instructions in the school of Cosimati : but who, except Giotto himself, could have taught him that Giottesque and improved style scarcely inferior to Gaddi ?

flourished. We have an Andrea of Velletri, of whom a specimen is preserved in the select collection of the Museo Borgia, with the Virgin surrounded by saints, a common subject at that period in the churches, as I have before observed. It has the name of the painter, with the year 1334, and in execution approaches near to the school of Siena. In the year 1321 we find Ugolino Orvietano, Gio. Bonini di Assisi, Lello Perugino, and F. Giacomo da Camerino, noticed by us in another place, all employed in painting in the cathedral of Orvieto. Mariotti, in his letters, mentions other artists of Perugia, and the memory of a very early painter of Fabriano is preserved by Ascevolini, the historian of that city, who informs us, that in the country church of S. Maria Maddalena, there was a picture in fresco, by Bocco, executed in 1306. A Francesco Tio da Fabriano, who, in 1318, painted the tribune of the Conventuals at Mondaino, is mentioned by Colucci (tom. xxv. p. 183). This work has perished; but the productions of a successor of his at Fabriano are to be seen in the oratory of S. Antonio Abate, the walls of which remain. Histories of the saint are there to be found, divided into pictures, in the early style, and inscribed "*Allegrettus Nutii de Fabriano hoc opus fecit, 136 ...*" The art in these parts was not a little advanced by their proximity to Assisi, where Giotto's scholars were employed after his death, particularly Puccio Capanna of Florence. This artist, esteemed one of the most successful followers of Giotto, after painting in Florence, in Pistoia, Rimino, and Bologna, is conjectured by Vasari to have settled in Assisi, where he left many works.

We shall find the succeeding century more fruitful in art, as the popes at that time forsook Avignon, and, re-establishing themselves in Rome, began to decorate the palace of the Vatican, and to employ painters of celebrity both there and in the churches. There does not appear any person of distinction amongst them as a native of Rome. From the Roman state we find Gentile da Fabriano, Piero della Francesca, Bonfigli, Vannucci, and Melozzo, who first practised the art of foreshortening what is seen from below; and amongst the strangers are Pisanello, Masaccio, Beato Angelico, Botticelli and his colleagues. Amongst these too, it is



said, was to be found Mantegna, and there still remains the chapel painted by him for Innocent VIII., although since converted to another purpose. Each of these artists I shall notice in their respective schools, and shall here only mention such as were found in the country from the Ufente to the Tronto, and from thence to the Metauro, which are the confines of our present class. The names of many others may be collected from books; as an Andrea, and a Bartolommeo, both of Orvieto, and a Mariotto da Viterbo, and others who worked at Orvieto from 1405 to 1457; and some who painted in Rome itself, a Giovenale and a Salli di Celano, and others now forgotten. But without pausing on these, we will advert to the artists of Piceno, of the state of Urbino, and the remaining parts of Umbria: where we shall meet with the traces of schools which remained for years.

The school of Fabriano, which seems very ancient in Picenum, produced at that time Gentile, one of the first painters of his age,\* of whom Bonarruoti is reported to have said, that his style was in unison with his name. The first notice we have of him is among the painters of the church of Orvieto, in 1417; and then, or soon afterwards, he received from the historians of that period the appellation of *magister magistrorum*, and they mention the Madonna which he there painted, and which still remains. He afterwards resided in Venice, where, after ornamenting the Palazzo Publico, he was rewarded by the republic with a salary, and with the privilege of wearing the patrician dress of that city. He there, says Vasari, became the master, and, in a manner, the father of Jacopo Bellini, the father and preceptor of two of the ornaments of the Venetian school. These were Gentile, who assumed that name in memory of Gentile da Fabriano, born in 1421; and Giovanni, who surpassed his brother in reputation, and from whose school arose Giorgione and Titiano. He (Gentile da Fabriano) was employed in the Lateran, at Rome, where he rivalled Pisanello, in the time of Martin V.; and it is to be regretted that his works have perished. Facio, who eulogizes him, and who had seen his most finished per

\* The R. Pinacoteca of Milan is enriched with various works of Gentile. His name is there met with written in half-gothic characters.—A.

formances, extols him as a man of universal art, who represented, not only the human form and edifices in the most correct manner, but painted the stormy appearances of nature in a style that struck terror into the spectator. In painting the history of St. John, in the Lateran, and the Five Prophets over it, of the colour of marble, he is said to have used more than common care, as if he prognosticated his approaching death, which soon afterwards occurred, and the work remained unfinished. Notwithstanding this, Ruggier da Bruggia, as Facio relates, when he went to Rome, in the holy year, considered it a stupendous work, which placed Gentile at the head of all the painters of Italy. According to Vasari and Borghini, he executed a countless number of works in the Marca, and in the state of Urbino, and particularly in Gubbio, and in Città di Castello, in the neighbourhood of his native place; and there still remain in those districts, and in Perugia, paintings in his style. A remarkable one is mentioned in a country church called la Romita, near Fabriano.\* Florence possesses two beautiful specimens: the one in S. Niccolo, with the effigy and history of the sainted bishop, the other in the sacristy of S. Trinità, with an Epiphany, having the date of 1423. They bear a resemblance to the style of B. Angelico, except that the proportions of the figures are not so correct, the conception is less just, and the fringe of gold and brocade more frequent. Vasari pronounces him a pupil of Beato, and Baldinucci confirms this opinion, although he says that Beato took religious orders in 1407, a period which would exclude Gentile from his tuition. I conjecture both the one and the other to have been scholars of miniature painters, from the fineness of their execution, and from the size of their works, generally on a small scale. The name of an Antonio da Fabriano appears in a Crucifixion, in 1454, painted on wood, which I saw in Matelica, in the posses-

\* In the archives of the collegiate church of S. Niccolo, in Fabriano, is preserved a catalogue of the pictures of the city, communicated to me by Sig. Can. Claudio Serafini. This picture, which is divided into five compartments, is there mentioned; and it is added, that "many celebrated painters visited the place to view this excellent work, in particular, the illustrious Raffaello."

sion of the Signori Piersanti; but it is inferior to Gentile in style.\*

On an ancient picture, which is preserved in Perugia, in the convent of S. Domenico, is the name of a painter of Camerino, a place in the same neighbourhood, who flourished in 1447. The inscription is "Opus Johannis Bochatis de Chamereno." In the same district is S. Severino, where we find a Lorenzo, who, in conjunction with his brother, painted in the oratory of S. John the Baptist in Urbino, the life of that saint. These two were much behind their age. I have seen some other works by them, from which it appears that they were living in 1470, and painted in the Florentine style of 1400. Other artists of the same province are named in the "Storia del Piceno," particularly at S. Ginesio, a Fabio di Gentile di Andrea, a Domenico Balestrieri, and a Stefano Folchetti, whose works are cited, with the date of their execution.† In this district also resided several strangers, scarcely known to their native places, as Francesco d' Imola, a scholar of Francia, who, in the convent of Cingoli, painted a Descent from the Cross; and Carlo Crivelli, a Venetian, who passed from one state to another, and finally settled in Ascoli. His works are to be met with there more frequently than in any other city of Picenum. I shall speak of his merits in the Venetian school, and shall here only add, that he had for a pupil Pietro Alamanni, the chief of the painters of Ascoli, a respectable quattrocentista, who painted an altar-piece at S. Maria della Carità, in 1489. About this time also we find amongst their names a Vittorio Crivelli, a Venetian, of the family, and perhaps of the school of Carlo. There is frequent mention of him in the "Antichità Picene."

Urbino, too, had her artists, as her princes were not behind

\* In the archives, are also mentioned two ancient pictures of a Giuliano da Fabriano, the one in the church of the Dominicans, the other in the church of the Capuchins.

† Tom. xxiii. page 83, &c. By the first, is the ancient picture of S. Maria della Consolazione in that church, erected in 1442. By the second, are the pictures in the church of S. Rocco, painted about the year 1463. The third artist painted a picture in the church of S. Liberato, in 1494.



the other rulers of Italy in good taste. At the restoration of the art, we find Giotto and several of his scholars there; and afterwards Gentile da Fabriano,\* a Galeazzo, and, possibly, a Gentile di Urbino. At Pesaro, in the convent of S. Agostino, I have seen a Madonna, accompanied with beautiful architecture, and an inscription, "Bartholomaeus Magistri Gentilis de Urbino, 1497;" and at Monte Cicardo, I saw the same name on an ancient picture of 1508, but without his birthplace. (Ant. Pic. tom. xvii. 145.) I am in doubt whether this M. Gentilis refers to the father of Bartolommeo or his master, as the scholars at that time often took their designation from their masters. At all events, this artist is not to be confounded with Bartolommeo from Ferrara, whose son, Benedetto, subscribes himself "Benedictus quondam Bartholomaei de Fer. Pictor. 1492." This is to be seen in the church of S. Domenico di Urbino, on the altar-piece in the chapel of the Muccioli, their descendants.

In the city of Urbino there remain some works of the father of Raffaello, who, in a letter of the Duchess Giovanna della Rovere, the first of the Lettere Pittoriche, is designated as *molto virtuoso*. There is by him, in the church of S. Francis, a good picture of S. Sebastian, with figures in an attitude of supplication. There is one attributed also to him in a small church, dedicated to the same saint, representing his martyrdom, with a figure foreshortened, which Raffaello, when young, imitated in a picture of the Virgin, at Città di Castello. He subscribed himself Io. Sanctis Urbi. (Urbinas). So I read it in the sacristy of the Conventuals of Sinigaglia, in an Annunciation, in which there is a beautiful angel, and an infant Christ descending from the Father, and which seems to be copied from those of Pietro Perugino, with whom Raffaello worked some time, though it has a still more ancient style. The other figures are less beautiful, but yet graceful, and the extremities are carefully executed. But the most distinguished painter in Urbino was F. Bartolommeo Corradini d' Urbino, a Dominican, called Fra. Carnevale. To an accurate eye, his pictures are defective in perspective, and retain in the drapery the dryness of his age, but the portraits

\* Galeazzo Sanzio and his sons will be noticed in the second epoch.

are so strongly expressed, that they seem to live and speak: the architecture is beautiful, the colours bright, and the air of the heads at the same time noble and unaffected. It is known that Bramante and Raffaello studied him, as there were not, at that time, any better works in Urbino. In Gubbio, which formed a part of this dukedom, were to be seen in that age the remains of the early school. There exists a fresco by Ottaviano Martis in S. Maria Nuova, painted in 1403. The Virgin is surrounded by a choir of angels, certainly too much resembling each other, but in their forms and attitudes, as graceful and pleasing as any contemporary productions.

Borgo S. Sepolero, Foligno, and Perugia, present us with artists of greater celebrity. Borgo was a part of Umbria, subject to the Holy See, and was, in 1440, pledged to the Florentines\* by Eugenius IV. at the time Pietro della Francesca, or Pietro Borghese, one of the most memorable painters of this age, was at the summit of his reputation. He must have been born about 1398, since Vasari states that "he painted about the year 1458,"† and that he became blind at sixty years of age, and remained so until his death, in his eighty-sixth year. From his fifteenth year he applied himself to painting, at which age he had made himself master of the principles of mathematics, and he rose to great eminence both in art and science.‡ I have not been able to ascertain who was his master, but it is probable that as he was the son of

\* See Vasari, Bologna edition, p. 260.

† The commentators of Vasari remark, that when he uses this phrase, he refers to the year of the death of the artist, or to the period when he relinquished his art. Pietro must therefore have become blind about the year 1458, in the sixtieth year of his age, and must have died about 1484, aged eighty-six. This painter was ultimately connected with the family of Vasari. Lazaro, the great-grandfather of Vasari, who died in 1452, was the friend and imitator of Pietro, and some time before his death assigned him his nephew Signorelli as a scholar. We must, therefore, give credit to Vasari's account of Borghese; for if we discredit him on this occasion, as some have done, when are we to believe him? It is true, indeed, that he is guilty of a strange anachronism in mentioning Guidubaldo, the old duke of Urbino, as his first patron; but this kind of error is frequent in him, and not to be regarded.

‡ "Fu eccellentissimo prospettivo, e il maggior geometra de' suoi tempi."—Romano Alberti, Trattato della Nobiltà della Pittura, p. 32. See also Pascoli, Vite, tom. i. p. 90.

a poor widow, who had barely the means of bringing him up, he did not leave his native place; and that under the guidance of obscure masters he raised himself, by his own genius, to the high degree of fame which he enjoyed. He first appeared, says Vasari, in the court of the elder Guidubaldo Feltro, duke of Urbino, where he left only some pictures of figures on a small scale, which was the case with such as were not the pupils of the great masters. He was celebrated for a remarkable drawing of a vase, so ingeniously designed, that the front, the back, the sides, the bottom, and the mouth, were all shewn: the whole drawn with the greatest correctness, and the circles gracefully foreshortened. The art of perspective, the principles of which he was, as some affirm, the first among the Italians to develope and to cultivate, was much indebted to him;\* and painting owed much to his example in imitating the effects of light, in marking correctly the muscles of the naked figure, in preparing models of clay for his figures, and in the study of his drapery, the folds of which he fixed on the model itself, and drew very accurately and minutely. On examining the style of Bramante and his Milanese contemporaries, I have often thought that they derived some light from Pietro, for he painted in Urbino, where Bramante studied, and afterwards executed many works in Rome, where Bramantino came and was employed by Nicholas V.

In the Floreria of the Vatican is still to be seen a large fresco painting, in which the above-named pontiff is represented with cardinals and prelates, and there is a degree of truth in the countenances highly interesting. Taja does not assert that it is by Pietro, but says that it is attributed to him.† Those which are pointed out in Arezzo doubtless be-

\* It appears that in this art he was preceded by Van Eyck of Flanders. See *supra*, p. 81, &c.; and also the eulogium on him by Bartolommeo Facio, p. 46, where he praises his skill in geometry, and refers to several of his pictures, which prove him to have been highly accomplished, and almost unrivalled in perspective.

† If there be any truth in Pietro having been blind for twenty-four years, I do not know how he could have painted Sixtus IV. On the other hand, this tradition of his blindness comes from Vasari, whose family was so intimately connected with that of Pietro della Francesca, that there



long to him, and the most remarkable are the histories of the holy cross, in the choir of the church of the Conventuals, which shew that the art was already advanced beyond its infancy; there is so much new in the Giotto manner of foreshortening, in the relief, and in many difficulties of the art overcome in his works. If he had possessed the grace of Masaccio, he might with justice have been placed at his side. At Città S. Sepolcro there still remain some works attributed to him: a S. Lodovico Vescovo, in the public palace, at S. Chiara a picture of the Assumption, with the apostles in the distance, and a choir of angels at the top, but in the foreground are S. Francis, S. Jerome, and other figures, which injure the unity of the composition. There are, however, still traces in them of the old style: a poverty of design, a hardness in the foldings of the drapery, feet which are well foreshortened, but too far apart. As to the rest, in design, in the air, and in the colouring of the figures, it seems to be a rude sketch of that style which was ameliorated by P. Perugino, and perfected by Raffaello.

In the latter part of this century were flourished several good painters at Foligno, but it is not known from whom they derived their instructions. In the 25th volume of the *Antichità Picene* we read, that in the church of S. Francesco di Cagli there exists a most beautiful composition, painted in 1461, at the price of 115 ducats of gold, by M. Pietro di Mazzaforte and M. Niccolo Deliberatore of Foligno. At S. Venanzio di Camerino is a large altar-piece on a ground of gold, with Christ on the cross, surrounded by saints, with three small evangelical histories. The inscription is "Opus Nicolai Fulginatis, 1480;"\* it is in the style of the last imitators of Giotto, and there is scarcely a doubt that the artist studied at Florence. I believe him to be the same artist as Niccolo Deliberatore, or di Liberatore; and different from

was less room for error in the life of that artist than any other. This excellent picture, of which I have seen a beautiful copy in the possession of the duke di Ceri, I should myself rather attribute to Melozzo.

\* A picture by Niccolo Fulignano is in the R. Pinacoteca di Milan, representing a Madonna and child upon a gold ground, surrounded by angels singing and playing on different instruments. It bears the date of 1454.

Niccolo Alunno, also of Foligno, whom Vasari mentions as an excellent painter in the time of Pinturicchio. He painted in distemper, as was common before Pietro Perugino, but in tints that have survived uninjured. In the distribution of his colours he was original; his heads possess expression, though common, and sometimes heavy. There is at S. Niccolò di Foligno a picture by him, composed in the style of the 14th century, the Virgin surrounded by saints, and underneath small histories of the Passion, where the perspicuity is more to be praised than the disposition. In the same style some of his pieces in Foligno are painted after 1500. Vasari thinks they are all surpassed by his Pietà in a chapel of the Duomo, in which are represented two angels, "whose grief is so vividly expressed, that any other artist, however ambitious, would find it difficult to surpass it."

Perugia, from whence the art derived no common lustre, abounded in painters beyond any other city. The celebrated Mariotti formed a long catalogue of the painters of the 14th century, and among the most conspicuous are Firenze di Lorenzo, and Bartolommeo Caporali, of whom we have pictures of the date of 1487. Some strangers were to be found amongst them, as that Lello da Velletri, the author of an altar-piece, and its lower compartments, noticed by Signor Orsini. Benedetto Bonfigli was distinguished above all others, and was the most eminent artist of Perugia in his day. I have seen by him, besides the picture in fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico, mentioned by Vasari, a picture of the Magi, in S. Domenico, in a style similar to Gentile, and with a large proportion of gold; and another in a more modern style, an Annunciation, in the church of the Orfanelli. The angel is most beautiful, and the whole picture would bear comparison with the works of the best artists of this period, if the drawing were more correct.\*

\* He is favourably mentioned by Crispolti, in the "*Perugia Augusta*;" by Ciatti, in the "*Istorie di Perugia*;" Alessi, in the "*Elogi de' Perugini illustri*;" and by Pascoli, in the "*Vite de' Pittori Sc. Arch. Perugini*;" with whom I can in no manner concur in opinion, that "Benedetto was equal to the best artists of his time, and probably the first among the early masters who contributed to the introduction of an improved style" (p. 21); an assertion singularly unjust to Masaccio.

What I have already adduced sufficiently proves that the art was not neglected in the Papal States, even in the ruder ages; and that men of genius from time to time appeared there, who, without leaving their native places, still gave an impulse to art. Florence, however, has ever been the capital of design, the leading academy, and the Athens of Italy. It would be idle to question her claim to this high honour; and Sixtus IV., who, as we have before mentioned, sought through all Italy for artists to ornament the Sistine chapel, procured the greatest number from Tuscany; nor were there to be found amongst them any who were his own subjects, except Pietro Perugino, and he had risen to celebrity in Florence. These, then, are the first mature fruits of the Roman school, for until this period they had been crude and tasteless. Pietro is her Masaccio, her Ghirlandaio, her all. We will here take a short view of him and his scholars, reserving the divine Raffaello to the epoch, which is designated by his illustrious name.

Pietro Vannucci della Pieve,\* as he calls himself in some pictures, or of Perugia in others, had studied under a master of no great celebrity, if we are to believe Vasari; and this was a Pietro da Perugia, as Bottari conjectured, or Niccolò Alunno, as reported in Foligno. Mariotti pretends that Pietro advanced himself greatly in Perugia in the schools of Bonfigli and Pietro della Francesca, from which he derived that excellence in perspective from the testimony of Vasari so much admired in Florence, and much of his design and colouring.† Mariotti raises a doubt whether, when he went to Florence, he became the scholar of Verrocchio, as writers report, or whether he did not rather perfect himself from the great examples of Masaccio, and the excellent painters who at that

\* He subscribed himself *de Castro Plebis*, now *Città della Pieve*. There, according to Pascoli, the father was born, who afterwards removed to Perugia, where Pietro was born; but the greater probability is, that Pietro also was born in *Città della Pieve*.—Mariotti.

† This resemblance might have arisen from his imitation of the works of Borghese (Pietro della Francesca), which he saw in Perugia, as it most assuredly cannot be proved that Perugino was ever in his school. P. Valle and others express great doubts of it, and when I reflect that Vannucci was only twelve years old when Borghese lost his sight, I regard it as an absurd tradition.



time flourished there ; and finally determines in favour of the opinion held by Pascoli, Bottari, and Taja, and adopted by Padre Resta, in his *Galleria Portatile*, p. 10, that Verrocchio was never his master. It is worth while to read the disquisitions of this able writer, where we may admire the dexterity with which he settles a point so perplexed and so interesting to the history of art. I will only add that it appears not improbable that Pietro, when he arrived at Florence, attached himself to this celebrated artist, was instructed by him in design, and in the plastic art particularly, and in that fine style of painting with which Verrocchio, without much practising it himself, imbued both Vinci and Credi. Traditions have generally some foundation in truth.

The manner of Pietro is somewhat hard and dry, like that of other painters of his time ; and he exhibits poverty in the drapery of his figures ; his garments and mantles being curtailed and confined. But he atones for these faults by the grace of his heads, particularly in his boys and in his women ; which have an air of elegance and a charm of colour unknown to his contemporaries. It is delightful to behold in his pictures, and in his frescos which remain in Perugia and Rome, the bright azure ground which affords such relief to his figures ; the green, purple, and violet tints so chastely harmonized, the beautiful and well-drawn landscape and edifices, a thing, as Vasari says, until that time never seen in Florence. In his altar-pieces he is not sufficiently varied. There is executed for the church of S. Simone, at Perugia, a Holy Family, one of the first specimens of a well-designed and well-composed altar-piece. In other respects Pietro did not make great advances in invention ; his Crucifixions and his Descents from the Cross are numerous, and of an uniform character. He has represented, with little variation, the Ascensions of our Lord and of the Virgin, in Bologna, in Florence, Perugia, and Città di S. Sepolero. Reproached with this circumstance in his lifetime, he defended himself by saying that no one had a right to complain, as the designs were all his own. There is also another defence, which is, that compositions, really beautiful, are still seen with delight when repeated in different places ; whoever sees in the Sistine his S. Peter invested with the keys, will not be displeased at

finding at Perugia the same landscape, in a picture of the Marriage of the Virgin. On the contrary, this picture is one of the finest objects that noble city affords; and may be considered as containing an epitome of the various styles of Pietro. In the opinion of some, his frescos exhibit a more fertile invention, and greater delicacy and harmony of colour. Of these, his masterpiece is in his native city, in the Sala del Cambio. It is an evangelical subject, with saints from the Old Testament, and with his own portrait, to which his grateful fellow-citizens attached an elegant eulogy. He is most eminent, and adopts a sort of Raffaellesque style, in some of his latter pictures. I have observed it in a Holy Family, in the Carmine in Perugia. The same may be said too of certain small pictures, almost of a miniature class; as in the grado of S. Peter, in Perugia, than which nothing can be more finished and beautiful; and in many other pieces in which he has spared no pains,\* but which are few in comparison to the multitude by his scholars attributed to him.

In treating of the school of Pietro Perugino, it is necessary to advert to what Taja,† and after him the author of the “Lettere Perugine,” notices respecting his scholars, “that they were most scrupulous in adhering to the manner of their master, and as they were numerous, they have filled the world with pictures, which both by painters and connoisseurs are commonly considered as his.” When his works in Perugia are inspected, he generally rises in the esteem of travellers, of whom many have only seen paintings incorrectly ascribed to him. In Florence there are some pictures in the Grand Duke’s collection: and in the church of S. Chiara, his beautiful Descent from the Cross, and other works; but in private collections, many Holy Families are assigned to him, which are most probably by Gerino da Pistoja, or some of his Tus-

\* Vasari, at the close of his Life, observes, “none of his scholars ever equalled Pietro in application or in amenity of colour.” Padre della Valle asserts, on the contrary, “that he was indebted for a great portion of his celebrity to the talents displayed by his scholars;” and says that he detected the touch of Raffaello in his picture in the Grand Duke’s collection; but we must have a stronger testimony before we submit ourselves to this decision.

† Descrizione del Palazzo Vaticano, p. 36.

can scholars. The Papal states also possessed many of his scholars, who were of higher reputation, nor so wholly attached to his manner as the strangers. Bernardino Pinturicchio, his scholar and assistant in Perugia and in Rome, was a painter little valued by Vasari, who has not allowed him his full share of merit. He has not the style of design of his master, and retains, more than consistent with his age, the ornaments of gold in his drapery; but he is magnificent in his edifices, spirited in his countenances, and extremely natural in every thing he introduces into his composition. As he was on a familiar footing with Raffaello, with whom he painted at Siena, he has emulated his grace in some of his figures, as in his picture of S. Lorenzo in the church of the Francescani di Spello, in which there is a small S. John the Baptist, thought by some to be by Raffaello himself. He was very successful in arabesques and perspective; in which he was the first to represent cities in the ornaments of his fresco paintings, as in an apartment of the Vatican, where in his landscapes he introduced views of the principal cities of Italy. In many of his paintings he retained the ancient custom of making part of his decorations of stucco, as the arches, a custom observed in the Milanese school to the time of Gaudenzio. Rome possesses some of his works, particularly in the Vatican, and in Araceli. There is a good picture by him in the duomo of Spello.\* His best are at Siena, in the magnificent sacristy. They consist of ten historical subjects, containing the most memorable passages in the life of Pius II., and on the outside is an eleventh, which represents the Coronation of Pius III., by whom this work was ordered.

Vasari has added to the life of Pinturicchio that of Girolamo Genga, of Urbino, at first a scholar of Signorelli, afterwards of Perugino, and who remained some time pursuing

\* Consisting of three subjects from the life of Christ, in the chapel of the Holy Sacraments. The Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, and the Dispute with the Doctors, (a) the best of the three. In one of these he introduced his own portrait. Vasari does not mention this fine production.

(a) This picture is now in the R. Pinacoteca. If Luca Signorelli was among the first to enlarge the prevailing style, Genga, it must be allowed, surpassed him. His figures display great power; so great, that he might have served as a model for Andrea del Sarto, and Michelangelo.



his studies in Florence. He was long in the service of the duke of Urbino, and attached himself more to architecture than to painting, though he was sufficiently distinguished to deserve a place in the history of art. We cannot form a correct judgment of him, as great part of his works have perished; and as he assisted Signorelli in Orvieto and other places; and was assisted by Timoteo della Vite in Urbino, and in the imperial palace of Pesaro by Raffaello del Colle, and others. In the Petrucci palace at Siena, which now belongs to the noble family of Savini, some historical pieces are ascribed to him near those of Signorelli. They are described in the *Lettere Senesi*, in the notes published at Siena to the fourth volume of Vasari, and praised as superior to those of Signorelli, and approaching the early style of Raffaello. Nor do I see how, in the above-mentioned letters, they could be supposed to be by Razzi, or Peruzzi, or Pacchiarotto, "*in their hard dry manner*," when history assures us that Girolamo was with Pandolfo a considerable time, which cannot be asserted of the other three; and as it appears that Petrucci, to finish the work of Signorelli, selected Genga from among his scholars. If we deprive him of this work, which is the only one which can be called his own, what can he have executed in all this time? In this house there is no other picture that can be assigned to him, although Vasari asserts that he painted other rooms. A most beautiful picture by Genga, and of the greatest rarity, is to be seen in S. Caterina da Siena in Rome; the subject is the Resurrection of our Saviour.

Of the other scholars of Perugino we have no distinct account; but we find some notice of them in the life of their master. Giovanni Spagnuolo, named Lo Spagna, was one of the many *oltramontani* whom Perugino instructed. The greater part of these introduced his manner into their own countries; but Giovanni established himself at Spoleto, at which place, and in Assisi, he left his best works. In the opinion of Vasari the colouring of Perugino survived in him more than in his fellow-scholars. In a chapel of the Angioli, below Assisi, there remains the picture described by Vasari, in which are the portraits of the brotherhood of S. Francis, and, perhaps, no other pupil of this school has painted por-

traits with more truth, if we except Raffaello himself, with whom no other painter is to be compared.

A more memorable person is Andrea Luigi di Assisi, a competitor of Raffaello, although of more mature years, who, from his happy genius, was named L'Ingegno. He assisted Perugino in the Sala del Cambio, and in other works of more consequence; and may be said to be the first of that school who began to enlarge the style and soften the colouring. This is observable in several of his works, and singularly so in the Sybils and Prophets in fresco, in the church of Assisi; if they are by his hand, as is generally believed. It is impossible to behold his pictures without a feeling of compassion, when we recollect that he was visited with blindness at the most valuable period of his life. Domenico di Paris Alfani also enlarged the manner of his master, and even more than him, Orazio, his son, and not his brother, as has been imagined. This artist bears a great resemblance to Raffaello. There are some of his pictures in Perugia, which, if it were not for a more delicate colouring, and something of the suavity of Baroccio, might be assigned to the school of Raffaello; and there are pictures on which a question arises, whether they belong to that school or to Orazio, particularly some Madonnas, which are preserved in various collections. I have seen one in the possession of the accomplished Sig. Auditor Frigeri, in Perugia, and there is another in the ducal gallery in Florence. The reputation of the younger Alfani has injured that of the other; and even in Perugia some fine pieces were long considered to be by Orazio, which have been restored to Domenico. An account of these, and other works of eminent artists may be found in modern writers, particularly in Mariotti, who mentions the altar-piece of the Crucifixion, between S. Apollonia and S. Jerome, at the church of the Conventuals, a work by the two Alfani, father and son. In commendation of the son, he adds, that he was the chief of the academy for design, which was founded in 1573, and, after many honourable struggles, revived in our own time.

There are other artists of less celebrity in Perugia, though not omitted by Vasari. Eusebio da S. Giorgio painted in the church of S. Francesco di Matelica, a picture with several saints, and on the grado, part of the history of S. Anthony,

with his name, and the year 1512. We may recognise in it the drawing of Perugino, but the colouring is feeble. His picture of the Magi at S. Agostino is better coloured, and in this he followed Paris. The works of Giannicola da Perugia, a good colourist, and therefore willingly received by Pietro to assist him in his labours, however inferior to that artist in design and perspective, are recognised in the Cappella del Cambio, near the celebrated sala of Perugino, which was painted by him with the life of John the Baptist. In the church of S. Thomas, is his picture of that Apostle about to touch the wounds of our Saviour, and excepting a degree of sameness in the heads, it possesses much of the character of Perugino. Giambatista Caporali, erroneously called Benedetto by Vasari, Baldinucci, and others, holds likewise a rank in this school, and is more celebrated among the architects. Giulio, his natural son, afterwards legitimized, cultivated the same profession.

The succeeding names belonging to this school are not mentioned by Vasari; which does not prove the impropriety of their admission, as there are many deserving of notice. Mariotti, our guide in the chronology of this age, and a correct judge of the conformity of style, notices Mariano di Ser Eusterio, whom Vasari calls Mariano da Perugia (tom. iv. p. 162), referring to a picture in the church of S. Agostino, in Ancona, which is "not of much interest." In opposition to this opinion of Vasari, however, Mariotti adduces another picture, of a respectable class, by Mariano, to be found in S. Domenico di Perugia; whence we may conclude that this painting is deserving of a place in the history of art. He also mentions Berto di Giovanni, whom Raffaello engaged as his assistant to paint a picture for the monks of Monteluci (of which we shall speak in our notice of Penni), and who was appointed in this contract, by Raffaello himself, to paint the grado. This grado is in the sacristy, and is so entirely in the manner of Raffaello, in the history of the Virgin which it represents, that we may conclude, either that Raffaello made the design, or that it was painted by one of his school. If it was by Berto, it proves him to have been one of those who exchanged the school of Perugino for that of Raffaello; and if he did not paint it, he must always be held in considera-



tion for the regard he received from the master of the art. Of this artist more information may be obtained from Bianconi, in the "*Antologia Romana*," vol. iii. p. 121. Mariotti enumerates also Sinibaldo da Perugia, who must be esteemed an excellent painter, from his works in his native place, and more so from those in the cathedral at Gubbio, where he painted a fine picture in 1505, and a gonfalon still more beautiful, which would rank him among the first artists of the ancient school. To the above painters Pascoli adds a female artist, of the name of Teodora Danti, who painted cabinet pictures in the style of Perugino and his scholars.

From tradition, as well as conjecture, we may notice in Città di Castello a Francesco of that city, a scholar of Perugino, who, in an altar-piece in the church of the Conventuals, left an Annunciation with a fine landscape. He is named in the Guida di Roma, in the account of the chapel of S. Bernardino in Ara Coeli, where he is supposed to have worked with Pinturicchio and Signorelli. There is a conjecture, though no decided proof, that a Giacomo di Guglielmo was a pupil of Pietro, who, at Castel della Pieve, his native place, painted a gonfalon, estimated by good judges in Perugia at sixty-five florins; and also a Tiberio di Assisi, who, in many of the coloured lunettes in the convent degli Angeli, containing the history of the Life of S. Francis, shews clearly that Perugino was his prototype, though he had not talent enough to imitate him. Besides Tiberio, some have assigned to the instructions of Perugino, the most eminent painter of Assisi, Adone (or Dono) Doni, not unknown to Vasari, who often mentions him, and particularly in his life of Gherardi (vol. v. p. 142). He is there called of Ascoli, an opinion which Bottari maintains against Orlandi, who, on the best grounds, changed it to Assisi. In Ascoli he is not at all known, but he is well known in Perugia, by a large picture of the Last Judgment in the church of S. Francis, and still better in Assisi, where he painted in fresco, in the church of the Angeli, the life of the founder, and of S. Stephen, and many other pieces, which, for a long period, served as a school for youth. He had very little of the ancient manner; the truth of his portraits is occasionally wonderful; his colouring is that of the latest of the scholars of Perugino; and he appears to

be an artist of more correctness than spirit. I find also a Lattanzio della Marca, of the school of Perugino, commemorated by Vasari in the above-mentioned Life. He is thought to be the same as Lattanzio da Rimino, of whom Ridolfi makes mention, among the scholars of Giovanni Bellino, as painting a picture in Venice in rivalry with Conegliano.\* We are enabled more correctly to ascertain this from a document in the possession of Mariotti, of which we shall shortly speak, from which we not only learn to a certainty his native place, but further, that he was the son of Vincenzo Pagani, a celebrated painter, as will hereafter be seen, and that both were living in the year 1553. It appears, therefore, very probable that Lattanzio was instructed by his father, and that we may doubt of his being under Bellini, who died about 1516, or under Perugino, among whose disciples he is not enumerated by the very accurate Mariotti. On the death of Vannucci he succeeded to his fame, and obtained some of the most important orders in Perugia, as, for instance, the great work of painting the chambers in the castle. He accomplished this task by the assistance of Raffaellino del Colle, Gherardi, Doni, and Paperello. He there commenced the picture of S. Maria del Popolo, and executed the lower part, where there are a great number of persons in the attitude of prayer; a fine expression is observable in the countenances, the figures are well disposed, the landscape beautiful, there is a strength and clearness in the colouring, and a taste which, on the whole, is different from that of Perugino. The upper part of the picture, which is by Gherardi, has not an equal degree of force. Lattanzio finished his career by being sheriff of his native city; and of this office, a more honourable distinction than at the present day, it appears he took possession in the year 1553, and at that time renounced the art. It is certain, that, in the before-mentioned paper, the Capitano Lattanzio di Vincenzo Pagani da Monte Rubbiano acknowledges to have received six scudi of gold from Sforza degli Oddi, as earnest-money for a picture representing the Trinity,

\* He probably came to Venice from Rimino, or resided there for some time. We find other early painters assigned, first to one country and then to another, as Jacopo Davanzo, Pietro Vannucci, Lorenzo Lotto, &c.

with four saints ; and engages that in the ensuing August it should be executed by his father, Vincenzo, and Tommaso da Cortona. This must be the picture still existing in the chapel of the Oddi in S. Francesco, since the figures particularized in the agreement are found there ; we shall have an opportunity of noticing it again.

In the "*Antichità Picene*," tom. xxi. p. 148, Ercole Ramazzani di Roccacontrada is recorded as a scholar of Pietro Perugino, and for some time of Raffaello. A picture of the Circumcision, by him, is there mentioned to be at Castel Planio, with his name and the date of 1588 ; and in speaking of the artist, it is added, that he possessed a beautiful style of colour, a charming invention, and a manner approaching to Barocci. I have never seen the picture, nor the others which he left in his native city, mentioned in the "*Memorie*" of Abbondanzieri ; but only one by a Ramazzani di Roccacontrada, painted in the church of S. Francesco, in Matelica, in 1573. Although I cannot affirm to a certainty that this painter called himself Ercole, I still suspect him to be the same. It represents the conception of the Virgin, in which the idea of the subject is taken from Vasari, where Adam, and others of the Old Testament, are seen bound to the tree of knowledge of good and evil, as the heirs of sin, while the Virgin triumphs over them in her exemption from the penalty of the first parents. Ramazzani has adopted this design, which he had probably seen, but he has executed his picture on a much larger scale, with better colouring, and more expression in the countenances. To conclude, we do not see a trace of the manner of Perugino, and the period at which he lived seems too late for him to have received instructions from that artist ; and it is probable that he was taught by some of his latter scholars, in whom that more fascinating than correct style of colouring had its origin, before it was adopted by Barocci.

I may further observe, that as Perugino was the most celebrated name at the beginning of the sixteenth century, many other artists of the Roman states, who studied the art about his time, are given to his school without sufficient authority ; and particularly those who retained a share of the old style. Such was a Palmerini of Urbino, a contemporary of Raffaello, and probably his fellow-scholar, of whom there remains at



S. Antonio a picture of various saints, truly beautiful, and approaching to a more modern style. In the same style I found, in the Borghese gallery at Rome, the Woman of Samaria at the Well, painted by a Pietro da Giulianello, a little district not far from Rome; an artist deserving to be placed in the first rank of *quattrocentisti*, although not mentioned by any writer. There are some pictures by Pietro Paolo Agabiti, who, in tom. xx. of the "Ant. Pic.," is said to be of Masaccio, where he painted in 1531, and afterwards. But I have seen a work by him in the church of S. Agostino in Sassoferrato, a series of small histories, with an inscription, in which he names Sassoferrato as his native place, with the date of 1514, that will carry him from the moderns to the better class of the old school. Lorenzo Pittori da Macerata painted in the church of the Virgin, highly esteemed for its architecture, a picture of Christ in 1533, in a manner which has been called *antico moderno*. Two artists, Bartolommeo and Pompeo, his son, flourished in Fano, and painted in 1534 in conjunction, in the church of S. Michele, the Resurrection of Lazarus. It is wonderful to observe how little they regarded the reform which the art had undergone. These artists strictly followed the dry style of the *quattrocentisti*, with a thorough contempt of the modern. Nor was the son at all modernized on leaving his father's studio. I found at S. Andrea di Pesaro a picture of various saints, which might have done him honour in the preceding age. Civalli mentions other works by him in a better style; and he certainly in his lifetime enjoyed a degree of reputation, and was one of the masters of Taddeo Zuccaro. There are a number of painters of this class, of whom a long list might be compiled; they are generally represented to be pupils of some well-known master, and in such cases Pietro Perugino is selected, but it would be more candid to confess our ignorance on the subject.

It would be improper to pass to another epoch without adverting to the grotesque. This branch of the art is censured by Vitruvius\* as a creation of monsters beyond the reign of nature, transferring to canvas the ravings of a disordered

\* It is said that Mengs, who was desirous of being considered a philosophical painter, coincided with Vitruvius in opinion. But this

fancy, wild as the waves of a convulsed sea, lashed into a thousand varying forms by the tempest. This style took its name from the *grotte*, for so those beautiful antique edifices may be called, where paintings of this kind are found, covered with earth, and with buildings of a later period. It was revived in Rome, where a greater proportion of these ancient specimens is found, and was restored at this epoch. Vasari ascribes the revival to Morto da Feltro, and the perfecting of the style to Giovanni da Udine. Notwithstanding the little esteem he had for Pinturicchio, he calls him the friend of Morto da Feltro, and allows that he executed many works in the same manner in Castel S. Angelo. Before him, too, Pietro his master had painted some of the same kind in the Sala del Cambio, which Orsini says are well conceived, and to him likewise a precedent had been afforded by Benedetto Bonfigli, of whom Taja, in his description of the Vatican palace, says, that he painted for Innocent VIII. in Rome some singularly beautiful grotesques. This branch was afterwards cultivated in many of the schools of Italy, particularly in that of Siena. Perazzi approved of it in architecture, adopted it in his painting, and gave occasion to Lomazzo to offer a defence of it in the sixth book of his *Trattato della Pittura*.

opinion should be restricted to some indifferent specimens ; for when he afterwards saw them painted in the true style of the ancients, he regarded them with extraordinary pleasure ; as in Genoa, which possesses some beautiful arabesques by Vaga. So the defender of Ratti assures us.

# ROMAN SCHOOL.

## EPOCH II.

### Raffaello and his School.

WE are now arrived at the most brilliant period of the Roman school, and of modern painting itself. We have seen the art carried to a high degree of perfection by Da Vinci and Bonarruoti, at the beginning of the 16th century, and it is remarkable that the same period embraces not only Raffaello, but also Correggio, Giorgione, Titiano, and the most celebrated Venetian painters; so that a man enjoying the common term of life might have seen the works of all these illustrious masters. The art in a few years thus reached a height to which it had never before attained, and which has never been rivalled, except in the attempt to imitate these early masters, or to unite in one style their varied and divided excellencies. It seems an ordinary law of providence that individuals of consummate genius should be born and flourish at the same period, or at least at short intervals from each other, a circumstance of which Velieus Patereulus protested he could never discover the real cause. I observe, he says, men of the same commanding genius making their appearance together, in the smallest possible space of time; as it happens in the case of animals of different kinds, which, confined in a close place, nevertheless, each selects its own class, and those of a kindred race separate themselves from the rest. A single age sufficed to illustrate Tragedy, in the persons of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides: ancient comedy under Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eumolpides; and in like manner the new comedy under Menander, Diphilus, and Philemon. There appeared few philosophers of note after the days of Plato and Aristotle, and whoever has



made himself acquainted with Isocrates and his school, is acquainted with the summit of Grecian eloquence. The same remark applies to other countries. The great Roman writers are included under the single age of Octavius : Leo X. was the Augustus of modern Italy ; the reign of Louis XIV. was the brilliant era of French letters, that of Charles II. of the English.

This rule applies equally to the fine arts. *Hoc idem*, proceeds Velleius, *evenisse plasticis, pictoribus, sculptoribus, quisquis temporum institerit notis reperiet, et eminentiam cujusque operis artissimis temporum claustris circumdatum.\** Of this union of men of genius in the same age, *Causas*, he says, *quum semper requiro, numquam invenio quas veras confidam.* It seems to him probable that when a man finds the first station in art occupied by another, he considers it as a post that has been rightfully seized on, and no longer aspires to the possession of it, but is humiliated, and contented to follow at a distance. But this solution does not satisfy my mind. It may indeed account to us why no other Michelangelo, or Raffaello, has ever appeared ; but it does not satisfy me why these two, and the others before mentioned, should all have appeared in the same age. I am of opinion that the age is always influenced by certain principles, universally adopted both by professors of the art, and by amateurs : which principles happening at a particular period to be the most just and accurate of their kind, produce in that age some supereminent professors, and a number of good ones. These principles change through the instability of all human affairs, and the age partakes in the change. I may add that these happy periods never occur without the circumstance of a number of princes and influential individuals rivalling each other in the encouragement of works of taste ; and amidst these there always arise persons of commanding genius, who give a bias and tone to art. The history of sculpture in Athens, where munificence and taste went hand in hand, favours my opinion, and it is confirmed by this golden period of Italian art. Nevertheless, I do not pretend to give a verdict on this important question, but leave the decision of it to a more competent tribunal.

\* Hist. Rom. vol. i. ad. calcem.

But although it be a matter of difficulty to account for this development of rare talent at one particular period, we may hope to trace the steps of a single individual to excellence; and I would wish to do so of Raffaello. Nature and fortune seemed to unite in lavishing their favours on this artist; the first in investing him with the rarest gifts of genius, the other in adding to these a singular combination of propitious circumstances. In order to illustrate our inquiry it will be necessary to observe him from his earliest years,\* and to note the progress of his mind. He was born in Urbino in 1483; and if climate have any influence on the genius of an artist, I know not a happier spot that could have been chosen for his birth than that part of Italy which gave to architecture a Bramante, supplied the art of painting with a successor to Raffaello in Baroccio, and bestowed on sculpture the plastic hand of a Brandani, without referring to less celebrated, but still deserving artists, the boast of Urbino and her state. The father of this illustrious artist was Giovanni di Santi,† or, as he has

\* Besides his life by Vasari, another was published by Sig. Abate Comolli, which I consider posterior to that of Vasari. Memoirs of him were collected by Piacenza, Bottari, and other authors whom I shall notice; and I shall avail myself of the information derived from the inspection of his pictures, their character, and the dates of his works.

† We find his name written *Io Sanctis* in the Nunziata of Sinigaglia (a); and it appears that he was born of a father called, according to the expression of that age, *Santi* or *Sante*; a name in common use in many parts of Italy. In support of the surname of Sanzio, Bottari produces a portrait of Antonio Sanzio, which exists in the Palazzo Albani, representing him holding in his hands a document, with the title of “*Genealogia Raphaelis Sanctii Urbinatis*.” Julius Sanctius is there named as the head of the family, *familiæ quæ adhuc Urbini illustris extat, ab agris dividendis cognomen imposuit*, and was the progenitor of Antonio. From the latter, and through a Sebastiano, and afterwards through a Gio. Batista, descends Giovanni, *ex quo ortus est Raphael qui pinxit a. 1519*. It is also recorded that Sebastiano had a brother, Galeazzo, *egregium pictorem*, and the father of three painters, Antonio, Vincenzo, and Giulio, called *maximus pictor*. Thus in this branch of the Sanzii are enumerated four painters, of whom I do not find any memorial in Urbino. The family also boasts of a Canon in divinity, and a distinguished captain of infantry. The anonymous writer of Comolli confirms this illustrious origin of Raffaello; but it is highly probable, that in that age, when the forgery of genealogies, as Tiraboschi observes, was

(a) The Annunziata of Sinigaglia is now seen in the R. Pinacoteca of Milan, and we there read *Io Sanctius Urbinas Pix*.

been commonly called, Giovanni Sanzio, an artist of moderate talents, who could contribute but little to the instruction of his son ; although it was no small advantage to have been initiated in a simple style, divested of mannerism. He made some further progress from studying the works of F. Carnevale, an artist of great merit for the times in which he flourished ; and being placed at Perugia, under Pietro, he soon became master of his style, as Vasari observes, and had probably already formed the design of excelling him. I was informed, in Città di Castello, that at the age of 17 he painted the picture of S. Nicholas of Tolentino, in the church of the Eremitani. The style was that of Perugino, but the composition differed from that of the age, being the throne of our Saviour surrounded by saints. The Beato is there represented, while the Virgin and St. Augustine, concealed in part by a cloud, bind his temples with a crown ; there are two angels at the right hand, and two at the left, graceful, and in different attitudes ; with inscriptions variously folded, on which are inscribed words in praise of S. Eremitano. Above is the Eternal Father, surrounded by a majestic choir of angels. The actors of the scene appear to be in a temple, the pillars of which are ornamented in the minute and laboured style of Mantegna, and the ancient manner is perceptible in the folds of the drapery, though there is an evident improvement in the

a common practice, he may have adopted it without any examination. The portrait of Antonio is well executed, but it has been said that it would have been much more so, if Raffaello had painted it a year before his death, according to the inscription. If connoisseurs (who alone ought to decide this point) should be of this opinion, it must be suspected that the person that counterfeited the hand of the artist, might also substitute the writing ; or we may at least conclude, that the etymology of Sanzio should be sought for in the word *Sanctis*, the name of the grandfather of Raffaello, not in *sancire* (to divide fields or property). In tom. xxxi. of the Ant. Picene, a will is produced of Ser Simone di Antonio, in 1477, where a *Magister Baptista, qu. Peri Sanctis de Peris*, who is called *Pittor di grido e di eccellenza*, leaves his son Tommaso his heir, to whom is substituted a son of Antonio his brother, of the name of Francesco. I may remark, that in this *Batista di Pier Sante de' Pieri*, we may find the surname of a family different from that of Sanzia. But on this subject I hope we shall shortly be favoured with more certain information by the Sig. Arciprete Lazzari, who has obliged me with many valuable contributions to the present edition of this work.



design, as in the figure of Satan, under the feet of the saint. This figure is free from the singular deformity with which the ancient painters represented him ; and has the genuine features of an Ethiopian. To this picture another of this period may be added in the church of S. Domenico ; a Crucifixion, with two attendant angels ; the one receives in a cup the sacred blood which flows from the right hand, the other, in two cups, collects that of the left hand and the side ; the weeping mother and disciples contribute their aid, while the Magdalen and an aged saint kneeling in silence contemplate the solemn mystery ; above is the Deity. These figures might all pass for those of Pietro, except the Virgin, the beauty of which he never equalled, unless, perhaps, in the latter part of his life. Another specimen of this period is noticed by the Abate Morelli (de Stylo Inscript. Latin. p. 476). He states, that in the possession of Sig. Annibale Maggiori, a nobleman of Fermo, he saw the picture of a Madonna, raising with both hands a veil of delicate texture from the holy Infant, as he lies in a cradle asleep. Nigh at hand is S. Joseph, whose eyes rest in contemplation on the happy scene, and on his staff the same writer detected an inscription in minute characters, “ R. S. V. A. A. XVII. P.” Raphael Sanctius Urbinus ætatis 17 pinxit. This must have been the first attempt of the design which he perfected at a more mature age, and which is in the Treasury of Loretto, where the holy Infant is represented, not in the act of sleeping, but gracefully stretching out his hand to the Virgin : of the same epoch I judge the *tondini* to be, which I shall describe when I refer to the Madonna della Seggiola.

Vasari informs us, that before executing these two pictures, he had already painted in Perugia an Assumption, in the church of the Conventuals, with three subjects from the life of Christ in the grado ; which may, however, be doubted, as it is a more perfect work. This picture possesses all the best parts of the style of Vannucci ; but the varied expressions which the apostles discover, on finding the sepulchre void, are beyond the reach of that artist's powers. Raffaello still further excelled his master, as Vasari observes, in the third picture painted for Città di Castello. This is the Marriage of

the Virgin, in the church of S. Francesco.\* The composition very much resembles that which he adopted in a picture of the same subject in Perugia ; but there is sufficient of modern art in it to indicate the commencement of a new style. The two espoused have a degree of beauty which Raffaello scarcely surpassed in his mature age, in any other countenances. The Virgin, particularly, is a model of celestial beauty. A youthful band, festively adorned, accompany her to her espousals ; splendour vies with elegance ; the attitudes are engaging, the veils variously arranged, and there is a mixture of ancient and modern drapery, which at so early a period cannot be considered as a fault. In the midst of these accompaniments the principal figure triumphantly appears, not ornamented by the hand of art, but distinguished by her native nobility, beauty, modesty, and grace. The first sight of this performance strikes us with astonishment, and we involuntarily exclaim, "How divine and noble the spirit that animates her heavenly form!" The group of the men of the party of S. Joseph are equally well conceived. In these figures we see nothing of the stiffness of the drapery, the dryness of execution, and the peculiar style of Pietro, which sometimes approaches to harshness ; all is action, and an animating spirit breathes in every gesture and in every countenance. The landscapes are not represented with sterile and impoverished trees, as in the back-grounds of Pietro ; but are drawn from nature, and finished with care. The round temple in the summit is ornamented with columns, and executed, Vasari observes, with such admirable art, that it is wonderful to observe the difficulties he has willingly incurred. In the distance are beautiful groups, and there is a figure of a poor man imploring charity, depicted to the life, and more near, a youth in the act of spitefully breaking his unblossomed wand,† a figure which proves the artist to have been master of the then novel art of foreshortening. I have purposely described these specimens of the early years of Raphael, more particularly than any other writer, in order to acquaint the reader

\* This picture now forms the most valuable specimen of the R. Pinacoteca.

† From this description it would appear that Lanzi borrowed it from some book, and had not seen the painting.

with the rise of his divine talents. In the labours of his more mature years, the various masters whose works he studied may each claim his own; but in his first flight he was exclusively supported by the vigour of his own talents. The bent of his genius, which was not less voluptuous and graceful than it was noble and elevated, led him to that ideal beauty, grace, and expression, the most refined and difficult province of painting. To insure success in this department neither study nor art is sufficient. A natural taste for the beautiful, an intellectual faculty of combining the several excellencies of many individuals in one perfect whole, a vivid apprehension, and a sort of fervour in seizing the momentary expressions of passion, a facility of touch, obedient to the conceptions of the imagination, were means which nature alone could furnish, and these, as we have seen, he possessed from his earliest years. Whoever ascribes the success of Raffaello to the effects of study, and not to the felicity of his genius, does not justly appreciate the gifts which were lavished on him by nature.\*

He now became the admiration of his master and his fellow scholars; and about the same time Pinturicchio, after having painted with so much applause at Rome, before Raffaello was born, aspired to become, as it were, his scholar in the great work at Siena. He did not possess a genius sufficiently elevated for the sublime composition which the place required; nor had Pietro sufficient fertility, or a conception of mind equal to so novel an undertaking. It was intended to represent the life and actions of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II.; the embassies entrusted to him by the council of Constance to various princes; and by Felix, the antipope, to Frederick III., who conferred on him the laurel crown; and also the various embassies which he undertook for Frederick himself to Eugenius IV., and afterwards to Callistus IV., who created him a cardinal. His subse-

\* Condivi, in his life of Bonarruoti (num. 67), assures us that Michelangelo was not of a jealous temper, but spoke well of all artists, not excepting Raffaello di Urbino, "between whom and himself existed, as I have mentioned, an emulation in painting; and the utmost that he said was, that Raffaello did not inherit his excellencies from nature, but obtained them through study and application."



quent exaltation to the papacy, and the most remarkable events of his reign, were also to be represented; the canonization of S. Catherine; his attendance on the Council of Mantua, where he was received in a princely manner by the duke; and finally his death, and the removal of his body from Ancona to Rome. Never, perhaps, was an undertaking of such magnitude entrusted to a single master. The art itself had not yet attempted any great flight. The principal figures generally stood isolated, as Pietro exhibited them in Perugia, without aiming at composition. In consequence of this the proportions were seldom true, nor did the artists depart much from sacred subjects, the frequent repetition of which had already opened the way to plagiarism. Historical subjects of this nature were new to Raffaello, and to him, unaccustomed to reside in a metropolis, it must have been most difficult, in painting so many as eleven pictures, to imitate the splendour of different courts, and the manners of all Europe, varying the composition agreeably to the occasion. Nevertheless, being conducted by his friend to Siena, he made the sketches and cartoons of *all* these subjects, says Vasari in his life of Pinturicchio, and that he made the sketches of the whole is the common report at Siena. In the Life of Raffaello he states that he made *some of the designs and cartoons for this work*, and that the reason of his not continuing them, was his haste to proceed to Florence, to see the cartoons of Da Vinci and Bonarruoti. But I am more inclined to the first statement than the subsequent one. In April, 1503, Raffaello was employed in the Library, as is proved by the will of Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini.\* While the Library was yet unfinished, Piccolomini was elected Pope; and his coronation following on the eighth of October, Pinturicchio commemorated the event on the outside of the Library, in the part opposite to the duomo. Bottari remarks, that in this façade we may detect not only the design, but in many of the heads the colouring of Raffaello. It appears probable therefore that he remained to complete the work, the last subject of which might perhaps be finished in the following year,

\* See the Preface to the Life of Raffaello, by Vasari, *ediz. Seneze*, p. 228, where the will is quoted.

1504, in which he departed to Florence. We may here observe, that this work, which has maintained its colours so well that it almost appears of recent execution, confers great honour on a young artist of twenty years of age; as we do not find a composition of such magnitude, in the passage from ancient to modern art, conceived by any single painter. So that if Raffaello stood not entirely alone in this work, the best part of it must still be assigned to him, since Pinturicchio himself was improving at this time, and the works which he afterwards executed at Spello and Siena, incline more to the modern than any he had before done. This will justify us in concluding that Raffaello had already, at that early age, far outstripped his master; his contour being more full, his composition more rich and free, accompanied by an ornamental and grander style, and an ability unlimited, capable of embracing every subject presented to him.

The works which he saw in Florence did not lead him out of his own path, as, to mention one instance, afterwards happened to Franco, who, coming from Venice, applied himself to a style of design and career entirely new. Raffaello had formed his own system, and only sought examples, to enlarge his ideas and facilitate his execution. He therefore studied the works of Masaccio, an elegant and expressive painter, whose Adam and Eve he adopted in the Vatican. He also became acquainted with Fra Bartolommeo, who, about this time, had returned to the exercise of his profession. To this artist he taught the principles of perspective, and acquired from him, in return, a better style of colouring. We have not any record to prove that he made himself known to Da Vinci; and the portrait of Raffaello, in the ducal gallery in Florence, said to be by Lionardo, is an unknown head. I would willingly, however, flatter myself, that a congeniality of mind and an affinity of genius, emulous in the pursuit of perfection, must have produced a knowledge of each other, if it did not conciliate a mutual attachment. No one was more capable than Da Vinci of communicating to Raffaello a degree of refinement and knowledge, which he could not have received from Pietro; and to introduce him into the more subtle views of art. As to Michelangelo, his pictures were rare, and less analogous to the genius of Raffaello. His

celebrated cartoon was not yet finished, in 1504, and that great master was jealous of its being seen before its entire completion. He finished it some few years afterwards, when he returned to Florence on his flight from Rome, occasioned by the anger of Julius II. Raffaello, therefore, could not have had the opportunity of studying it at the time, nor did he then long remain in Florence, for, as Vasari states, he was soon obliged to return to his native place, in consequence of the death of his parents.\* In 1505 we find him in Perugia: and to this year belongs the chapel of S. Severo, and the Crucifixion, which was severed from the wall, and preserved by the Padri Camaldolensi. From these works, all in fresco, we may ascertain the style which he acquired in Florence; and we may assert, that it was not anatomical, no traces of it being visible in the body of the Redeemer, which was an opportunity well adapted for the exhibition of it. Nor was it the study of the beautiful, of which he had previously exhibited such delightful specimens; nor that of expression, as there were not to be found in Florence, heads more expressive and lovely than those he had painted. But after his visit to Florence, we find his colouring more delicate, and his grouping and foreshortening of his figures improved; whether or not he owed it to the example of Da Vinci or Bonarruoti, or both together, or to some of the older masters. He afterwards repaired to Florence, but soon quitted it again, in order to paint in the church of S. Francis, in Perugia, a dead Christ entombed, the cartoon of which he had designed at Florence; and which picture was first placed in the church of S. Francis, was afterwards, in the pontificate of Paul V., transferred to Rome, and is now in the Borgese palace. After this he returned again to Florence, and re-

\* Vasari states, that that event occurred either whilst Michelangelo was employed upon the statues in S. Pietro in Vincoli, or whilst he was painting the vault of the Sistine Chapel, some years afterwards, when Raffaello was in Rome. To this second opinion, which is the most common one, I formerly assented; but since, on perusal of a Brief of Julius II. (Lett. Pittoriche, tom. iii. p. 320). in which that Pope invites Michelangelo back to Rome, and promises that *illæsus, inviolatusque erit*, I am inclined to believe that the cartoon was finished in 1506, which is the date of the brief; so that Raffaello, if he could not see it on his first visit to Florence, might have done so on his second or third.



mained there until his departure for Rome, at the end of the year 1508. In this interval, more particularly, he executed the works which are said to be in his second style, though it is a very delicate matter to attempt to point them out. Vasari assigns to this period the Holy Family in the Rinuccini gallery, and yet it bears the date of 1506. Of this second style is undoubtedly the picture of the Madonna and the infant Christ and S. John, in a beautiful landscape, with ruins in the distance, which is in the gallery of the grand duke, and others, some of which are to be found in foreign countries. His pictures of this period are composed in the more usual style of a Madonna, accompanied by saints, like the picture of the Pitti palace, formerly at Pescio, and that of S. Fiorenzo in Perugia, which passed into England. The attitudes, however, the air of the heads, and smaller features of composition, are beyond a common style. The dead Christ above-mentioned, is in a more novel and superior style. Vasari calls it a most divine picture; the figures are not numerous, but each fulfils perfectly the part assigned to it; the subject is most affecting; the heads are remarkably beautiful, and the earliest of the kind in the restoration of art, while the expression of profound sorrow and extreme anguish does not divest them of their beauty. After finishing this work, Raffaello was ambitious of painting an apartment in Florence, one, I believe, of the Palazzo Publico. There remains a letter of his, in which he requests the duke of Urbino to write to the Gonfaloniere Soderini, in April, 1508.\* But his relative, Bramante, procured him a nobler employ in Rome, recommending him to Julius II. to ornament the Vatican. He removed thither, and was already established there in the September of the same year.†

We at length, then, behold him fixed in Rome, and placed in the Vatican at a period, and under circumstances, calculated

\* See Vasari, ed. Sen. tom. v. p. 238, where we find the letter written from him to one of his uncles, with all the provincialisms common to the inhabitants of Urbino and its neighbourhood.

† Malvasia, "*Felsina Pittrice*," tom. i. p. 45. There are some facts, however, in opposition to this letter, and which seem to prove that Raffaello did not go to Rome until 1510. But the Sig. Abate Francesconi is now employed in rectifying the chronology of the Life and Works of Sanzio; and from his critical sagacity we may expect the solution of this difficulty.

to render him the first painter in the world. His biographers do not mention his literary attainments; and, if we were to judge from his letter just cited, and now in the Museo Borgia, we might consider him grossly illiterate. But he was then writing to his uncle, and therefore made use of his native dialect, as is still done even in the public acts in Venice; though he might be master of, and might use on proper occasions, a more correct language. Raffaello, too, was of a family competent to afford him the necessary instructions in his early years. Other letters of his are found in the "*Lettere Pittoriche*," in a very different style; and of his knowledge in matters of importance, it is sufficient to refer to what Celio Calcagnini, an eminent literary character of the age of Leo, states of him to Giacomo Ziegler: "I need not," he says, "mention Vitruvius, whose precepts he not only explains, but defends or impugns with evident justice, and with so much temper, that in his objections there does not appear the slightest asperity. He has excited the admiration of the pontiff Leo, and of all the Romans, in such a way, that they regard him as a man sent down from heaven purposely to restore the eternal city to its ancient splendour."\* This acknowledged skill in architecture must suppose an adequate acquaintance with the Latin language and geometry; and we know from other quarters, that he assiduously cultivated anatomy, history, and poetry.† But his principal pursuit in Rome was the study of the remains of Grecian genius, and by which he perfected his knowledge of art. He studied, too, the ancient buildings, and was instructed in the principles of architecture for six years by Bramante, in order that on his death he might succeed him in the management of the building of S. Peter.‡ He lived among the ancient sculptors, and derived from them

\* See *Le Aggiunte al Vasari*, Ed. Senese, p. 223.

† A sonnet by him is referred to by Sig. Piacenza, in his notes to Baldinucci, tom. xi. p. 371.

‡ In compliance with the wishes of Leo X. he made drawings of the buildings of ancient Rome, and accompanied them with descriptions, employing the compass to ascertain their admeasurement. We owe this information to Sig. Abate Francesconi, who has restored to Sanzio a letter, formerly attributed to Castiglione. It is a sort of dedication of the work to Leo. X.; but the work itself and the drawings are lost; and many of the edifices measured by Raffaello were destroyed in the following ponti-

not only their contours and drapery, and attitudes, but the spirit and principles of the art itself. Not content with what he saw in Rome, he employed artists to copy the remains of antiquity at Pozzuolo and throughout all Italy, and even in Greece. Nor did he derive less assistance from living artists whom he consulted on his compositions. "The universal esteem which he enjoyed,"† and his attractive person and engaging manners, which all accounts unite in describing as incomparable, conciliated him the favour of the most eminent men of letters; and Bembo, Castiglione, Giovio, Navagero, Ariosto, Aretino, Fulvio, and Calcagnini, set a high value on his friendship, and supplied him, we may be allowed to suppose, with hints and ideas for his works.

His rival, Michelangelo, too, and his party, contributed not a little to the success of Raffaello. As the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasius was beneficial to them both, so the rivalry of Bonarruoti and Sanzio aided the fame of Michelangelo, and produced the paintings of the Sistine chapel; and at the same time contributed to the celebrity of Raffaello, by producing the pictures of the Vatican, and not a few others. Michelangelo, disdaining any secondary honours, came to the combat, as it were, attended by his shield-bearer, for he made drawings in his grand style, and then gave them to F. Sebastiano, the scholar of Giorgione, to execute; and by these means he hoped that Raffaello would never be able to rival his productions either in design or colour. Raffaello stood alone; but aimed at producing works with a degree of perfection beyond the united efforts of Michelangelo and Sebastian del Piombo, combining in himself a fertile imagination, ideal beauty founded on a correct imitation of the Greek style, grace, ease, amenity, and an universality of genius in every department of the art. The noble determination of triumphing in such a powerful contest

ficates. The Abate Morelli has made public a high eulogium on this work, by a contemporary pen, in the notes to the *Notizia*, p. 210. It is written by one Marcantonio Michiel, who asserts, that Raffaello had drawn the ancient buildings of Rome in such a manner, and shewn their proportions, forms, and ornaments so correctly, that whoever had inspected them might be said to have seen ancient Rome.

† In a brief of Leo. X. 1514, mentioned by Sig. Piacenza, tom. ii. p. 321.



animated him night and day, and allowed him no respite. It also excited him to surpass both his rivals and himself in every new work. The subjects, too, chosen for these chambers aided him, as they were in a great measure new, or required to be treated in a novel manner. They did not profess to represent bacchanalian or vulgar scenes, but the exalted symbols of science; the sacred functions of religion; military actions, which contributed to establish the peace of the world; important events of former days, under which were typified the reigns of the pontiffs Julius and Leo X.; the latter the most powerful protector, and one of the most accomplished judges of art. More favourable circumstances could not have conspired to stimulate a noble mind. The eulogizing of Augustus was a theme for the poets of his age, which produced the richest fruits of genius. Propertius, accustomed to sing only of the charms or the disdain of his Cinthia, felt himself another poet when called on to celebrate the triumphs of Augustus; and with new-born fervour invoked Jove himself to suspend the functions of his divinity whilst he sang the praises of the emperor.\* Such elevated subjects, in minds richly stored, must excite corresponding ideas, and thus both in poets and painters, give birth to the sublime.

Raffaello, on his arrival in Rome, says Vasari, was commissioned to paint a chamber, which was at that time called *La Segnatura*, and which, from the subject of the pictures, was called the chamber of the sciences. On the ceiling are represented Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence. Each of them has on the neighbouring façade a grand historical piece, illustrative of the subject. On the basement are also historical pieces which belong to the same sciences; and these smaller performances, and the caryatides and telamoni distributed around, are *monocromati* or *chiaroscuro*, an idea entirely of Raffaello, and afterwards, it is said, continued by Polidoro da Caravaggio. Raffaello commenced with Theology, and imitated Petrarch, who, in one of his visions, has assembled together men of the same condition, though living in different ages. He there placed the evangelists, whose

\* *Cæsaris in nomen ducuntur carmina : Cæsar  
Dum canitur, quæso, Jupiter ipse vaces.*

*Prop. lib. iv. Eleg. vi.*

volumes are the foundation of theology; the sacred writers, who have preserved its traditions; the theologists, S. Thomas, S. Bonaventura, Scotus, and the rest who have illustrated it by their arguments; above all, the Trinity in the midst of the beatified, and beneath, on an altar, the eucharist, as if to express the mystery of that doctrine. There are traces of the ancient style in this piece. Gold is made use of in the glories of the saints, and in other ornamental parts; the upper glory is formed on the plan of that of S. Severo, already noticed; the composition is more symmetrical and less free than in other pieces; and the whole, compared with the other compositions, seems too minute. Nevertheless, whosoever regards each part in itself, will find it of such careful and admirable execution, that he will be disposed to prefer it to all other works. It has been observed, that Raffaello began this piece at the right side, and that by the time he had arrived at the left side portion, he had made rapid strides in the art. This work must have been finished about the year 1508; and such was the surprise and admiration of the Pope, that he ordered all the works of Bramantino, Pier della Francesca, Signorelli, l'Abate di Arezzo, and Sodoma (though some ornamental parts by this last are preserved) to be effaced, in order that the whole chamber might be decorated by Raffaello.

In the subsequent works of Raffaello, and after the year 1509, we do not find any traces of his first style. He had adopted a nobler manner, and henceforth applied all his powers to the perfecting of it. He had now to represent, on the opposite side, Philosophy. In this he designed a gymnasium, in the form of a temple, and placed the learned ancients, some in the precincts of the building, some on the ascent of the steps, and others in the plain below. In this, more than on any other occasion, he was aided by his favourite Petrarch in the third capitolo of his Fame. Plato, "*che in quella schiera andò più presso al segno,*" is there represented with Aristotle, "*più d'ingegno,*" in the act of disputation; and they possess also, in the composition, the highest place of honour; Socrates is represented instructing Alcibiades; Pythagoras is seen, and before him a youth holds a tablet with the harmonious concords; and Zoroaster, King of Bactriana,

appears with an elementary globe in his hand. Diogenes is stretched near on the ground, with his wooden bowl in his hand, " *assai più che non vuol vergogna aperto*:" Archimedes is seen, " *star col capo basso*," and turning the compasses on the table, instructs the youth in geometry; and others are represented meditating, or in disputation, whose names and characters it would be possible, with careful observation, to distinguish more truly than Vasari has done. This picture is commonly called the School of Athens, which, in my judgment, is just as appropriate as the name of the Sacrament bestowed on the first subject. The third picture, representing Jurisprudence, is divided into two parts. On the left side of the window stands Justinian, with the book of the civil law; Trebonian receives it from his hand, with an expression of submission and acquiescence, which no other pencil can ever hope to equal. On the right side is seen Gregory IX., who delivers the book of the Decretals to an advocate of the Consistory, and bears the features of Julius II., who is thus honoured in the character of his predecessor. In the concluding picture, a personification of Poetry, is seen Mount Parnassus, where, in company of Apollo and the muses, the Greek, Roman, and Tuscan poets are represented in their own portraitures, as far as records will allow. Homer, seated between Virgil and Dante, is, perhaps, the most striking figure; he is evidently gifted with a divine spirit, and unites in his person the characters of the prophet and the poet. The historical pieces in chiaroscuro contribute, by their ornaments, to charm the sight, and preserve the unity of design. Beneath the Theology, for instance, is represented S. Augustine on the borders of the sea, instructed by the angels not to explore the mystery of the Trinity, incomprehensible to the human mind. Under the Philosophy, Archimedes is seen surprised and slain by a soldier, whilst immersed in his studies. This first chamber was finished in 1511, as that year appears inscribed near the Parnassus.

Vasari, until the finishing of the first chamber, does not speak of the improvement of his manner; on the contrary, in his life of Raffaello, he says, "although he had seen so many monuments of antiquity in that city, and studied so unremittingly, still his figures, up to this period, did not pos-



sess that breadth and majesty which they afterwards exhibited. For it happened, that the breach between Michelangelo and the Pope, which we have before mentioned in his life, occurred about this time, and compelled Bonarruoti to flee to Florence; from which circumstance, Bramante obtaining possession of the keys of the chapel, exhibited it to his friend Raffaello, in order that he might make himself acquainted with the style of Michelangelo;” and he then proceeds to mention the Isaiah of S. Agostino, and the Sibyls della Pace, painted after this period, and the Heliodorus. In the life of Michelangelo, he again informs us of the quarrel which obliged him to depart from Rome, and proceeds to say, that when, on his return, he had finished one-half of the work, the Pope suddenly commanded it to be exposed; “whereupon Raffaello d’Urbino, who possessed great facility of imitation, immediately changed his style, and, at one effort, designed the Prophets and Sibyls della Pace.” This brings us to a dispute, prosecuted with the greatest warmth, both in Italy and other countries. Bellori attacked Vasari in a violent manner, in a work entitled, “*Se Raffaello ingrandì e migliorò la maniera per aver vedute le opere di Michelangiolo*” (Whether Raffaello enlarged and improved his style on seeing the works of Michelangelo). Crespi replied to him in three letters, inserted in the *Lettere Pittoriche*,\* and many other disputants have arisen and stated fresh arguments.

It is not, however, our province to engage the reader in these disputations. It was greatly to the advantage of Michelangelo’s fame to have had two scholars, who, while he was yet living, and after the death of Raffaello, employed themselves in writing his life; and a great misfortune to Raffaello not to have been commemorated in the same manner. If he had survived to the time when Vasari and Condivi wrote, he would not have passed over their charges in silence. Raffaello would then have easily proved, that when Bonarruoti fled to Florence, in 1506, he himself was not in Rome, nor was called thither until two years afterwards; and that he could not, therefore, have obtained a furtive glance of the Sistine chapel. It would have been proved, too, that from

\* Vol. ii. p. 323 et seq.

the year 1508, when Michelangelo had, perhaps, not commenced his work, until 1511, in which year he exhibited the first half of it,\* Raffaello had been endeavouring to enlarge his style; and as Michelangelo had before studied the Torso of the Belvidere, so Raffaello also formed himself on this and other marbles,† a circumstance easily discoverable in his style. He might, too, have asked Vasari, in what he considered grandeur and majesty of style to consist; and from the example of the Greeks, and from reason herself, he might have informed him, that the grand does not consist in the enlargement of the muscles, or in an extravagance of attitude, but in adopting, as Mengs has observed, the noblest, and neglecting the inferior and meaner parts;‡ and exercising the higher powers of invention. Hence he would have proceeded to point out the grandeur of style in the School of Athens, in the majestic edifice, in the contour of the figures, in the folds of the drapery, in the expression of the countenances, and in the attitudes; and he would easily have traced the source of that sublimity in the relics of antiquity. And if he appeared still greater in his Isaiah, he might have refuted Vasari from his own account, who assigns this work to a period anterior to 1511, and therefore contemporary as it were with the School of Athens; adding, that he elevated his style by propriety of character, and the study of Grecian art. The Greeks observed an essential difference between common men and heroes, and again between their heroes and their gods; and Raffaello, after having represented philosophers immersed in human doubts, might well elevate his style when he came to figure a prophet meditating the revelations of God.§ All

\* See the first letter of Crespi, *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. ii. p. 338.

† Mengs has observed, that Raffaello diligently studied the bassi-relievi of the arches of Titus and Constantine, which were on the arch of Trajan, and adopted from them his manner of marking the articulations of the joints, and a more simple and an easier mode of expressing the contour of the fleshy parts.—*Riflessioni sopra i tre gran Pittori*, &c. cap. 1.

‡ *Riflessioni su la bellezza e sul gusto della Pittura*, parte iii. cap. 1, and see the “*Osservazioni*” of the Cav. Azara on that tract, § xii.

§ A doubt has arisen on the exact time in which he painted the Prophet and the Sibyls, and from the grandeur of their style, doubts have been thrown on Vasari's account, that they were painted anterior to 1511. But a painter who is the master of his art, elevates or lowers his style according to his subject. The Sibyls are in Raffaello's grandest style;

this might have been advanced by Raffaello, in order to relieve Bramante and himself from so ill-supported an imputation. As to the rest, I believe he never would have denied, that the works of Michelangelo had inspired him with a more daring spirit of design, and that in the exhibition of strong character, he had sometimes even imitated him. But how imitated him? In rendering, as Crespi himself observes, that very style more beautiful and more majestic (p. 344). It is indeed a great triumph to the admirers of Raffaello to be able to say, whoever wishes to see what is wanting in the Sibyls of Michelangelo, let him inspect those of Raffaello; and let him view the Isaiah of Raffaello, who would know what is wanting in the Prophets of Michelangelo.

After public curiosity was gratified, and Raffaello had obtained a glimpse of this new style, Bonarruoti closed the doors, and hastened to finish the other half of his work, which was completed at the close of 1512, so that the Pope, on the solemnization of the Feast of Christmas, was enabled to perform mass in the Sistine chapel. In the course of this year, Raffaello was employed in the second chamber on the subject of Heliodorus driven from the Temple by the prayers of Onias, the high priest, one of the most celebrated pictures of the place. In this painting, the armed vision that appears to Heliodorus, scatters lightnings from his hand, while the neighing of the steed is heard amidst the attendant thunder. In the numerous bands, some of which are plundering the riches of the Temple, and others are ignorant of the cause of the surprise and terror exhibited in Heliodorus, consternation, amazement, joy, and abasement, and a host of passions, are expressed. In this work, and in others in these chambers, Raffaello, says Mengs, gave to painting all the augmentation it could receive after Michelangelo. In this picture he introduced the portrait of Julius II., whose zeal and authority are represented in Onias. He appears in a litter borne by his grooms, in the manner in which he was accustomed to repair to the Vatican, to view this work. The Miracle of Bolsena was also painted in the lifetime of Julius.

and that they are amongst his earliest works, is proved from his having had Timoteo della Vite as his assistant in them.



The remaining decorations of these chambers were all illustrative of the history of Leo X., whose imprisonment in Ravenna, and subsequent liberation, are typified by St. Peter released from prison by the angel. It was in this piece that the painter exhibited an astonishing proof of his knowledge of light. The figures of the soldiers, who stand without the prison, are illuminated by the beams of the moon: there is a torch which produces a second light; and from the angel emanates a celestial splendour that rivals the beams of the sun. He has here, too, afforded another proof how art may convert the impediments thrown in her way to her own advantage; for the place where he was painting being broken by a window, he has imagined on each side of it a staircase, which affords an ascent to the prison, and on the steps he has placed the guards overpowered with sleep; so that the painter does not seem to have accommodated himself to the place, but the place to have become subservient to the painter. The composition of S. Leo the Great, who checks Attila at the head of his army, and that of the other chamber, the battle with the Saracens in the port of Ostium, and the victory obtained by S. Leo IV., justify Raffaello's claim to the epic crown: so powerfully has he depicted the military array of men and horses, the arms peculiar to each nation, the fury of the combat, the despair and humiliation of the prisoners. Near this performance is the wonderful piece of the Incendio di Borgo, which is miraculously extinguished by the same S. Leo. This wonderful piece alternately chills the heart with terror, or warms it with compassion. The calamity of fire is carried to its extreme point, as it is the hour of midnight, and the fire, which already occupies a considerable space, is increased by a violent wind, which agitates the flames that leap with rapidity from house to house. The affright and misery of the inhabitants are also carried to the utmost extremity. Some rush forward with water, are driven back by the scorching flames; others seek safety in flight, with naked feet, robeless, and with dishevelled hair; women are seen turning an imploring look to the Pontiff; mothers, whose own terrors are absorbed in fear for their offspring; and here a youth, who bearing on his shoulders his aged and infirm sire, and sinking beneath the weight, collects his almost exhausted strength to

place him out of danger. The concluding subjects refer to Leo III.; the Coronation of Charlemagne, by the hand of that pontiff, and the Oath taken by the Pope on the Holy Evangelists, to exculpate himself from the calumnies laid to his charge. In Leo, is meant to be represented Leo X., who is thus honoured in the persons of his predecessors; and in Charlemagne is represented Francis I., king of France. Many persons of the age are also figured in the surrounding group, so that there is not an historical subject in these chambers that does not contain the most accurate likenesses. In this latter department also, Raffaello may be said to have been transcendent. His portraits have deceived even persons the most intimately acquainted with the subjects of them. He painted a remarkable picture of Leo X., and on one occasion the Cardinal Datary of that time found himself approaching it with a bull, and pen and ink for the Pope's signature.\*

The six subjects which relate to Leo, elected in 1513, were finished in 1517. In the nine years which Raffaello employed on these three chambers, and also in the three following years, he made additional decorations to the Pontifical palace; he observed the style of ornament suitable to each part, and thus made the Pope's residence a model of magnificence and taste for all Europe. Few have adverted to this instance of his merit. He superintended the new gallery of the palace, availing himself in part of the design of Bramante, and in part improving on him. "He then made designs for the stuccos, and the various subjects there painted, and also for the divisions, and he then appointed Giovanni da Udine to finish the stuccos and arabesques, and Giulio Romano the figures." The exposure of this gallery to the inclemencies of the air has left little remaining besides the squalid grotesques; but those who saw it at an early period, when the unsullied splendour of the gold, the pure white of the stuccos, the brilliancy of the colours, and the newness of the marble, rendered every part of it beautiful and resplendent, must have thought it a vision of paradise. Vasari, in eulogizing it, says, "It is impossible to execute or to conceive a more exquisite work." The best which now remain are the thirteen ceilings, in each of which

\* Lett. Pittor. tom. v. p. 131.

are distributed four subjects from holy writ, the first of which, the Creation of the World, Raffaello executed with his own hand as a model for the others, which were painted by his scholars, and afterwards retouched and rendered uniform by himself, as was his custom. I have seen copies of these in Rome, executed at great cost, and with great fidelity, for Catherine, empress of Russia, under the direction of Mr. Hunterberger, and from the effect which was produced by the freshness of the colours, I could easily conceive how highly enchanting the originals must have been. But their great value consisted in Raffaello having enriched them by his invention, expression, and design, and every one is agreed that each subject is a school in itself. He was desirous of competing with Michelangelo, who had treated the same subject in the Sistine chapel; and of appealing to the public to judge whether or not he had equalled him. To describe in a suitable manner the other pictures in chiaroscuro, and the numerous landscapes and architectural subjects, the trophies, imitations of cameos, masks, and other things which this divine artist either designed himself or formed into new combinations from the antique, is a task, says Taja, far above the reach of human powers. Taja has, however, himself given us a delightful description of these works.\* It confers the highest honour on Raffaello, to whom we owe the fifty-two subjects, and all the ornamental parts.

Nor were the pavements, or the doors, or other interior works in the palace of the Vatican, completed without his superintendence. He directed the pavements to be formed of *terra invetriata*, an ancient invention of Luca della Robbia, which having continued for many generations as a family secret, was then in the hands of another Luca. Raffaello invited him to Florence to execute this vast work, employed him in the gallery, and in many of the chambers, which he adorned with the arms of the Pope. For the couches and other ornaments of the Camera di Segnatura he brought to Rome F. Giovanni da Verona, who formed them of mosaic with the most beautiful views. For the entablatures of the chambers, and for several of the windows and doors, he en

\* Commencing at p. 139.



gaged Giovanni Barile, a celebrated Florentine engraver of gems. This work was executed in so masterly a manner, that Louis XIII., wishing to ornament the palace of the Louvre, had all these intaglios separately copied. The drawings of them were made by Poussin, and Mariette boasted of having them in his collection. Nor was there any other work either of stone or marble for which a design was required, which did not come under the inspection of Raffaello, and on which he did not impress his taste, which was consummate also in the sister art of sculpture. A proof of this is to be seen in the Jonah, in the church of the Madonna del Popolo, in the Chigi chapel, which was executed by Lorenzetto under his direction, and which Bottari says, may assume its place by the side of the Greek statues. Among his most remarkable works may be mentioned his designs for the tapestry in the papal chapel, the subjects of which were from the lives of the Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles. The cartoons for them were both designed and coloured by Raffaello; and after the tapestries were finished in the Low Countries, the cartoons passed into England, where they still remain. In these tapestries the art attained its highest pitch, nor has the world since beheld any thing to equal them in beauty. They are exposed annually in the great portico of S. Peter, in the procession of the *Corpus Domini*, and it is wonderful to behold the crowds that flock to see them, and who ever regard them with fresh avidity and delight. But all the works of Raffaello would not have contributed to the extension of art at that period, beyond the meridian of Rome, if he had not succeeded in extending the fruits of his genius, by the means of prints. We have already noticed M. A. Raimondi, in the first book, and we have shewn that this great engraver was courteously received, and was afterwards assisted by Sanzio, whence an abundance of copies of the designs and the works of this master have been given to the world. A fine taste was thus rapidly propagated throughout Europe, and the beautiful style of Raffaello began to be justly appreciated. In a short time it became the prevailing taste, and if his maxims had remained unaltered, Italian painting would probably have flourished for as long a period as Greek sculpture.

In the midst of such a variety of occupations, Raffaello did not fail to gratify the wishes of private individuals, desirous of having his designs for buildings, in which branch of art he was highly celebrated, and also of possessing his pictures. I need only to refer to the gallery of Agostini Chigi, which he ornamented with his own hand with the well-known fable of Galatea. He afterwards, with the assistance of his pupils, painted the Marriage of Psyche, at the banquet of which he assembled all the heathen deities, with such propriety of form, with their attendant symbols and genii, that in these fabulous subjects he almost rivalled the Greeks. These pictures, and those also of the chambers of the Vatican, were retouched by Maratta, with incredible care; and the method he adopted, as described by Bellori, may serve as a guide in similar cases. Raffaello also painted many altar-pieces, with saints generally introduced; as that of the Contesse at Foligno, where he introduced the chamberlain of the Pope, alive, rather than drawn from the life: that for S. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna, of S. Cecilia, who, charmed to rapture by a celestial melody, forgets her musical instrument, which falls neglected from her hands; that for Palermo, of Christ ascending Mount Calvary, called *della Spasimo*, which, however much disparaged by Cumberland, for having been retouched, is a noble ornament of the royal collection at Madrid; and the others at Naples and Piacenza, which are mentioned by his biographers. He also painted S. Michael for the king of France, and many other Holy Families\* and devotional subjects, which neither Vasari nor his other biographers have fully enumerated.

But although the creation of these wonderful works was become a habit in this great artist, still every part of his productions cannot be considered as equally successful. It is

\* I do not find that any mention has been made of his picture in the possession of the Olivieri family at Pesaro, or of the one in the Basilica di Loreto in the Treasury, which seems to be the same which was formerly in the church of the Madonna del Popolo, or a copy of it. I have seen a similar subject in the Lauretana, belonging to the Signori Pirri, in Rome. At Sassoferrato also, on the great altar of the church of the Capucins, there is a Virgin and Child, said to be by him; but it is more probably by Fra Bernardo Catelani. There exist engravings of the two first, but I have not seen any of the last.

known, that in the frescos of the palace, and in the Chigi gallery, he was censured in some naked figures for errors committed, as Vasari says, by some of his school. Mengs, who varied his opinions at different periods of his life, insinuates that Raffaello for some time seemed to slumber, and did not make those rapid strides in the art, which might have been expected from his genius. This was, probably, when Michelangelo was for some years absent from Rome; but when he returned, and heard it reported that many persons considered the paintings of Raffaello superior to his in colour, of more beauty and grace in composition, and of a corresponding excellence in design, whilst his works were said to possess none of these qualities except the last, he was stimulated to avail himself of the pencil of Fra Sebastiano, and at the same time supplied him with his own designs. The most celebrated work which they produced in conjunction, was a Transfiguration, in fresco, with a Flagellation, and other figures, in a chapel of S. Peter in Montorio. Raffaello being subsequently employed to paint a picture for the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., Sebastiano, in a sort of competition, painted another picture of the same size. In the latter was represented the raising of Lazarus; in the former, with the master's accustomed spirit of emulation, the Transfiguration. "This is a picture which combines," says Mengs, "more excellences than any of the previous works of Raffaello. The expression in it is more exalted and more refined, the chiaroscuro more correct, the perspective better understood, the pencilling finer, and there is a greater variety in the drapery, more grace in the heads, and more grandeur in the style."\* It represents the mystery of the Transfiguration of Christ on the summit of Mount Tabor. On the side of the hill he has placed a band of his disciples, and with the bappiest invention has engaged them in an action conformable to their powers, and has thus formed an episode not beyond the bounds of probability. A youth possessed is presented to them, that they may expel the evil spirit that torments him; and in the possessed, struggling with the presence of the demon, the confiding faith of the father, the affliction of a

\* *Riflessioni sopra i tre gran Pittori, &c., cap. i. § 2.*



beautiful and interesting female, and the compassion visible in the countenances of the surrounding apostles, we are presented with perhaps the most pathetic incident ever conceived. Yet this part of the composition does not fix our regard so much as the principal subject on the summit of the mountain. There the two prophets, and the three disciples, are most admirably delineated, and the Saviour appears enveloped in a glory emanating from the fountain of eternal light, and surrounded by that chaste and celestial radiance, that is reserved exclusively for the eyes of the elect. The countenance of Christ, in which he has developed all his combined ideas of majesty and beauty, may be considered the master-piece of Raffaello, and seems to us the most sublime height to which the genius of the artist, or even the art itself, was capable of aspiring. After this effort he never resumed his pencil, as he was soon afterwards suddenly seized with a mortal distemper, of which he died, in the bosom of the church, on Good Friday (also the anniversary of his birthday), 1520, aged thirty-seven years. His body reposed for some days in the chamber where he was accustomed to paint, and over it was placed this noble picture of the Transfiguration, previous to his mortal remains being transferred to the church of the Rotonda for interment. There was not an artist that was not moved to tears at this affecting sight. Raffaello had always possessed the power of engaging the affections of all with whom he was acquainted. Respectful to his master, he obtained from the Pope an assurance, that his works, in one of the ceilings of the Vatican, should remain unmolested; just towards his rivals, he expressed his gratitude to God that he had been born in the days of Bonarruoti; gracious towards his pupils, he loved them, and intrusted them as his own sons; courteous even to strangers, he cheerfully lent his aid to all who asked his advice; and in order to make designs for others, or to direct them in their studies, he sometimes even neglected his own work, being alike incapable of refusing or delaying his inestimable aid. All these reflections forced themselves on the minds of the spectators, whose eyes were at one moment directed to the view of his youthful remains, and of those divine hands that had, in the imitation of her works, almost excelled nature herself; and at another moment, to the con-

templation of this his latest production, which appeared to exhibit the dawn of a new and wonderful style; and the painful reflection presented itself, that, with the life of Raffaello, the brightest prospects of art were thus suddenly obscured. The Pope himself was deeply affected at his death, and requested Bembo to compose the epitaph which is now read on his tomb; and his loss was considered as a national calamity throughout all Italy. True indeed it is, that soon after his decease, Rome herself, and her territory, experienced such unheard of calamities, that many had just cause to envy him, not only the celebrity of his life, but the opportune period of his death. He was not doomed to see the illustrious Leo X., at a time when he extended the most exalted patronage to the arts, poisoned by a sacrilegious hand; nor Clement VII., pressed by an enraged enemy, seeking shelter in the castle of S. Angelo, afterwards compelled to fly for his life, and obliged to purchase, at enormous sums, the liberty of his servants. Nor did he witness the horrors attending the sacking of Rome, the nobility robbed and plundered in their own palaces, the violation of hapless females in the convents; prelates unrelentingly dragged to the scaffold, and priests torn from the altars, and from the images of their saints, to whom they looked in vain for refuge, slaughtered by the sword, and their bodies thrown out of the churches a prey to the dogs. Nor did he survive to see that city, which he had so illustrated by his genius, and where he had for so many years shared the public admiration and esteem, wasted with fire and sword. But of this we shall speak in another place, and shall here adduce some observations on his style, selected from various authors, more particularly from Mengs, who has ably criticised it in his works already enumerated by me, as well as in some others.

Raffaello is by common consent placed at the head of his art; not because he excelled all others in every department of painting, but because no other artist has ever possessed the various parts of the art united in so high a degree. Lazzarini even asserts that he was guilty of errors, and that he is only the first, because he did not commit so many as others. He ought, however, to have allowed, that his defects would be excellences in any other artist, being nothing more in him

than the neglect of that higher degree of perfection to which he was capable of attaining. The art, indeed, comprehends so many and such difficult parts, that no individual artist has been alike distinguished in all; even Apelles was said to yield to Amphion in disposition and harmony, to Asclepiadorus in proportion, and to Protogenes in application.

The style of design of Raffaello, as seen in those drawings, divested of colours, which form the chief ornaments of cabinets, presents us, if we may use the term, with the pure transcript of his imagination, and we stand in amaze at the contours, grace, precision, diligence, and genius which they exhibit. One of the most admired of his drawings I once saw in the gallery of the duke of Modena, a most finished and superior specimen, uniting in style all the invention of the best painters of Greece, and the execution of the first artists of Italy. It has been made a question whether Raffaello did not yield to Michelangelo in drawing; and Mengs himself confesses, that he did, as far as regards the anatomy of the muscles, and in strong expression, in which he considers Raffaello to have imitated Michelangelo. But we need not say with Vasari, that in order to prove that he understood the naked figure as well as Michelangelo, he appropriated to himself the designs of that great master. On the contrary, in the figures of the two youths in the *Incendio di Borgo*, criticised by Vasari, one of whom is in the act of leaping from a wall to escape the flames, and the other is fleeing with his father on his shoulders, he not only proved that he had a perfect knowledge of the action of the muscles and the anatomy requisite for a painter, but prescribed the occasion when this style might be used without impropriety, as in figures of a robust form engaged in violent action. He moreover commonly marked the principal parts in the naked figure, and indicated the others after the example of the better ancient masters, and where he wrought from his own ideas, his execution was most correct. On this subject Bellori may be consulted at page 223 of the work already quoted, and the annotations to vol. ii. of Mengs (page 197), made by the Cavaliere d'Azzara, minister of the king of Spain at Rome, an individual, who, in conferring honour on the artist, has by his own writing conferred honour on art itself.



In chasteness of design, Raffaello was by some placed on a level with the Greeks, though this praise we must consider as extravagant. Agostino Caracci commends him as a model of symmetry; and in that respect, more than in any other, he approached the ancients; except, observes Mengs, in the hands, which being rarely found perfect in the ancient statues, he had not an equal opportunity of studying, and did not therefore design them so elegantly as the other parts. He selected the beautiful from nature, and as Mariette observes, whose collection was rich in his designs, he copied it with all its imperfections, which he afterwards gradually corrected, as he proceeded with his work. Above all things, he aimed at perfecting the heads, and from a letter addressed to Castiglione on the Galatea of the Palazzo Chigi, or of the Farnesina, he discovers how intent he was to select the best models of nature, and to perfect them in his own mind.\* His own Fornarina assisted him in this object. Her portrait, by Raffaello's own hand, was formerly in the Barberini palace, and it is repeated in many of his Madonnas, in the picture of S. Cecilia, in Bologna, and in many female heads. Critics have often expressed a wish that these heads had possessed a more dignified character, and in this respect he was, perhaps, excelled by Guido Reni, and however engaging his children may be, those of Titian are still more beautiful. His true empire was in the heads of his men, which are portraits selected with judgment, and depicted with a dignity proportioned to his subject. Vasari calls the air of these heads superhuman, and calls on us to admire the expression of age in the patriarchs, simplicity of life in the apostles, and constancy of faith in the martyrs; and in Christ in the Transfiguration, he says, there is a portion of the divine essence itself transferred to his countenance, and made visible to mortal eyes.

This effect is the result of that quality that is called expression, and which, in the drawing of Raffaello, has attracted more admiration of late years than formerly. It is remark-

\* *Lo dico con questa condizione che V. S. si trovasse meco a far la scelta del meglio: ma essendo carestia e di buoni giudici e di belle donne, mi servo di una certa idea che mi viene in mente.*—Lett. Pittor. tom. i. p. 84.

able, that not only Zuccaro, who was indeed a superficial writer, but that Vasari, and Lomazzo himself, so much more profound than either of them, should not have conferred on him that praise which he afterwards received from Algarotti, Lazzarini, and Mengs. Lionardo was the first, as we shall see in the Milanese School, to lead the way to delicacy of expression; but that master, who painted so little, and with such labour, is not to be compared to Raffaello, who possessed the whole quality in its fullest extent. There is not a movement of the soul, there is not a character of passion known to the ancients, and capable of being expressed by art, that he has not caught, expressed, and varied, in a thousand different ways, and always within the bounds of propriety. We have no tradition of his having, like Da Vinci, frequented the public streets to seek for subjects for his pencil; and his numerous pictures prove that he could not have devoted so much time to this study, while his drawings clearly evince, that he had not equal occasion for such assistance. Nature, as I have before remarked, had endowed him with an imagination which transported his mind to the scene of the event, either fabulous or remote, in which he was engaged, and awoke in him the very same emotions which the subjects of such story must themselves have experienced; and this vivid conception assisted him until he had designed his subject with that distinctness which he had either observed in other countenances, or found in his own mind. This faculty, seldom found in poets, and still more rarely in painters, no one possessed in a more eminent degree than Raffaello. His figures are passions personified; and love, fear, hope, and desire, anger, placability, humility, or pride, assume their places by turns, as the subject changes; and while the spectator regards the countenances, the air, and the gestures of his figures, he forgets that they are the work of art, and is surprised to find his own feelings excited, and himself an actor in the scene before him. There is another delicacy of expression, and this is the gradation of the passions, by which every one perceives whether they are in their commencement or at their height, or in their decline. He had observed their shades of difference in the intercourse of life, and on every occasion he knew how to transfer the

result of his observations to his canvas. Even his silence is eloquent, and every actor

“ *Il cor negli occhi, e nella fronte ha scritto :*”—Petr.

the smallest perceptible motion of the eyes, of the nostrils, of the mouth, and of the fingers, corresponds to the chief movements of every passion; the most animated and vivid actions discover the violence of the passion that excites them; and what is more, they vary in innumerable degrees, without ever departing from nature, and conform themselves to a diversity of character without ever risking propriety. His heroes possess the mien of valour; his vulgar, an air of debasement; and that, which neither the pen nor the tongue could describe, the genius and art of Raffaello would delineate with a few strokes of the pencil. Numbers have in vain sought to imitate him; his figures are governed by a sentiment of the mind, while those of others, if we except Poussin and a very few more, seem the imitation of tragic actors from the scenes. This is Raffaello's chief excellence; and he may justly be denominated the painter of mind. If in this faculty be included all that is difficult, philosophical, and sublime, who shall compete with him in the sovereignty of art?

Another quality which Raffaello possessed in an eminent degree was grace, a quality which may be said to confer an additional charm on beauty itself. Apelles, who was supremely endowed with it among the ancients, was so vain of the possession that he preferred it to every other attribute of art.\* Raffaello rivalled him among the moderns, and thence obtained the name of the new Apelles. Something might, perhaps, be advantageously added to the forms of his children, and other delicate figures which he represented, but nothing can add to their gracefulness, for if it were attempted to be carried further, it would degenerate into affectation, as we find in Parmegiano. His Madonnas enchant us, as Mengs observes, not because they possess the perfect lineaments of the Medicean Venus, or of the celebrated daughter of Niobe; but, because the painter in their portraits, and in

\* Plin. Hist. Natur. lib. xxxv. cap. 10. Quintil. Instit. Orat. xii. 10.



their expressive smiles, has personified modesty, maternal love, purity of mind, and, in a word, grace itself. Nor did he impress this quality on the countenance alone, but distributed it throughout the figure in its attitude, gesture, and action, and in the folds of the drapery, with a dexterity which may be admired, but never rivalled. His freedom of execution was a component part of this grace, which, indeed, vanishes as soon as labour and study appear; for it is with the painter as with the orator, in whom a natural and spontaneous eloquence delights us, while we turn away with indifference from an artificial and studied harangue.

In regard to the province of colour, Raffaello must yield the palm to Titiano and Correggio, although he himself excelled Michelangelo and many others. His frescos may rank with the first works of other schools in that line: not so his pictures in oil. In the latter he availed himself of the sketches of Giulio, which were composed with a degree of hardness and timidity; and though finished by Raffaello, they have frequently lost the lustre of his last touch. This defect was not immediately apparent, and if Raffaello's life had been prolonged, he would have been aware of the injuries his pictures received from the lapse of time, and would not have finished them in so light a manner. He is, on this account, more admired in his first subject in the Vatican, painted under Julius II., than in those he executed under Leo X., for being there pressed by a multiplicity of business, and an idea of the importance of a grander style, he became less rich and firm in his colouring. That, however, he excelled in these respects is evinced by his portraits, when, not having an opportunity of displaying his invention, composition, and beautiful style of design, he appears ambitious to distinguish himself by his colouring. In this respect his two portraits of Julius II. are truly admirable, the Medicean and the Corsinian: that of Leo X. between the two cardinals; and above all, in the opinion of an eminent judge, Renfesthein, that of Bindo Altoviti, in the possession of his noble descendants at Florence, by many regarded as a portrait of Raphael himself.\*

\* Portraits of Raffaello are to be found in the Duomo, and in the Sacristy of Siena, in more than one picture; but it is doubtful whether

The heads in his Transfiguration are esteemed the most perfect he ever painted, and Mengs extols the colouring of them as eminently beautiful. If there be any exception, it is in the complexion of the principal female, of a greyish tint, as is often the case in his delicate figures; in which he is therefore considered to excel less than in the heads of his men. Mengs has made many exceptions to the chiaroscuro of Raffaello, as compared with that of Correggio, on which connoisseurs will form their own decision. We are told that he disposed it with the aid of models of wax; and the relief of his pictures, and the beautiful effect in his Heliodorus, and in the Transfiguration, are ascribed to this mode of practice. To his perspective, too, he was most attentive. De Piles found in some of his sketches the scale of proportion.\* It is affirmed by Algarotti, that he did not attempt to foreshorten his figures in ceilings. But to this opinion we may oppose the example we find in the third arch of the gallery of the Vatican, where there is a perspective of small columns, says Taja, imitated in that manner. It is true, that in his larger works he avoided it; and in order to preserve the appearance of nature, he represented his pictures as painted on a tapestry, attached by means of a running knot to the entablature of the room.

But all the great qualities which we have enumerated would not have procured for Raffaello such extraordinary celebrity, if he had not possessed a wonderful felicity in the invention and disposition of his subjects, indeed his highest merit. It may with truth be said, that in aid of this object he availed himself of every example, ancient and modern; and that these two requisites have not since been so united

by his own hand or that of Pinturicchio. That which is mentioned in the Guida di Perugia, as being a picture of the Resurrection at the Conventuals, is said to be by Pietro Perugino: and in the Borghese gallery in Rome, there is one, supposed to be by the hand of Timoteo della Vite. The portrait in the gallery in Florence, by Da Vinci, bears some resemblance to Raffaello, but it is not he. Another, which I have seen in Bologna, ought, perhaps, to be ascribed to Giulio Romano. One of the most authentic portraits of Raffaello, by his own hand, next to the one in the picture of S. Luke, is that in the Medici Collection in the Stanza de' Pittori, though this is not in his best manner.

\* *Idée de Peintre parfait*, chap. xix.

in any other artist. He accomplishes in his pictures that which every orator ought to aim at in his speech—he instructs, moves, and delights us. This is an easy task to a narrator, since he can regularly unfold to us the whole progress of an event. The painter, on the contrary, has but the space of a moment to make himself understood, and his talent consists in describing not only what is passing, and what is likely to ensue, but that which has already occurred. It is here that the genius of Raffaello triumphs. He embraces the whole subject. From a thousand circumstances he selects those alone which can interest us ; he arranges the actors in the most expressive manner ; he invents the most novel modes of conveying much meaning by few touches ; and numberless minute circumstances, all uniting in one purpose, render the story not only intelligible, but palpable. Various writers have adduced in example the S. Paul at Lystra, which is to be seen in one of the tapestries of the Vatican. The artist has there represented the sacrifice prepared for him and S. Barnabas his companion, as to two gods, for having restored a lame man to the use of his limbs. The altar, the attendants, the victims, the musicians, and the axe, sufficiently indicate the intentions of the Lystrians. S. Paul, who is in the act of tearing his robe, shews that he rejects and abhors the sacrilegious honours, and is endeavouring to dissuade the populace from persisting in them. But all this were vain, if it had not indicated the miracle which had just happened, and given rise to the event. Raffaello added to the group the lame man restored to the use of his limbs, now easily recognized again by all the spectators. He stands before the apostles rejoicing in his restoration ; and raises his hands in transport towards his benefactors, while at his feet lie the crutches which had recently supported him, now cast away as useless. This had been sufficient for any other artist ; but Raffaello, who wished to carry reality to the utmost point, has added a throng of people, who, in their eager curiosity, remove the garment of the man, to behold his limbs restored to their former state. Raffaello abounds with examples like these, and he may be compared to some of the classical writers, who afford the more matter for reflection the more they are studied. It is sufficient to have



noticed in the inventive powers of Raffaello, those circumstances which have been less frequently remarked ; the movement of the passions, which is entirely the work of expression, the delight which proceeds from poetical conceptions, or from graceful episodes, may be said to speak for themselves.

Other things might contribute to the beauty of his works, as unity, sublimity, costume, and erudition ; for which it is sufficient to refer to those delightful poetical pieces, with which he adorned the gallery of Leo X., and which were engraved by Lanfranco and Badalocchi, and are called the Bible of Raffaello. In the Return of Jacob, who does not immediately discover, in the number and variety of domestic animals, the multitude of servants, and the women carrying with them their children, a patriarchal family migrating from a long possessed abode into a new territory ? In the Creation of the World, where the Deity stretches out his arms, and with one hand calls forth the sun, and with the other the moon, do we not see a grandeur, which, with the simplest expression, awakes in us the most sublime ideas ? And in the Adoration of the Golden Calf, how could he better have represented the idolatrous ceremony, and its departure from true religion, than by depicting the people as carried away by an insane joy, and mad with fanaticism ? In point of erudition it is sufficient to notice the Triumph of David, which Taja describes and compares with the ancient bassirelievi, and is inclined to believe that there is not any thing in marble that excels the art and skill of this picture. I am aware that on another occasion he has not been exempted from blame, as when he repeated the figure of S. Peter out of prison, which hurts the unity of the subject ; and in assigning to Apollo and to the Muses instruments not proper to antiquity. Yet it is the glory of Raffaello to have introduced into his pictures numberless circumstances unknown to his predecessors, and to have left little to be added by his successors.

In composition also he is at the head of his art. In every picture the principal figure is obvious to the spectator ; we have no occasion to inquire for it ; the groups, divided by situation, are united in the principal action ; the contrast is not dictated by affectation, but by truth and propriety ; a

figure absorbed in thought, often serves as a relief to another that acts and speaks ; the masses of light and shade are not arbitrarily poised, but are in the most select imitation of nature ; all is art, but all is consummate skill and concealment of art. The School of Athens, as it is called, in the Vatican, is in this respect amongst the most wonderful compositions in the world. They who succeeded Raffaello, and followed other principles, have afforded more pleasure to the eye, but have not given such satisfaction to the mind. The compositions of Paul Veronese contain a greater number of figures, and more decoration ; Lanfranco and the machinists introduced a powerful effect, and a vigorous contrast of light and shade : but who would exchange for such a manner the chaste and dignified style of Raffaello ? Poussin alone, in the opinion of Mengs, obtained a superior mode of composition in the groundwork, or economy of his subject ; that is to say, in the judicious selection of the scene of the event.

We have thus concisely stated the perfection to which Raffaello carried his art, in the short space allotted him. There is not a work in nature or art where he has not practically illustrated his own axiom, as handed down to us by Federigo Zuccaro, that things must be represented, not as they are, but as they ought to be ; the country, the elements, animals, buildings, every age of man, every condition of life, every affection, all was embraced and rendered more beautiful by the divine genius of Raffaello. And if his life had been prolonged to a more advanced period, without approaching the term allowed to Titiano or Michelangelo, who shall say to what height of perfection he might not have carried his favourite art ? Who can divine his success in architecture and sculpture, if he had applied himself to the study of them, having so wonderfully succeeded in his few attempts in those branches of art ?

Of his pictures a considerable number are to be found in private collections, particularly on sacred subjects, such as the Madonna and Child, and other compositions of the Holy Family. They are in the three styles which we have before described : the Grand Duke has some specimens of each. The most admired is that which is named the Madonna della Seg-

giola.\* Of this class of pictures it is often doubted whether they ought to be considered as originals or copies, as some of them have been three, five, or ten times repeated. The same may be said of other cabinet pictures by him, particularly the *S. John in the Desert*, which is in the Grand Ducal gallery at Florence, and is found repeated in many collections both in Italy and in other countries. This was likely to happen in a school where the most common mode was the following:—The subject was designed by Raffaello, the picture prepared by Giulio, and finished by the master so exquisitely, that one might almost count the hairs of the head. When the pictures were thus finished, they were copied by the scholars of Raffaello, who were very numerous, and of the second and third order; and these were also sometimes retouched by Giulio and by Raffaello himself. But whoever is experienced in the freedom and delicacy of the chief of this school, need not fear confounding his productions with those of the scholars, or of Giulio himself; who, besides having a more timid pencil, made use of a darker tint than his master was accustomed to do. I have met with an experienced person, who declared that he could recognize the character of Giulio in the dark parts of the flesh tints, and in the middle dark tints, not of a leaden colour as Raffaello used, nor so well harmonized; in the greater quantity of light, and in the eyes designed more roundly, which Raffaello painted somewhat long, after the manner of Pietro.

On this propitious commencement was founded the school which we call Roman, rather from the city of Rome itself,

\* Engraved by Morghen. The three figures, the Madonna, the Infant, and St. John, appear almost alive. It would seem that Raffaello made several studies for this picture, and he painted one without the St. John, which remained for some time in Urbino. I saw a copy in the possession of the Calamini family, at Recanati, which was said to be by Baroccio, and at all events belonging to his school. I have seen the same subject in the Casa Olivieri, at Pesaro, and at Cortona, in possession of another noble family, to whom it had passed by inheritance from Urbino, and was considered to be by Raffaello. The faces in these are not so beautiful, nor the colours so fine; they are round, and in a larger circle, with some variations; I have also seen a copy in the Sacristy of S. Luigi de' Francesi, in Rome, and in the Palazzo Giustiniani.



than from the people, as I have before observed. For as the inhabitants of Rome are a mixture of many tongues, and many different nations, of whom the descendants of Romulus form the least proportion, so the school of painting has been increased in its numbers by foreigners whom she has received and united to her own, and who are considered in her academy of S. Luke, as if they had been born in Rome, and enjoyed the ancient rights of Romans. Hence is derived the great variety of names that we find in the course of it. Some, as Caravaggio, derived no assistance from the study of the ancient marbles, and other aids peculiar to the capital; and these may be said to have been in the Roman School, but not to have formed a part of it. Others adopted the principles of the disciples of Raffaello, and their usual method was to study diligently both Raffaello and the ancient marbles; and from the imitation of him, and more particularly of the antique, resulted, if I err not, the general character, if I may so express it, of the Roman School: the young artists, who were expert in copying statues and bassirelievi, and who had those objects always before their eyes, could easily transfer their forms to the panel or the canvas. Hence their style is formed on the antique, and their beauty is more ideal than that of other schools. This circumstance, which was an advantage to those who knew how to use it, became a disadvantage to others, leading them to give their figures the air of statues, beautiful, but isolated, and not sufficiently animated. Others have done themselves greater injury from copying the modern statues of saints; a practice which facilitated the representation of devout attitudes, the disposition of the folds in the garments of the monks and priests, and other peculiarities which are not found in ancient sculpture. But as sculpture has gradually deteriorated, it could not have any beneficial influence on the sister arts; and it has hence led many into mannerism in the folds of their drapery, after Bernino and Algardi; excellent artists, but who ought not to have influenced the art of painting as they did, in a city like Rome. The style of invention in this school is, in general, judicious, the composition chaste, the costume carefully observed, with a moderate study of ornament. I speak of pictures in oil, for the frescos of this later period ought to be

separately considered. The colouring, on the whole, is not the most brilliant, nor is it yet the most feeble; there being always a supply of artists from the Lombards or Flemings, who prevented its being entirely neglected.

We may now return to the original subject of our inquiry, examine the principles of the Roman School, and attend it to its latest epoch. Raffaello at all times employed a number of scholars, constantly instructing and teaching them: whence he never went to court, as we are assured by Vasari, without being accompanied (out of respect) by probably fifty of the first artists. He employed every one in the way most agreeable to his talent. Some, having received sufficient instruction, returned to their native country; others remained with him, and after his death established themselves at Rome, where they became the germs of this new school. At the head of all was Giulio Romano, whom, with Gio. Francesco Penni, Raffaello appointed his heir, whence they both united in finishing the works on which their master was employed. They associated to themselves as an assistant Perino del Vaga, and to render the connexion permanent, gave him a sister of Penni to his wife. To these three were joined some others who had worked under Raffaello. On their first establishment they did not meet with any great success, for, as Vasari informs us, the chief place in art being by universal consent assigned to Fra Sebastiano, through the partiality of Michelangelo, the followers of Raffaello were kept in the back ground. We may also add, as another cause, the death of Leo X., in 1521, and the election of his successor, Adrian VI., a decided enemy to the fine arts, by whom the public works contemplated, and already commenced by his predecessor, remained neglected; and many artists, in consequence of the want of employment, occasioned by this event, and by the plague, in 1523, were reduced to the greatest distress. But Adrian dying after a reign of twenty-three months, and Giulio de' Medici being elected in his place under the name of Clement VII., the arts revived. Raffaello, before his death, had begun to paint the great saloon, had designed figures, and left sketches for the completion of it. It was intended to represent four historical events, although the subjects of some are disputed. These were the Apparition of the Cross, or the harangue of Con-

stantine ; the battle wherein Maxentius is drowned, and Constantine remains victor ; the baptism of Constantine, received from the hands of S. Silvester ; and the Donative of the city of Rome, made to the same pontiff. Giulio finished the two first subjects, and Giovanni Francesco the other two, and they added to them bassirelievi, painted in imitation of bronze under each subject, with additional figures. They afterwards painted, or rather finished, the pictures of the villa at Monte Mario, a work ordered by the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and suspended until the second or third year of his papal reign. This villa was afterwards called di Madama, and there still remain many traces of the munificence of that prince, and the taste of the school of Raffaello. Giulio meanwhile, with the permission of the pope, established himself in Mantua, Il Fattore went to Naples ; and afterwards, in 1527, in consequence of the sacking of Rome, and the unrestrained licence of the invading army, Vaga, Polidoro, Giovanni da Udine, Peruzzi, and Vincenzio di S. Gimignano left Rome, and with them Parmigianino, at this time in the capital, passionately employed in studying the works of Raffaello. This illustrious school was thus dispersed over Italy, and hence it happened that the new style, quickly propagated, gave birth to the florid schools, which form the subjects of our other books. Some of the scholars of Raffaello might return to Rome, but the brilliant epoch was past. The decline became apparent soon after the sacking of the city, and from the time of that event, the art daily degenerated in the capital, and ultimately terminated in mannerism. After this general notice of the school of Raffaello, we shall treat of each particular scholar and of his assistants.

Giulio Pippi, or Giulio Romano, the most distinguished pupil of Raffaello, resembled his master more in energy than in delicacy of style, and was particularly successful in subjects of war and battles, which he represented with spirit and correctness. In his noble style of design he emulates Michelangelo, commands the whole mechanism of the human body, and with a masterly hand renders it subservient to all his purposes. His only fault is, that his demonstrations of motion are sometimes too violent. Vasari preferred his drawings to his pictures, as he thought that the fire of his original concep-



tion was apt to evaporate, in some degree, in the finishing. Some have objected to the squareness of his physiognomies, and have complained of his middle tints being too dark. But Niccolo Poussin admired this asperity of colour in his battle of Constantine, as suitable to the character of the subject. In the picture of the church dell' Anima, which is a Madonna, accompanied by saints, and in others of that description, it does not produce so good an effect. His cabinet pictures are rare, and sometimes too free in their subjects. He generally painted in fresco, and his vast works at Mantua place him at the head of that school, which indeed venerates him as its founder.

Gianfrancesco Penni of Florence, called *Il Fattore*, who, when a boy, was a servant in the studio of Raffaello, became one of his principal scholars, and assisted him more than any other in the cartoons of the tapestries: he painted in the gallery of the Vatican the Histories of Abraham and Isaac, noticed by Taja. Among other works left incomplete by his master, and which he finished, is the Assumption of Monte Luci in Perugia, the lower part of which, with the apostles, is painted by Giulio, and the upper part, which abounds with Raffaellesque grace, is ascribed to *Il Fattore*, although Vasari assigns it to Perino. Of the works which he performed alone, his frescos in Rome have perished, and so few of his oil pictures remain, that they are rarely to be found in any collection. He is characterised by fertility of conception, grace of execution, and a singular talent for landscape. Joint heir of Raffaello with Giulio, he wished to unite himself with him in his profession; but being coldly received by Giulio in Mantua, he proceeded to Naples, where he contributed greatly to the improvement of art, although cut off by an early death. Orlandi notices two Penni in the school of Raffaello, comprehending Luca, a brother of Gianfrancesco, a circumstance not improbable, and not contradicted by history. We are also told by Vasari, that Luca united himself to Perino del Vaga, and worked with him at Lucca, and other places; that he followed Rosso into France, as we have before observed; and ultimately passed into England, where he painted for the king and private persons, and made designs for prints.

Perino del Vaga, whose true name was Pierino Buonaccorsi,

was a relation and fellow-citizen of Penni. He had a share in the works of the Vatican, where he worked stuccos and arabesques with Giovanni da Udine, painted chiaroscuro with Polidoro, or finished subjects from the sketches and after the style of Raffaello. Vasari considered him the best designer of the Florentine school, after Michelangelo, and at the head of all those who assisted Raffaello. It is certain that no one could, like him, compete with Giulio in that universality of talent so conspicuous in Raffaello; and the subjects from the New Testament, which he painted in the papal gallery, were praised by Taja above all others. In his style there is a great mixture of the Florentine, as may be seen at Rome, in the Birth of Eve, in the church of S. Marcello, where there are some children painted to the life, a most finished performance. A convent at Tivoli possesses a S. John in the Desert, by him, with a landscape in the best style. There are many works by him in Lucca, and Pisa, but more particularly in Genoa, where we shall have occasion again to consider him as the originator of a celebrated school.

Giovanni da Udine, by a writer of Udine called Giovanni di Francesco Ricamatore (Boni, p. 25), likewise assisted Sanzio in arabesques and stuccos, and painted ornaments in the gallery of the Vatican, in the apartments of the pope, and in many other places. Indeed, in the art of working in stucco, he is ranked as the first among the moderns,\* having, after long experience, imitated the style of the baths of Titus, discovered at that time in Rome, and opened afresh in our own days.† His foliage and shells, his aviaries and birds, painted

\* Morto da Feltro sotto Alessandro VI., cominciò a dipingere a grottesco, ma senza stucchi. Baglione, Vite, p. 21.

† The entrance into these baths was designedly and maliciously closed. Serlio, speaking of the various arabesques in Pozzuolo, Baja, and Rome, says that they were injured or destroyed by the artists who had copied them, through a jealous feeling lest others should also avail themselves of the opportunity of studying them (lib. iv. c. 11). The names of these destroyers, which Serlio has suppressed, posterity has been desirous of recovering, some have accused Raffaello, others Pinturicchio, and others Vaga, or Giovanni da Udine, or rather his scholars and assistants, "of whom," says Vasari, "there were an infinite number in every part of Italy." This subject is ably discussed by Mariotti, in "Lettera" ix. p. 224, and in the "Memorie delle belle Arti," per l' anno 1788, p. 24.

in the above-mentioned places, and in other parts of Rome and Italy, deceive the eye by their exquisite imitation; and in the animals more particularly, and the indigenous and foreign birds, he seems to have reached the highest point of excellence. He was also remarkable for counterfeiting with his pencil every species of furniture; and a story is told, that having left some imitations of carpets one day in the gallery of Raffaello, a groom in the service of the pope coming in haste in search of a carpet to place in a room, ran to snatch up one of those of Giovanni, deceived by the similitude. After the sacking of Rome, he visited other parts of Italy, leaving, wherever he went, works in the most perfect and brilliant style of ornament. This will occasion us to notice him in other schools. At an advanced age he returned to Rome, where he was provided with a pension from the pope, till the time of his death.\*

Polidoro da Caravaggio, from a manual labourer in the works of the Vatican, became an artist of the first celebrity, and distinguished himself in the imitation of antique bassi-relievi, painting both sacred and profane subjects in a most beautiful chiaroscuro. Nothing of this kind was ever seen more perfect, whether we consider the composition, the mechanism, or the design; and Raffaello and he, of all artists, are considered in this respect to have approached nearest to the style of the ancients. Rome was filled with the richest friezes, façades, and ornaments over doors, painted by him and Maturino of Florence, an excellent designer, and his partner; but these, to the great loss of art, have nearly all perished. The fable of Niobe, in the *Maschera d'Oro*, which was one of their most celebrated works, has suffered less than any other

\* It was charged on the office of the *Piombo*, or papal signet, when Sebastiano da Venezia was invested with it, and was a pension of three hundred scudi. Padre Federici observes that the one was designated *Fra Sebastiano*, but that the other was not called *Fra Giovanni*; nor is this remarkable, for a Bishop is called *Monsignore*, but the person who enjoys a pension charged upon a bishoprick has not the same title. It cannot however be deduced from this, as Federici wishes to do, that Sebastiano was first *Frate di S. Domenico*, by the name of *F. Marco Pensaben*, and afterwards secularized by the pope, and appointed to the signet, and that he retained the *Fra* in consequence of his former situation.



from the ravages of time and the hand of barbarism. This loss has been in some measure mitigated by the prints of Cherubino Alberti, and Santi Bartoli, who engraved many of these works before they perished. Polidoro lost his comrade by death in Rome, as was supposed, by the plague, and he himself repaired to Naples, and from thence to Sicily, where he fell a victim to the cupidity of his own servant, who assassinated him. With him invention, grace, and freedom of hand, seem to have died. This notice of him as an artist may suffice for the present, as we shall again recur to him in the fourth book, as one of the masters of the Neapolitan school.

Pellegrino da Modena, of the family of Munari, of all the scholars of Raffaello, perhaps resembled him the most in the air of his heads, and a peculiar grace of attitude. After having painted, in an incomparable manner, the history of Jacob, before mentioned, and others of the same patriarch, and some from the life of Solomon in the gallery of the Vatican, under Raffaello, he remained in Rome, employed in the decoration of many of the churches, until his master's death. He then returned to his native place, where he became the head of a numerous succession of Raffaellesque painters, as we shall in due time relate.

Bartolommeo Ramenghi, or as he is sometimes named, Bagnacavallo, and by Vasari, Il Bologna, is also included in the catalogue of those who worked in the gallery. There is not, however, any known work of his in Rome, and we may say the same of Biagio Pupini, a Bolognese, with whom he afterwards united himself to paint in Bologna. Vasari is not prodigal of praise towards the first, and writes with the most direct censure against the second. Of their merits we shall speak more fully in the Bolognese school, to which Bagnacavallo was the first to communicate a new and better style.

Besides these, Vasari mentions Vincenzo di S. Gimignano, in Tuscany, to whom, as a highly successful imitator of Raffaello, he gives great praise, referring to some façades in fresco by him, which have now perished. After the sacking of Rome he returned home, but so changed and dispirited,

that he appeared quite another person, and we have no account of any of his subsequent works. Schizzone, a comrade of Vincenzo, a most promising artist, shared the same fate; and we find also, in the Bolognese school, Cavedone losing his powers by some great mental affliction. Among the subjects of the Vatican we do not find any ascribed to Vincenzo, but we may perhaps assign to him the History of Moses in Horeb, which Taja, on mere conjecture, ascribes to the bold pencil of Raffaello del Colle, who was employed by Raffaello in the Farnesina, and in the Hall of Constantine under Giulio. Of this artist and his successors we have spoken in the first book where we have made some additions to the account of Vasari.

Timoteo della Vite, of Urbino, after some years spent at Bologna in studying under Francesco Francia, returned to his native city, and from thence repaired to the academy which his countryman and relation Raffaello had opened in the Vatican. He assisted Raffaello at the Pace, in the fresco of the Sibyls, of which he retained the cartoons; and after some time, from some cause or other, he returned to Urbino, and there passed the remainder of his days. He brought with him to Rome a method of painting which partook much of the manner of the early masters, as may be seen in some of his Madonnas, at the palace Bonaventura, and the chapter of Urbino; and in a Discovery of the Cross in the church of the conventuals of Pesaro. He improved his style under Raffaello, and acquired much of his grace, attitudes, and colour, though he always remained a limited inventor, with a certain timidity of touch, more correct than vigorous. The picture of the Conception at the Osservanti of Urbino,\* and the Noli me Tangere, in the church of S. Angelo, at Cagli, are the best pieces that remain of Timoteo. Pietro della Vite, who is supposed to have been his brother, painted in the same style, but in an inferior manner. This Pietro is, perhaps, the relative and heir of Raffaello, whom Baldinucci mentions in his fifth volume. The same writer affirms, at the end of his fourth volume, that the artists of Urbino included amongst the scholars of Raffaello one Crocchia, and

\* This picture is now to be seen in the R. Pinacoteca at Milan.

assign to him a picture at the Capuchins in Urbino, of which I have no further knowledge.

Benvenuto Tisi, of Ferrara, or, as he is generally called, Il Garofalo, also studied only a little time under Sanzio, but it was sufficient to enable him to become, as we shall notice hereafter, the chief of the Ferrarese school. He imitated Raffaello in design, in the character of his faces, and in expression, and considerably also in his colouring, although he added something of a warmer and stronger cast, derived from his own school. Rome, Bologna, and other cities of Italy, abound with his pictures from the lives of the apostles. They are of various merit, and are not wholly painted by himself. In his large pictures he stands more alone, and many of these are to be found in the Chigi gallery. The Visitation of the Palazzo Doria, is one of the first pieces in that rich collection. This artist was accustomed, in allusion to his name, to mark his pictures with a violet, which the common people in Italy call garofalo. It does not appear from Vasari, Titi, and Taja, that Garofalo had any share in the works which were executed by Raffaello and his scholars.

Gaudenzio Ferrari is mentioned by Titi, as an assistant of Raffaello in the story of Psyche, and we shall advert to him again in another book as chief of the Milanese school. Orlandi, on the credit of some more modern writers, asserts, that he worked with Raffaello also at Torre Borgia, and before that time, he considers him to have been a scholar of Scotto and Perugino. In Florence, and in other places in Lower Italy, some highly-finished pictures are attributed to him, which partake of the preceding century, though they do not seem allied to the school of Perugino. Of these pictures we shall resume our notice hereafter; at present it may be sufficient to remark, that in Lombardy, where he resided, there is not a picture in that style to be found with his name attached to it. He is always Raffaellesque, and follows the chiefs of the Roman school.

Vasari also notices Jacomone da Faenza. This artist assiduously studied the works of Raffaello, and from long practice in copying them, became himself an inventor. He flourished in Romagna, and it was from him that a Raffaellesque taste was diffused throughout that part of Italy. He



is also mentioned by Baldinucci, and we shall endeavour to make him better known in his proper place.

Besides the above-mentioned scholars and assistants of Raffaello, several others are enumerated by writers, of whom we may give a short notice. Il Pistoja, a scholar of Il Fattore, and probably employed by him in the works of Sanzio, as Raffaellino del Colle was with Giulio, is mentioned as a scholar of Raffaello by Baglione, and, on the credit of that writer, also by Taja. We mentioned him among the Tuscans, and shall further notice him in Naples, where we shall also find Andrea da Salerno, head of that school, whom Dominici proves to be a scholar of Raffaello.

In the "*Memorie di Monte Rubbiano*," edited by Colucci, at page 10, Vincenzo Pagani, a native of that country, is mentioned as a pupil of the same master. There remains of him, in the collegiate church there, a most beautiful picture of the Assumption; and the Padre Civalli points out another in Fallerone and two at Sarnano, in the church of his religious fraternity, much extolled, and in a Raffaellesque manner, if we are to credit report. This painter, of whom, in Piceno, I find traces to the year 1529, again appears in Umbria in 1553, where Lattanzio, his son, being elected a magistrate of Perugia, he transferred himself thither, and was employed to paint the altar-piece of the Cappella degli Oddi, in the church of the Conventuals, as we have already mentioned. According to the conditions of the contract, Paparelli had a share with him in this work, and he must be considered as an assistant of Vincenzo, both because he is named as holding the second place, and because he is reported by Vasari on other occasions, as having been an assistant. But as history mentions nothing relative to this picture, except the contract, we shall content ourselves with observing, that this praiseworthy artist, who was passed over in silence for so many years, still painted in the year 1553. Whether he was a scholar of Raffaello, or whether this was a tradition which arose in his own country in progress of time, supported only on the consideration of his age and his style, is a point to be decided by proofs of more authority than those we possess. I agree with the Sig. Arciprete Lazzari, when, writing of F. Bernardo Catelani of Urbino, who painted in Cagli the picture

of the great altar in the church of the Capuchins, he says, that he had there exhibited the style of the school of Raffaello, but he does not consider him his scholar.

It has been asserted, that Marcantonio Raimondi painted some pictures from the sketches of Raffaello, in a style which excited the admiration of the designer himself; but this appears doubtful, and is so considered by Malvasia. L'Armenini also assigns to this school Scipione Sacco, a painter of Cesena, and Orlandi, Don Pietro da Bagnaja, whom we shall mention in the Romagna school. Some have added to it Bernardino Lovino, and others Baldassare Peruzzi, a supposition which we shall shew to be erroneous. Padre della Valle has more recently revived an opinion, that Correggio may be ranked in the same school, and that he was probably employed in the gallery, and might have painted the subject of the Magi, attributed by Vasari to Perino. This is conjectured from the peculiar smile of the mother and the infant. But these surmises and conjectures we may consider as the trifling of that author, who has nevertheless presented us with much substantial information. We shall now advert to the foreigners of this school. Bellori has enumerated, among the imitators of Raffaello, Michele Cockier, or Coccie, of Malines, of whom there remain some pictures in fresco in the church dell' Anima. Being afterwards in Flanders, where several works of Raffaello were engraved by Cock, he was accused of plagiarism, but still maintained a considerable reputation; as to a fertile invention he added a graceful style of execution. Many of his best pictures passed into Spain, and were there purchased at great prices. Palomino acquaints us with another excellent scholar of Sanzio, Pier Campanna, of Flanders, who, although he could not entirely divest himself of the hardness of his native school, was still highly esteemed in his day. He resided twenty years in Italy, and was employed in Venice by the patriarch Grimani, for whom he painted several portraits, and the celebrated picture of the Magdalen led by Saint Martha to the Temple, to hear the preaching of Christ. This picture, which was bequeathed by the patriarch to a friend, after a lapse of many years, passed into the hands of Mr. Slade, an English gentleman. Pier Campanna distinguished himself in Bologna, by painting a triumphal arch

on the arrival of Charles V., by whom he was invited to Seville, where he resided a considerable time, painting and instructing pupils, among whom is reckoned Morales, who, from his countrymen, had the appellation of the divine. He was accustomed to paint small pictures, which were eagerly sought after by the English, and transferred to their country, where they are highly prized. Of his altar-pieces several remain in Seville, and we may mention the Purification, in the cathedral, and the Deposition at S. Croce, as the most esteemed. Murillo, who was himself a truly noble artist, greatly admired and studied this latter picture, which, even after we have seen the master-pieces of the Italian school, still excites our astonishment and admiration. This artist, to some one, who, in his latter years, inquired why he so often repaired to this picture, replied, that he waited the moment when the body of Christ should reach the ground. Mention is also made of one Mosca, whether a native or foreigner I know not, as a doubtful disciple of this school. Christ on his way to Mount Calvary, now in the Academy in Mantua, is certainly a Raffaellesque picture, but we may rather consider Mosca an imitator and copyist, than a pupil of Raffaello. In the edition of Palomino, published in London, 1742, I find some others noticed as scholars of Raffaello, who being born a little before or after 1520, could not possibly belong to him; as Gaspare Bacerra, the assistant of Vasari; Alfonso Sanchez, of Portugal; Giovanni di Valencia; Fernando Jannes. It is not unusual to find similar instances in the history of painting, as I have frequently remarked throughout this work; and these reports have for the most part originated in the last age. Whenever the artists of a country began to collect notices of the masters who had preceded them, their style had become the prevailing taste; and as if human genius could attain no improvement beyond that which it receives subserviently from another, every imitator was supposed to be a scholar of the artist imitated, and every school, arrogating to itself the names of the first masters, endeavoured to load itself with fresh honours.



# ROMAN SCHOOL.

## EPOCH III.

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The art declines in consequence of the public calamities of Rome, and gradually falls into mannerism.

AFTER the mournful events of the year 1527, Rome for some time remained in a state of stupor, contemplating her past misfortunes and her future destiny ; and, like a vessel escaped from shipwreck, began slowly to repair her numerous losses. The soldiers of the besieging army, among other injuries committed in the Apostolic palace, had defaced some heads of Raffaello ; and F. Sebastiano, an artist by no means competent to such a task, was employed to repair them. This, at least, was the opinion of Titiano, who was introduced to these works, and, ignorant of the circumstances, asked Sebastiano what presumptuous wretch had had the audacity to attempt their restoration ; \* an impartial observation, against which even the patronage of Michelangelo could not shield the artist. Paul III. was now in possession of the papal chair, and under his auspices the arts again began to revive. The decoration of the palace of Capraruola, and other works of Paul and his nephews, gave employment to the painters, and happy had these patrons been, could they have found a second Raffaello. Bonarruoti, as we have observed, was engaged by the pope, and gave to the Roman school many noble specimens of art, though he formed but few scholars. Sebastiano, after the death of Raffaello, freed from all further competition with that great artist, and honoured with the lucrative office of the papal signet, seemed disposed to rest from his labours ; and as he had never, at

\* Dolce, Dial. della Pittura, p. 11.

any time, discovered great application, he now resigned himself to a life of vacant leisure, and Vasari does not mention with commendation any pupil of his school except Laureti.\* Giulio Romano was now invited back to Rome, and the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's offered to him, but death prevented his return to his native city. Perino del Vaga, however, repaired to Rome, and might, himself, have effected the restoration of art, if his magnanimity had corresponded with the sublimity of his mind. But he did not inherit the daring genius of his master. He communicated his instructions with jealousy, and worked with a spirit of gain; or to speak correctly, he did not paint himself, but undertaking works of more or less consequence, he allowed his scholars to execute them, often to the injury of his own reputation. He continued to secure to himself artists of the first talents, as we shall see; but this was done with the intention of making them dependent on him, and to prevent their interfering with his emoluments and commissions. But together with the good, he engaged also many indifferent and inferior artists, whence it happens, that in the chambers of the castle of S. Angelo, and in other places, we meet with so marked a difference in many of his works. Few of his scholars attained celebrity. Luzzo Romano is the most noted, and possessed a good execution. Of him there exists a frieze in the Palazzo Spada; and for some time, too, he had for an assistant Marcello Venusti of Mantua, a young man of great talents, but diffident, and probably standing in need of more instruction than Perino afforded him. He afterwards received some instructions from Bonarruoti, whose ideas he executed in an excellent manner, as I have mentioned before, and by his aid he became himself also a good designer.† Perino, by these means, always abounded in work and in

\* We shall notice him again in the school of Bologna, where he passed his best years, and also in the Roman school, in which he was a master. Sebastiano had also another scholar, or imitator, as we find a Communion of S. Lucia, painted in his style, in the collegiate church of Spello. The artist inscribes his name, *Camillus Bagazotus Camers faciebat*.—"Orsini Risposta," p. 16.

† He painted the S. Catherine in S. Agostino, the Presepio in S. Silvestro at Monte Cavallo, and left works in many other churches.

money. A similar traffic in the art was carried on by Taddeo Zuccaro, if we are to believe Vasari; and by Vasari himself, too, if we may be allowed to judge from his pictures.

The actual state of the art at this period may be ascertained from a view of the numerous works produced; but none are so distinguished as the paintings in the Sala Regia, commenced under Paul III., and scarcely finished, after a lapse of thirty years, in 1573. Of these Vaga had the direction, as Raffaello had formerly had of the chambers of the Vatican. He planned the compartments, ornamented the ceiling, directed all the stuccos, cornices, devices, and large figures, and all in the style of a great master. He then applied himself to design the subjects for his pencil, and was employed on them when he was carried off by death in 1547. Through the partiality of Michelangelo, he was succeeded by Daniel di Volterra, who had already worked in stucco, under his direction, in the same place. Volterra resolved to represent the donations of those sovereigns who had extended or consolidated the temporal dominion of the church, whence the chamber was called *Sala dei Regi*, and this idea was, in some degree, though with variations, continued by succeeding artists. Volterra was naturally slow and irresolute, and after painting the Deposition from the Cross, which we have mentioned as being executed with the assistance of Michelangelo, he produced no more of these prodigies of art. He had indeed begun some designs, but on the death of the Pope, in 1549, he was compelled, in order to accommodate the Conclave, to remove the scaffolding, and expose the work unfinished. It did not meet with public approbation, nor was it continued under Julius III., and still less under Paul IV., in whose reign the art was held in so little respect, that the Apostles, painted by Raffaello in one of the chambers of the Vatican, were displaced.

Pius IV., who resumed the work, on the suggestion of Vasari, in 1561, had intended to charge Salviati with the entire execution of it; but, by the intercessions of Bonarroti, was at length prevailed on to assign one half of the apartment to Salviati, and the other half to Ricciarelli, though this did not contribute to expedite the work. Pirro Ligorio,



a Neapolitan, was at this time held in high esteem by the pope. He was an antiquarian, though not of great celebrity, but a good architect, and a fresco painter of some merit;\* an enthusiast too, and alike jealous of Ricciarelli, for the homage he paid to Bonarruoti, and of Salviati, for the respect which he did not shew to Ligorio himself. Remarking that the pope wished to hasten the completion of the work, he proposed to select a number of scholars, and to divide the work amongst them. Vasari adds, that Salviati was disgusted and left Rome; where, on his return, he died, without finishing his work; and that Ricciarelli, who was always slow, never touched it again, and died after some little time. The completion of the work was then intrusted to the successors of Raffaello. Livio Agresti da Forli, Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, and Marco da Pino, of Sienna, although they had received their first instructions from other masters, had been instructed by Perino del Vaga, and had assisted in his cartoons. Taddeo Zuccaro had accomplished himself under Giacomone da Faenza, and made his younger brother Federigo an able artist. To these the work was assigned; there were added to them Samacchini and Fiorini, Bolognese artists, and Giuseppe Porta della Garfagnana, called Giuseppe Salviati. This latter had been the pupil of Francesco Salviati, from whom he learnt the principles of design; he was afterwards a follower of the school of Venice, where he resided. Of these numerous artists, Vasari assigns the palm to Taddeo Zuccaro, but the court was so much pleased with Porta, that it was in contemplation to destroy the works of the other artists, in order that the apartment might be finished by him alone. He represented Alexander III. in the act of bestowing his benediction on Frederick Barbarossa, in the Piazza of S. Mark, in Venice; and he here indulged his taste for architectural ornaments, in the Venetian manner. When however this work is viewed and compared with that of other artists, we discover a sameness of style, the character of the time; a deficiency

\* He painted some façades in Rome. In the oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato, there remains the Dance before Herod, not very correctly designed, and feeble in colouring; but the perspective, and the richness of the drapery in the Venetian style, may confer some value on the picture.

of strength in the colours and shadows is the common failing. It seems as if the art, through a long course of years, had become debilitated: it discovers the lineaments of a better age, but feebly expressed and deprived of their primitive vigour. That portion of the work which remained unfinished, was, after the death of Pius IV., completed by Vasari and his school, under his successor; and some little was supplied under Gregory XIII., who was elected in 1572.

With that year a reign commenced little auspicious to art, and still less so was the pontificate of Sixtus V., the successor of Gregory. These pontiffs erected or ornamented so many public buildings, that we can scarcely move a step in Rome without meeting with the papal arms of a dragon or a lion. Baglione has accurately described them, and to him we are indebted for the lives of the artists of this and the following period. It is natural for men advanced in years to content themselves with mediocrity in the works which they order, from apprehension of not living to see them, if they wait for the riper efforts of talent. Hence those artists were the most esteemed, and the most employed, who possessed despatch and facility of execution, particularly by Sixtus, of whose severity towards dilatory artists we shall shortly adduce a memorable instance. This inaccuracy of style was continued to the time of Clement VIII., when a number of works were hastily finished to meet the opening of the holy year 1600. Under these pontiffs the painters of Italy, and even the *oltramontani*, inundated Rome with their works, in the same manner that the poets and philosophers had filled that city with their writings in the time of Domitian and Marcus Aurelius. Every one indulged his own taste; and the style of many was deteriorated through rapidity of execution. Thus the art, particularly in fresco, became the employment of a mechanic, not founded in the just imitation of nature, but in the capricious ideas of the artist.\* Nor was the colouring better than the design. At no period do we find such an abuse of simple tints, in none so feeble a chiaroscuro, or less harmony. These are the mannerists, who filled the churches, convents, and saloons of Rome with their works, but in the collections of the nobility they have not had the same good fortune.

\* Bellcri, *Vite de' Pittori*, p. 20.

This era, nevertheless, is not wholly to be condemned ; it contains several great names, the relics of the preceding illustrious age. We have enumerated the painters who flourished in Rome in the first reigns of this century, and we ought to notice others. They were for the most part foreigners, and ought to be introduced in other schools. I shall describe those particularly who were born within the limits of the Roman school, and those who, being established in it, taught and propagated their own peculiar style.

Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta, who adopted Raffaello's style, may be enumerated among the scholars of that great man, from his felicitous imitation of their common master. In the Sala de' Regi, in the Vatican, he painted Pepin, king of France, bestowing Ravenna on the church, after having made Astolfo, king of the Lombards, his prisoner. But he approached Raffaello more closely in some of his oil pictures, as in the martyrdom of S. Lucia, in the church of S. Maria Maggiore ; in the Transfiguration in Ara Cœli, and in the Nativity in the church della Pace, which he repeated in the most graceful style in the church of Osimo. His master-piece is in Ancona on the great altar in the church of S. Bartolommeo, a vast composition, original and rich in invention, and commensurate with the grandeur of the subject, and the multitude of saints introduced in it. The throne of the Virgin is seen above, amidst a brilliant choir of angels, and on either side a virgin saint in the attitude of adoration. To this height there is a beautiful ascent on each side, and the picture is thus divided into a higher and lower part, in the latter of which is the titular saint, a half-naked figure vigorously coloured, together with S. Paul and two other saints, the whole in a truly Raffaellesque style. This altar-piece possesses so much harmony, and such a force of colour, that it is esteemed by some persons the best picture in the city. If any thing be wanting in it, it is perhaps a more correct observance of the perspective. Sermoneta did not paint many pictures for collections. He excelled in portrait painting.

A similar manner, though more laboured, and formed on the styles of Raffaello and Andrea del Sarto, was adopted by Scipione Pulzone da Gaeta, who was educated in the studio of Jacopino del Conte. He died young in his thirty-eighth



year, but left behind him a great reputation, partly in the painting of portraits, of which he executed a great number for popes and princes, and with so much success, that by some he is called the Vandyke of the Roman school. He was a forerunner of Seybolt in the high finishing of the hair, and representing in the pupil of the eye the reflection of the windows, and other objects as minute and exact as in real life. He also painted some pictures in the finest style, as the Crucifixion in the Vallicella, and the Assumption in S. Silvestro, at Monte Cavallo, a composition of chaste design, beauty of colouring, and brilliant in effect. In the Borghese collection, is a Holy Family; in the gallery in Florence, a Christ, praying in the garden; and in other places are some of his cabinet pictures, deservedly held in high esteem.

Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro called the Vasaris of this school, professed to follow Raffaello, as Vasari trod in the steps of Michelangelo. They were sons of an indifferent painter of S. Angiolo in Vado, called Ottaviano Zuccaro, came to Rome one after the other, and in the States executed a number of works, good, indifferent, and when they allowed their pupils to take a share in them, absolutely bad. A salesman, who dealt in the pictures of these artists, was accustomed, like a retailer of merchandise, to ask his purchasers whether they wished for a Zuccaro of Holland, of France, or of Portugal; thus intimating that he possessed them of all qualities. Taddeo, the elder of the two, studied under Pompeo da Fano, and afterwards with Giacomone da Faenza. From the latter and other good artists, whom he assiduously studied, he acquired sufficient talent to distinguish himself. He adopted a style which, though not very correct, was unconstrained and engaging, and very attractive to such as do not look for grandeur of design. He may be compared to that class of orators who keep the attention of their hearers awake, not from the nature of their subject, but from the clearness of their language, and from their finding, or thinking they find, truth and nature in every word. His pictures may be called compositions of portraits; the heads are beautiful, the hands and feet not negligently painted, nor yet laboured, as in the Florentine manner; the dress and ornaments, and form of the beard, are agreeable to the times; the

disposition is simple, and he often imitates the old painters in shewing on the canvas only half-figures in the foreground, as if they were on a lower plain. He often repeated the same countenance, and his own portrait. In his hands, feet, and the folds of his drapery, he is still less varied, and frequently errs in his proportions.

In Rome, are vast works of Taddeo, in fresco, and amongst the best, the history of the Evangelists, in the church of the Consolazione. He left few pictures in oil. There is a Pentecost in the church of the Spirito Santo in Urbino, which city also possesses some other of his works, not in his best style. He is most pleasing in his small cabinet pictures, which are finished in the first style of excellence. One of the best, formerly possessed by the duke of Urbino, is now in the collection of the noble family of Leopardi, in Osimo. It is a Nativity of our Lord, in Taddeo's best manner, but none of his productions have added so much to his celebrity, as the pictures in the Farnese palace of Capraruola, which were engraved by Preninier, in 1748. They represent the civil and military history of the family of the Farnesi. There occur also other subjects, sacred and profane, of which the most remarkable is the Stanza del Sonno, the subject of which was executed in a highly poetical manner, from the suggestions of Caro, in a delightful letter circulated among his friends, and reprinted in the *Lettere Pittoriche* (tom. iii. l. 99). Strangers who visit Capraruola often return with a higher opinion of this artist than they carried with them. It is true that a number of young artists, fully his equal, or perhaps, superior to him, were employed there, both in conjunction with him and after his death, whose works ought not to be confounded with his, though it is not always easy to distinguish them. Like Raffaello, he died at the age of thirty-seven, and his monument is to be seen at the side of that illustrious master in the Rotunda.

Federigo, his brother and scholar, resembled him in style, but was not equal to him in design, having more mannerism than Taddeo, being more addicted to ornament, and more crowded in his composition. He was engaged to finish in the Vatican, in the Farnese palace, in the church of La Trinità de' Monti, and other places, the various works which his

brother had left incomplete at his death; and he thus succeeded, as it were, to the inheritance of his own house. He had the reputation of possessing a noble style, and was invited by the grand duke, Francis I., to paint the great dome of the metropolitan church at Florence, commenced by Vasari, and left unfinished at his death. Federigo, in that task, designed more than three hundred figures, fifty feet in height, without mentioning that of Lucifer, so gigantic, that the rest appeared like children, for so he informs us, adding, that they were the largest figures that the world had ever seen.\* But there is little to admire in this work, except vastness of conception,† and in the time of Pier da Cortona, there was an intention of engaging that artist to substitute for it a composition of his own, had not the apprehension that his life might not be long enough to finish it, frustrated the design. After the painting of this dome, every work on a large scale in Rome, was assigned to Federigo, and the pope engaged him to paint the vault of the Paolina, and thus give the last touch to a work commenced by Michelangelo. About this period, in order to revenge himself on some of the principal officers of the pope, who had treated him with indignity, he painted, and exposed to public view, an allegorical picture of Calumny,‡ in which he introduced the portraits of all those persons who had given him offence, representing them with asses' ears. His enemies, on this, made such complaints, that he was compelled to quit the dominions

\* Idea de' Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti, reprinted in the Lett. Pitt. tom. vi. p. 147.

† The charming poet Lasca noticed this work as soon as the cupola was open to public view, in a madrigal inserted in the edition of his poems in the year 1741. He blamed Giorgio d' Arezzo (Vasari) more than Federigo, that for sordid motives he had designed and undertaken a work, which in the judgment of the Florentines, injured the cupola of Brunellesco, which was the admiration of every one, and which Benvenuto Cellini was accustomed to call, *la maraviglia delle cose belle*. He concludes by saying, that the Florentine people

“Non sarà mai di lamentarsi stanco  
Se forse un dì non le si dà di bianco.”

‡ This is not the large picture of the Calumny of Apelles painted in distemper for the Orsini family, and engraved, and which is now to be seen in the Palazzo Lante, and is one of the most finished productions of Federigo.



of the pope. He, therefore, left Rome, visited Flanders, Holland, and England, and was afterwards invited to Venice, to paint the submission of the emperor Federigo Barbarossa to Pope Alexander III., in the Palazzo Pubblico, and he was there highly esteemed and constantly employed. The pontiff, being by this time appeased, Federigo returned to finish the work he had left imperfect, and, which is, perhaps, the best of all he executed in Rome, without the assistance of his brother. The larger picture also of S. Lorenzo, in Damaso, that of the Angels in the Gesù, and other of his works, in various churches, are not deficient in merit. Federigo built for himself a house in the Monte Pincio, and decorated it with pictures in fresco, portraits of his own family, conversazioni, and many novel and strange subjects, which he painted with the assistance of his scholars, and at little expense; but, on this occasion, more than on any other, he appears an indifferent artist, and may be called the champion of mediocrity.

Federigo was afterwards invited to Madrid by Philip II.; but that monarch not being satisfied with his works, they were effaced, and their places supplied by Tibaldi, and he himself, with an adequate pension, was sent back to Italy. He undertook another journey late in life, visiting the principal cities of Italy, and leaving specimens of his art in every place where he was called to exercise his talents. One of the best of these is an Assumption of the Virgin, in an oratory of Rimino, on which he inscribed his name, and the Death of the Virgin, at S. Maria in Acumine, with some figures of the Apostles, more finished than usual with him. A simple and graceful style is observable in his Presepio, in the cathedral of Foligno, and in two pictures from the life of the Virgin, in a chapel of Loretto, painted for the duke of Urbino. The Cistercian monks, at Milan, possess two large pictures in their library on the Miracle della Neve, with a numerous assemblage of figures, the countenances in his usual lively manner, the colouring varied and well preserved. In the Borromei college, in Pavia, is a saloon painted in fresco, with subjects from the life of S. Carlo. The most admired of these is the saint at prayer in his retirement; the other pieces, the Consistory in which was his chapel, and the Plague of Milan, would be much better, if

the figures were fewer. He returned to Venice, where his great picture remained, and which had not been so much injured by time, as by a sarcasm of Boschini on certain sugar (*Zucchero*) of very poor quality lately imported into Venice, in consequence of which he retouched his work, and wrote on it, "Federicus Zuccarus f. an. sal. 1582, perfecit an. 1603." It is one of his best works, copious, and, according to Zanetti, beautiful and well sustained. He then went to Turin, where he painted a S. Paul, for the Jesuits, and began to ornament a gallery for Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy. It was in that city that he first published "*La idea de' Pittori, Scultori, e Architetti*," which he dedicated to the duke. He afterwards returned into Lombardy, where he composed two other works, the one entitled "*La Dimora di Parma del Sig. Cav. Federico Zuccaro*:" the other, "*Il Passaggio per Italia colla dimora di Parma del Sig. Cav. Federico Zuccaro*," both printed in Bologna, in 1608. In the following year, on his return to his native place, he fell sick in Ancona, where he died. Baglione admired the versatility of talent in this artist, which extended to sculpture and architecture; but more admired his good fortune, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. This distinction he owed in a great measure to his personal qualities, to his noble presence, his encouragement of letters, his quality of attaching persons to him, and his liberality, which led him to expend in a generous manner the large sums he derived from his works.

He appears to have written with the intention of rivalling and excelling Vasari. Whatever was the cause, Vasari was disliked by him, as may be gathered from the notes to his *Lives*, occasionally cited by the annotator of the Roman edition; and is charged by him with spleen and malignity, particularly in the life of Taddeo Zuccaro. In order to excel Vasari, it seems he chose an abstruse mode of writing, in opposition to the plain style of that author. The whole work, printed in Turin, is involved in its design, and instead of precepts, contains speculative opinions, which tend more to raise disputes than to convey information. The language is incongruous and affected, and even the very titles to the chapters are interwoven with absurdities, as that of the 12th, "*Che la filosofia e il filosofare è disegno metaforico simili-*

tudinario." This style may impose on the ignorant, but cannot deceive the learned.\* The latter do not esteem a writer for pedantic expressions adopted from the Greek and Latin authors; but for a correct mode of definition, for accuracy of analysis, for sagacity in tracing effects to their causes, and for a manner strictly appropriate to the subject. These qualities are not to be found in the works of Federigo, where we find philosophical expressions mingled with puerile reflections, as in the etymology of the word *disegno*, which after much circumlocution, he informs us, owes its derivation to *Segno di Dio*. Instead of affording instructive maxims to youth, he presents them with a mass of sterile and ill-directed speculations. Hence we derive more information from a single page of Vasari, than from this author's whole work. Both Mariette and Bottari have shewn the little esteem in which they held this work, by their correspondence, inserted in the 6th volume of the *Lettere Pittoriche*. Nor are his other two works of greater utility, one of which contains arguments in the same style, proposed as a theme for disputation in the Academy of the *Innominati*, in Parma.

It is generally thought that this treatise of Zuccaro was composed in Rome, where he presided in the Academy of S. Luke. That academy was instituted in the pontificate of Gregory XIII., who signed the brief for its foundation at the instance of Muziano, as Baglione relates in the life of that artist. He further states, that when the ancient church of S. Luke, on the Esquiline, was demolished, the seat, I believe, of the society of painters, the church of S. Martina was allotted to them, at the foot of the Campidoglio. But this brief does not seem to have been used until the return of Zuccaro from Spain, as according to the same writer, it was he who put it into execution. And this must have occurred in

\* The same inflated style has of late become prevalent in parts of Italy, with no little injury to language and good taste. In the "*Arte di vedere*" we find "*le pieghe longitudinali, la trombeggiana resurrezione del Bello*," &c. Some one has also attempted to illustrate the qualities of the art of painting by those of music, which has given occasion to a clever Maestro di Capella to write a humorous letter, an extract of which is given in the "*Difesa del Ratti*," p. 15, &c., and is the most entertaining and least ill-tempered thing to be met with in that work.



1595, if the year which was celebrated by the painters of S. Luke in 1695, was the true centenary of the academy. But the origin of the institution may be dated, agreeably to some persons, from the month of November, 1593, as mentioned by the Sig. Barone Vernazza, who, among the first promoters, or members, includes the Piedmontese Arbasia, on the relation of Romano Alberti. Baglione says that Federigo was declared president by common consent ; and that that day was a sort of triumph to him, as he was accompanied on his return home by a company of artists and literary persons ; and in a little time afterwards he assigned a saloon in his own house for the use of the academy. He wrote both in poetry and in prose in the academy of S. Luke, which is referred to more than once in his greater work. He evinced an extraordinary affection for this institution, and according to the example of Muziano, he named it the heir of his estate, in the event of the extinction of his family. He was succeeded in the presidency by Laureti, and a series of eminent artists down to our own time. The sittings of the academy have for a long time past been fixed in a house contiguous to the church of S. Martina, decorated with the portraits and works of its members. The picture of S. Luke, by Raffaello, is there religiously preserved, together with his own portrait ; and there, too, is to be seen the skull of Raffaello, in a casket, the richest spoil ever won by death from the empire of art. Of this academy we shall speak further towards the conclusion of this third book. We will now return to Federigo.

The school of this artist received distinction from Passignano and other scholars, elsewhere mentioned by us. To these we may add Niccolo da Pesaro, who painted in the church of Ara Cœli : but whose best piece is a Last Supper in the church of the Sacrament at Pesaro. It is a picture so well conceived and harmonized, and so rich in pictorial ornament, that Lazzarini has descanted on it in his lectures as one of the first in the city. It is said that Baroccio held this artist in great esteem. Baglione commended him for his early works, but it must be confessed that he did not persevere in his first style, and fell into an insipid manner, whence he suffered both in reputation and fortune. Another artist of Pesaro, instructed by Zuccaro, was Gio. Giacomo

Pandolfi, whose works are celebrated in his native city, and do not yield the palm to those of Federigo, as seen in the picture of S. George and S. Carlo in the Duomo. He ornamented the whole chapel in the Nome di Dio, with a variety of subjects in fresco, from the Old and New Testaments; but as he was then become infirm, they did not add to his fame. His greatest merit was the instilling good principles into Simon Canterini, of whom, as well as of the Pesarese artists his followers, we shall write at large in the school of Bologna. One Paolo Cespede, a Spaniard, called in Rome Cedaspe, also received his education from Zuccaro. He commenced his career in Rome, and excited great expectations from some pictures in fresco, still to be seen at the church of Trinità de' Monti, and other places. He had adopted a natural style, and was in a way to rise in his profession, when he obtained an ecclesiastical benefice, and retired to reside upon it. Marco Tullio Montagna accompanied Federigo to Turin as an assistant; and a small picture of S. Saverio and other saints in a church of that city, generally attributed to the school of Zuccaro, is probably by him. He painted in Rome in the church of S. Niccolo in Carcere, in the vaults of the Vatican, and in many other places, in a tolerable style, but nothing more.

After these artists a crowd of contemporaries present themselves, more particularly those who had the direction of the works under Gregory XIII. The Sala de' Duchi was intrusted to Lorenzino of Bologna, who was invited to Rome from his native city, where he enjoyed the reputation of an excellent painter, and deservedly so, as we shall see in his place. He undertook the decoration of the gallery of the Vatican, which, from the vast size of that building, forms a boundless field of art. Niccolo Circignani, or delle Pomarance, already mentioned in the first book, distributed the work amongst a number of young artists, who there painted historical subjects, landscapes, and arabesques. The pope was desirous that the walls also should serve the cause of science, and ordered the compartments to be adorned with geographical delineations of ancient and modern Italy, a task assigned to Padre Ignazio Danti, a Dominican, a mathematician and geographer of his court, and who was after-

wards promoted to the bishopric of Alatri. Ignazio was born in Perugia, of a family devoted to the fine arts, and had two brothers, painters; Girolamo, of whom there remain some works in S. Pietro, on the model of Vasari; and Vincenzio, who in Rome assisted Ignazio, and was a good fresco painter. Another grand work was also undertaken about this time, which was the continuation of the gallery of Raffaello, in an arm of the building contiguous to it, where, in conformity to the plan of that great artist, it was intended to paint four subjects in every arcade, all from the New Testament. Roncalli, the scholar of Circignano, our notice of whom we shall reserve to a subsequent epoch, was charged with the execution of this plan, but was himself subject to the direction of Padre Danti, experience having shewn that the entire abandonment of a design to the direction of practical artists is injurious to its execution, as there are few that, in the choice of inferior artists, are not governed by influence, avarice, or jealousy. The selection, therefore, was reserved to Danti, who to an excellent practical knowledge of the art of design, united moral qualities that insured success. Under his direction the whole work was regulated and conducted in such a manner, that the spirit of Raffaello seemed to be resuscitated in the precincts of the Vatican. But the hand was no longer the same, and the imbecility apparent in the new productions, compared with the old, betrayed the decline of the art, though we occasionally meet with subjects by Tempesti, Raffaellino da Reggio, the younger Palma, and Girolamo Massei, which reflect a ray of honour on the age.

Another superintendent of the works of the Vatican, but rather in architecture than in painting, was Girolamo Muziano da Brescia, who, undistinguished in his native place, came young to Rome, and was considered the great supporter of true taste. He derived his principles both in design and colour from the Venetian school, and acquired such skill in landscape, that he was named in Rome *Il Giovane de' Paesi*. But he afterwards adopted a more elevated style, and devoted himself with such assiduity to study, that he shaved his head to prevent himself from going out of the house. It was at this time that he painted the Raising of Lazarus, afterwards transferred from the church of S. Maria Maggiore to the



Quirinal palace. When exposed to public view, it immediately obtained for him the esteem and protection of Bonarruoti. His pictures occur in churches and palaces of Rome, and are often ornamented with landscapes in the style of Titian. The church of the Carthusians possesses one of singular beauty. It represents a troop of Anchorets attentively listening to a saint. There is great elegance and good disposition in the picture of the Circumcision in the Gesù, and the Ascension in Ara Cœli displays an intimate knowledge of art. The picture too of S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, in the church of the Conception, is an enchanting piece, both as regards the figures and the landscape. Nor was he beneath himself in the pictures executed in the Duomo at Orvieto, which are highly commended by Vasari. The chapel of the Visitation in the Basilica Loretana possesses three pictures, and that of the Probatrica discovers great originality and expression. In the Duomo of Foligno, a picture in fresco, of the Miracles of S. Feliciano, is pointed out, which was formerly hidden by dust, but was a few years ago restored in a wonderful manner to all its original freshness and charm of colour.

The figures of Muziano are accurately drawn, and we not unfrequently trace in them the anatomy of Michelangelo. He excelled in painting military and foreign dresses; and above all, in representing hermits and anchorets, men of severe aspects, with bodies attenuated by abstinence, and his style inclines rather to the dry than the florid. We are indebted to this artist for the engraving of the Trajan Column. Giulio Romano had begun to copy it, and the laborious undertaking was continued and perfected by Muziano, and so prepared for the engraver.

The most celebrated scholar of Muziano, was Cesare Nebbia of Orvieto. He presided over the works of Sixtus, entrusting the completion of his designs to the younger painters. In this task he was assisted by Gio. Guerra da Modena, who suggested the subjects, and apportioned the work among the scholars. Both the one and the other of these artists was endowed with a facility essential to the vast works on which they were employed in the five years' reign of Sixtus, in the chapel of S. Maria Maggiore, in the library of the Vatican itself, in the Quirinal and Lateran palaces, and at the Scala

Santa, and other places. In other respects, Muziano left his scholars far behind, as he was possessed of a great and inventive genius, while Nebbia was more remarkable for the mechanism of his art, particularly when he decorated walls. There are, however, some beautiful and well-coloured pictures by him, among which may be mentioned the Epiphany, in the church of S. Francis at Viterbo, quite in Muziano's style. Baglione associates with Nebbia Giovanni Paolo della Torre, a gentleman of Rome, who was raised by Girolamo above the rank of a mere dilettante. Taja adds Giacomo Stella di Brescia, who, he observes, had degenerated in some degree from the style of his master. He was employed both in the gallery of Gregory XIII., and in other places, not without commendation. It may be observed, that M. Bardon states him to have been a native of Lyons, long resident in Italy.

Another foreigner, but who came a considerable time after Muziano, was Raffaellino da Reggio. After being instructed in the first principles of the art by Lelio di Novellara, he formed a master-style in Rome. Nothing was wanting to this artist except a greater knowledge of design, as he possessed spirit, disposition, delicacy, relief, and grace : qualities not common in that age. His pictures in oil are occasionally found in galleries, but his best works are his frescos of small figures, such as the two charming fables of Hercules, in the ducal hall at Florence, and the two gospel stories in the gallery adjoining to that of Raffaello d'Urbino. He painted also at Capraruola in competition with the Zuccari and Vecchi, with such success, that his figures seem living, while those of his comrades are inanimate. This excellent artist died prematurely, greatly lamented, without leaving any pupil worthy of his name. He was however considered as the head of a school in Rome, and his works were studied by the youth of the academy. Many artists adopted his manner of fresco, particularly Paris Nogari of Rome, who left there numerous works, which are known for their peculiar manner ; amongst others, some subjects in the gallery. He had another follower in Gio. Batista della Marca, of the family of Lombardelli, a young man of great natural talents, but which were rendered unavailing from his want of application. Many pictures in fresco by him remain in Perugia and in Rome, but the best

are in Montenovo, his native place. None approached so near to Raffaellino as Giambatista Pozzo, who also died young, and who, as far as regards ideal beauty, may be considered the Guido of his day. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to see the Choir of Angels, which he painted in the chapel of the Gesù. If he had survived to the time of the Caracci, it is impossible to say to what degree of perfection he might not have attained.

Tommaso Laureti, a Sicilian, noticed with commendation among the scholars of F. Sebastiano, and deserving honourable mention among the professors of Bologna, was invited to Rome in the pontificate of Gregory XIII., and entrusted with a work of an invidious nature. This was the decoration of the ceiling and lunettes in the Hall of Constantine, the lower part of which had been illustrated by the pencils of Giulio Romano and Perino. The subjects chosen were intended to commemorate the piety of Constantine, idols subverted, the cross exalted, and provinces added to the church. Baglione informs us that Laureti was entertained by the Pope in his palace in a princely manner; and either from his natural indolence, or his reluctance to return to a laborious profession, procrastinated the work so much, that Gregory died, and Sixtus commenced his reign before it was completed. The new pontiff was aware that the artist had abused the patience of his predecessor, and became so exasperated, that Laureti, in order to avert his wrath, proceeded in all haste to finish his labours. When the work was exposed to public view, in the first year of the new pontificate, it was judged unworthy of the situation. The figures were too vast and heavy,—the colouring crude, the forms vulgar. The best part of it was a temple in the ceiling, drawn in excellent perspective, in which art indeed Laureti may be considered as one of the first masters of his day. Misfortune was added to his disgrace; for he was not only not rewarded as he had expected, but the cost of his living and provisions were placed to his charge, even to the corn supplied to his horse. So that he gained no remuneration, and actually died in poverty in the succeeding pontificate. He had nevertheless an opportunity afforded him of redeeming his credit, particularly in the stories of Brutus and Horatius on the bridge, which he



painted in the Campidoglio, in a much better style. Intimately acquainted with the theory of art, and possessing an agreeable manner of inculcating its principles, he taught at Rome with considerable applause. He had a scholar and assistant in the Vatican, in Antonio Scalvati, a Bolognese, who in the time of Sixtus was employed among the painters of the library, and afterwards engaged in painting portraits under Clement VIII., Leo. XI., and Paul V., and was highly celebrated in this department.

A better fortune attended Gio. Batista Ricci da Novara, who arrived at Rome in the pontificate of Sixtus, and who from his despatch manifested in the works at the Scala Lateranense, and the Vatican Library, was immediately taken into employ by the Pope, who appointed him superintendent for the decorations of the palace of the Quirinal. He was also held in favour by Clement VIII., in whose time he painted in S. Giovanni Laterano the history of the consecration of that church: and there, according to Baglione, he succeeded better than in any other place. He left not a few works in Rome, and elsewhere his pictures display a facility of pencil, and a brilliancy and elegance which attract the eye. He was born in a city into which Gaudenzio Ferrari had introduced the Raffaellesque style, and where Lanini, his son-in-law, had practised it; but in whose hands it seemed to decline, and still more so under Ricci, when he came to Rome; so that his style was Raffaellesque reduced to mannerism, like that professed by Circignani, Nebbia, and others of this age.

Giuseppe Cesari, also called *Il Cavaliere d'Arpino*, is a name as celebrated among painters, as that of Marino among poets. These two individuals, each in his line, contributed to corrupt the taste of an age already depraved, and attached more to shew than to reality. Both the one and the other exhibited considerable talents, and it is an old observation, that the arts, like republican states, have received their subversion from master spirits. Cesari discovered great capacity from his infancy, and soon attracted the admiration of Danti, and obtained the protection of Gregory XIII., with the reputation of the first master in Rome. Some pictures painted in

conjunction with Giacomo Rocca,\* from designs of Michelangelo (in which Giacomo was very rich), established his reputation. So much talent was not required to secure him general applause, as the public of that day were chiefly attracted by the energy, fire, tumult, and crowds, that filled his composition. His horses, which he drew in a masterly manner, and his countenances, which were painted with all the force of life, won the admiration of the many; while few attended to the incorrect design, the monotony of the extremities, the poverty of the drapery, the faulty perspective and chiaroscuro. Of these few however were Caravaggio, and Annibale Caracci. With them he became involved in disputes, and challenges were mutually exchanged. Cesari refused the challenge of Caravaggio, as he was not a cavaliere, and Annibale declined that of the Cavaliere d'Arpino, alleging that the pencil was his proper weapon. Thus these two eminent professors met with no greater obstacle in Rome in their attempts to reform the art, than Cesari and his adherents.

The Cavaliere d'Arpino survived both these masters more than thirty years, and left behind him *progeniem vitiosiore*. He was born a painter, and in so vast and difficult an art, had endowments sufficient to atone, in part, for his defects. His colouring in fresco was admirable, his imagination was fruitful and felicitous, his figures were animated, and possessed a charm that Baglione, who himself entertained very different principles, could not refrain from admiring. Cesari moreover practised two distinct manners. The one most to be commended is that in which he painted the Ascension, at S. Prassede, and several prophets, that appear foreshortened when seen from below: the Madonna on the ceiling of S. Giovanni Grisogono, remarkable for its fine colouring; the gallery of the Casa Orsini; and in the Campidoglio, the Birth of Romulus, and the battle of the Romans and the Sabines, a painting in fresco, preferred by some to all his other works. Others of his pictures may be added, particularly some smaller

\* A scholar of Daniel di Volterra, \*from whom he inherited these designs, with many others by the same great master. He painted little, and generally from the designs of others, which he did not execute in a happy manner; and Baglione says, his pictures were deficient in taste.

works, with lights in gold, exquisitely finished, as if they were by an entirely different artist. Of this kind there is an Epiphany, in possession of the Count Simonetti, in Osimo, and S. Francis in ecstasies, in the house of the Belmonti at Rimino. His other style was sufficiently free, but negligent, and this latter he used too frequently, partly through impatience of labour, and partly through old age, as may be seen in three other subjects in the Campidoglio, painted in the same saloon forty years after the first. His works are almost innumerable, not only in Rome, where he worked in the pontificates of Gregory and Sixtus, and where, under Clement VIII., he presided over the decorations in S. Gio. Laterano, and continued under Paul V., but in Naples, at Monte Casino, and in various cities of the Roman state, without mentioning the pictures sent to foreign courts, and painted for private individuals. For the latter indeed, and even for persons of inferior rank, he worked more willingly than for princes, with whom, like the Tigellius of Horace, he was capricious and morose. He was indeed desirous of being solicited by persons of rank, and often affected to neglect them, so much had a corrupted age flattered his vanity.

Cesari had many scholars and assistants, whom he more particularly employed in the work of the Lateran; as he did not deign in those times often to take up the pencil himself. Some of these pupils adopted his faults, and as they did not possess the same genius, their works proved intolerably bad. A vicious example, easy of imitation, is, as Horace has observed, highly seductive. There were, however, some of his school, who in part at least corrected themselves from the works of others. His brother, Bernardino Cesari, was an excellent copyist of the designs of Bonarruoti, and worked assiduously under the Cav. Giuseppe, but little remains of him, as he died young. One Cesare Rossetti, a Roman, served under Arpino a longer time, and of him there are many works in his own name. There are also to be found public memorials of Bernardino Parasole, who was cut off in the flower of his age. Guido Ubaldo Abatini, of Città di Castello, merited commendation from Passeri as a good fresco painter, particularly for a vault at the Vittoria. Francesco Allegrini di Gubbio was a fresco painter, in design very much resem-



bling his master, if we may judge from the cupola of the Sacrament in the Cathedral of Gubbio, and from another at the Madonna de' Bianchi. We observe the same attenuated proportions, and the same predominant facility of execution. He nevertheless shewed himself capable of better things, when his mind became matured, and he worked with more care. He is commended by Ratti for various works in fresco, executed at Savona, in the Duomo, and in the Casa Gávotti, and for others in the Casa Durazzo at Genoa; where one may particularly admire the freshness of the colouring, and the skill exhibited in his foreshortnings seen from below. He is also commended by Baldinucci for similar works in the Casa Panfili, and merits praise for his smaller pieces and battles frequently found in Rome and Gubbio. He also added figures to the landscapes of Claude, two of which are to be seen in the Colonna palace. He lived a long time in Rome, and his son Flaminio with him, commemorated by Taja for some works in the Vatican. Baglione has enumerated not a few other artists, in part belonging to the Roman state, and in part foreigners. Donato of Formello (a fief of the dukes of Bracciano) had greatly improved on the style of Vasari his master, as is proved by his histories of S. Peter, in a staircase of the Vatican, particularly the one of the piece of money found in the fish's mouth. He died whilst yet young, and the art had real cause to lament his loss. Giuseppe Franco, also called "dalle Lodole," in consequence of his painting a lark in one of his pieces in S. Maria in Via, and on other occasions, and Prospero Orsi, both Romans, had a share in the works prosecuted by Sixtus. When these were finished, the former repaired to Milan, where he remained some years; the latter, from painting historical subjects, passed to arabesque, and from his singular talents in that line, was called Prosperino dalle Grottesche. Of the same place was Girolamo Nanni, deserving of particular mention, because, during all the time that he was engaged in these works, he never hurried himself, and to the directors who urged him to despatch, he answered always "*poco e buono*," which expression was ever afterwards attached to him as a surname. He continued to work with the same study and devotion, as far as his talents would carry him, at S. Bartolommeo all' Isola, at S. Caterina de'

Funai, and in many other places : he was not however much distinguished, except for his great application. Of him, nevertheless, and of Giuseppe Puglia, or Bastaro, and of Cesare Torelli, also Romans ; and of Pasquale Cati da Jesi, an inexhaustible painter of that age, though somewhat affected, and of many professors, that are in fact forgotten in Rome itself, I have thought it my duty to give this short notice, as I had pledged myself to include a number of the second-rate artists. It would be an endless task to enumerate here all the foreign artists. It may be sufficient to observe, that in the Vatican library more than a hundred artists, almost all foreigners, were employed. In the first book \* I have mentioned Gio. de' Vecchi, an eminent master, who, from the time of his works for the Farnese family, was considered a first-rate artist ; and the colony of painters, his follow-citizens, whom Raffaellino brought to Rome. In the same book we meet with Titi, Naldini, Zucchi, Cosej, and a number of Florentines, and in the following book Matteo da Siena and others of his school. Again, in the fourth book, † Matteo da Leccio and Giuseppe Valeriani dell' Aquila will have place ; and in the third volume ‡ will be described Palma the younger (amongst the Venetians) who worked in the gallery ; about which time Salvator Fontana, a Venetian, painted at S. Maria Maggiore, whom it is sufficient to have named. We may also enumerate Nappi and Paroni of Milan, Croce of Bologna, Mainardi, Lavinia Fontana, and not a few others of various schools, who in those times painted in Rome, without ultimately remaining there, or leaving scholars.

A more circumstantial mention may be made of some *oltramontani*, who, in conjunction with our countrymen, were employed in the works in these pontificates ; and it may be done with the more propriety, as we do not speak of them in any other part of our work. But those who worked in Rome were very numerous in every period, and it would be too much to attempt to enumerate them all in a history of Italian painting. One Arrigo, from Flanders, painted a Resurrection in the Sistine chapel, and also worked in fresco in other places in Rome ; and is commended by Baglione as an

\* Of the Italian edition.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.—Tr.

excellent artist. Francesco da Castello was also of Flanders, and of a more refined and correct taste. There is a picture by him at S. Rocco, with various saints : and it is perhaps the best piece the world possesses of him ; but almost all his works were painted for the cabinet, and in miniature, in which he excelled. The Brilli we may include among the landscape painters.

The states of the church possessed in this epoch painters of consideration, besides those in Perugia, where flourished the two Alfani and others, followers of a good style ; but whether they were known or employed in Rome, I am not able to say. I included them in the school of Pietro, in order that they might not be separated from the artists of Perugia, but they continued to live and to work for many years in the 16th century. To these may be added Piero and Serafino Cesarei,\* and others of less note. In the city of Assisi there resided, in the beginning of the 16th century, a Francesco Vagnucci, and there remain some works by him in the spirit of the old masters. There, also, afterwards resided Cesare Sermei Cavaliere, who was born in Orvieto, and married in Assisi, and lived there until 1600, when he died at the age of 84. He painted both there and in Perugia, and if not in a grand style

\* There remained, in the time of Pascoli, some *pitture saporite*, as he terms them, by this artist, at Spoleto, where Piero established himself, and in the neighbouring towns ; and which often pass for the works of Pietro Perugino, from a similarity of names. It appears, however, that Cesarei was desirous of preventing this error, as he inscribed his name Perinus Perusinus, or Perinus Cesareus Perusinus, as in the picture of the Rosary at Scheggino, painted in 1595. Vasari, in the life of Agnol Gaddi, names among his scholars Stefano da Verona, and says, that “ all his works were imitated and drawn by that Pietro di Perugia, the painter in miniature, who ornamented the books at the cathedral of Siena, in the Library of Pope Pius, and who worked well in fresco.” These words have puzzled more than one person. Pascoli (P. P. p. 134) and Mariotti (L. P. p. 59) consider them as written of Piero Cesarei ; as if a man born in the golden age should so far extol an old *trecentista* ; or as if the canons of Siena could approve such a style after possessing Razzi and Vanni. Padre della Valle interprets it to mean Pietro Vannucci, and not finding the books of the choir adorned in such a style as he wished, reproves Vasari for having confounded so great a master with a common fresco painter and a *Miniatore*. It is most likely that this *Miniatore* and *Frescante* of Vasari was a third Pietro, hitherto unknown in Perugia, and whom we shall notice in the Venetian School.



of fresco, still with a felicity of design, with much spirit in his attitudes, and a vigorous pencil. He was a good machinist, and of great merit in his oil pictures. At Spello I saw a picture by him of the Beatified Andrea Caccioli ; and it seems to me that few other painters of the Roman school had at that time equalled him. His heirs, in Assisi, possess some pictures by him of fairs, processions, and ceremonies which occur in that city on occasion of the *Perdono* ; and the numbers and variety and grace of the small figures, the architecture, and the humour displayed, are very captivating. At Spello, just above mentioned, in the church of S. Giacomo, is a picture which represents that saint and S. Catherine before the Madonna : where we read “Tandini Mevanatis, 1580 ;” that is, of Tandino di Bevagna, a place near Assisi ; nor is it a picture to be passed over.

Gubbio possessed two painters, brothers of the family de' Nucci ; Virgilio, who was said to be the scholar of Daniel di Volterra, whose Deposition he copied from an altar at S. Francis in Gubbio ; and Benedetto, a disciple of Raffaellino del Colle, considered the best of the painters of Gubbio.\* Both of them have left works in their native place, and in the neighbouring districts ; the first of them always following the Florentine, and the second the Roman School. Of the latter there are many pictures at Gubbio, which shew the progress he had made in the style of Raffaello ; and to see him in his best work, we must inspect his S. Thomas in the Duomo, which would be taken for a picture of Garofalo, or some such artist, if we were not acquainted with the master. A little time afterwards flourished Felice Damiani, or Felice da Gubbio, who is said to have studied in the Venetian School. The Circumcision at S. Domenico has certainly a good deal of that style ; but in pencil he inclines more to the Roman taste, which he, perhaps, derived from Benedetto Nucci. The Decollation of St. Paul, at the Castel Nuovo, in Recanati, is by him : the attitude of the saint excites our sympathy : the spectators are represented in various attitudes,

\* See Il Sig. Cav. Reposati, “Appendice del tomo ii. della *Zecca di Gubbio* ;” and the Sig. Conte Ranghiasi in the “*Elenco de' Professori Eugubini*,” inserted in vol. iv. of Vasari (ediz. Senese), at the end of the volume.

all appropriate and animated: the drawing is correct, and the colours vivid and harmonious. It is inscribed with the year 1584. About ten years afterwards, he painted two chapels at the Madona de' Lumi, at S. Severino, with subjects from the life of Christ; and there likewise displayed more elegance than grandeur of style. His most studied and powerful work is at S. Agostino di Gubbio, the Baptism of the Saint, painted in 1594, a picture abounding in figures, and which surprises by the novelty of the attire, by its correct architecture, and by the air of devotion exhibited in the countenances. He received for this picture two hundred scudi, by no means a low price in those times; and it should seem that his work was regulated by the price, since in some other pictures, and particularly in one in 1604, he is exceedingly negligent. Federigo Brunori, called also Brunoini, came, it is said, from his school, and still more decidedly than his master, followed the Venetian style. His portraits are natural; and he was a lover of foreign drapery, and coloured with a strong effect. The Bianchi have an Ecce Homo by him, in which the figures are small, but boldly expressed, and shew that he had profited from the engravings of Albert Durer. Pierangiolo Basilj, instructed by Damiani, and also by Roncalli, partakes of their more delicate manner. His frescos, in the choir of S. Ubaldo, are held in esteem; and at S. Marziale, there is by him a Christ preaching, with a beautiful portico in perspective, and a great number of auditors: the figures in this are also small, and such as are seen in the compositions of Albert Durer. The pictures appear to be painted in competition. Brunori displays more energy, Basilj more variety and grace.

In the former edition of this work I made mention of Castel Durante, now Urbania, in the state of Urbino. I noticed Luzio Dolce among the ancient painters, of whom I had at that time seen no performance, except an indifferent picture, in the country church of Cagli, in 1536. Since that period Colucci has published (tom. xxvii.) a *Cronaca di Castel Durante*, wherein he gives a full account of Luzio, and of others that belong to that place. Bernardino, his grandfather, and Ottaviano, his father, excelled in stucco, and had exercised their art in other places; and he himself,

who was living in 1589, is commended for his altar-pieces and other pictures, in the churches, both in his native city and other places: and further, it is stated that he was employed by the duke to paint at the Imperiale. He also makes honourable mention of a brother of Luzio, and extols Giustino Episcopio, called formerly de' Salvolini, who, in conjunction with Luzio, painted in the abbey the picture of the Spirito Santo, and the other pictures around it. He also executed many other works by himself in Castel Durante and elsewhere, and in Rome as well, where he studied and resided for a considerable time. It is probable that Luzio was, in the latter part of his life, assisted by Agostino Apolonio, who was his sister's son, married in S. Angelo in Vado, and who removed and settled in Castel Durante where he executed works both in stucco and in oils, particularly at S. Francesco, and succeeded alike to the business and the property of his maternal uncle.

At Fratta, which is also in the state of Urbino, there died young, one Flori, of whom scarcely any thing remains, except the Supper of our Lord, at S. Bernardino. But this picture is composed in the manner of the best period of art, and deserves commemoration. Not far from thence is Città di Castello, where, in the days of Vasari, flourished Gio. Batista della Bilia, a fresco painter, and another Gio. Batista, employed in the Palazzo Vitelli (tom. v. p. 131). I know not whether it was from him, or some other artist, that Avanzino Nucci had his first instructions, who repairing to Rome, designed after the best examples, and was a scholar and fellow-labourer in many of the works of Niccolo Circignano. He had a share in almost all the works under Sixtus, and executed many others, in various churches and palaces. He possessed facility and despatch, and a style not very dissimilar to that of his master, though inferior in grandeur. He resided some time in Naples, and worked also in his native place. There is a picture by him of the Slaughter of the Innocents, at S. Silvestro di Fabriano. Somewhat later than he, was Sguazino, noticed by Orlandi for the pictures painted at the Gesù in Perugia; though he left better works in Città di Castello, as the S. Angelo, in the Duomo; and the lunettes, containing various histories of our Lady, at the Spirito Santo, besides



others in various churches. He was not very correct in his drawing, but had a despatch and a contrast of colours, and a general effect that entitled him to approbation.

Another considerable painter, though less known, was Gaspare Gasparrini, of Macerata. He was of noble birth, and followed the art through predilection, and painted both in fresco and oils. From the information which I received from Macerata,\* it seems he learned to paint from Girolamo di Sermoneta.† However this may be, Gasparrini pursued a similar path, although his manner is not so finished, if we may judge from the two chapels at S. Venanzio di Fabriano, in one of which is the Last Supper, and in the other the Baptism of Christ. Other subjects are added on the side walls, and the best is that of S. Peter and S. John healing the Sick, a charming composition, in the style of Raffaello. We find by him, in his native place, a picture of the Stigmata, at the Conventuals, and some cabinet pictures, in the collection of the Signori Ferri, relations of the family of Gaspare. Others, too, are to be found, but either doubtful in themselves, or injured by retouching. Padre Civalli M. C., who wrote at the close of the 16th century, mentions this master with high commendation, as may be seen on reference to the "*Antichità Picene*," tom. xxv. In a recent description of the pictures at Ascoli, I find that a Sebastian Gasparrini, of Macerata, a scholar of the Cav. Pomaranci, decorated a chapel of S. Biagio in that city with historical paintings in fresco. But it is probable that this may be Giuseppe Bastiani, the scholar of Gasparrini. Another chapel at the Carmelites in Macerata, contains many pictures by him, with the date of 1594.

Of Marcantonio di Tolentino, mentioned by Borghini in his account of the Tuscan artists, and after him by Colucci (tom. xxv. p. 80), I do not know whether or not he returned to practise his art in his native country. In Caldarella, in the

\* I am indebted for it to the noble Sig. Cav. Ercolani, who obligingly transmitted it to me, after procuring it from the Sig. Cav. Piani and the Sig. Paolo Antonio Ciccolini, of Macerata.

† In the former edition, on the authority of a MS. I called him Serj, and was doubtful whether Siciolante was not his surname. Sig. Brandolese has informed me of an epitaph, in the hands of Mons. Galletti, in which he is called Siciolante, whence Serio was most probably his surname.

territory of Macerata, flourished a Durante de' Nobili, a painter who formed himself on the style of Michelangelo. A picture of a Madonna by him is to be seen in Ascoli, at S. Pier di Castello, on which he inscribed his name and country, and the year 1571. From another school, I believe, arose a Simon de' Magistris, a painter as well as sculptor, who left many works in the province. One of his pictures of S. Philip and S. James, in the Duomo of Osimo, in 1585, discovers a poverty in the composition, and little felicity of execution; but he appears to greater advantage, at a more advanced period of life, in the works he left at Ascoli. There is one, of the Rosario, at S. Domenico, where Orsini found much to commend in the arrangement of the figures, in the design, and in the colouring. There is another of the same subject at S. Rocco, which is preferred to the former, except for the shortness of the figures, and which we have described in writing of Andrea del Sarto, and afterwards of Taddeo Zuccaro. For the same reason he reproaches Carlo Allegretti, who, in the same city, committed a similar fault. He painted in various styles, as may be seen from an Epiphany, in Bassano's manner, which he placed in the cathedral, a picture which will apologize for the others. Baldassini, in his "*Storia di Jesi*," speaking of Colucci, records there the priest Antonio Massi, who studied and gave to the world some pictures in Bologna; and Antonio Sarti, whom I esteem superior to Massi; praising highly his picture of the Circumcision, in the collegiate church of Massaccio. This city gave birth to Paolo Pittori, who ornamented his native place and its vicinity. These may serve as an example of the provincial painters of this age. I purposely omit many, several of whom are fresco painters, who were indifferent artists; and others who were below mediocrity. It is indeed true that many have escaped from being unknown to me, and there still remain in the Roman state many works highly beautiful, deserving of research and notice.

From the time of the preceding epoch, the art became divided into various departments; and at this period they began to multiply, in consequence of many men of talent choosing to cultivate different manners. After Jacopo del Conte and Scipione da Gaeta, the portraits of Antonio de' Monti, a Roman, who was considered the first among the

portrait-painters under Gregory, are celebrated ; as also those of Prospero and Livia Fontana, and of Antonio Scalvati ; all three of the school of Bologna ; to whom may be added Pietro Fachetti, of Mantua.

With regard to perspective, it was successfully cultivated by Jacopo Barocci, commonly called Il Vignola, an illustrious name in architecture ; owing to which his celebrity in the other branches has been overlooked. But it ought to be observed that his first studies were directed to painting, in the school of Passarotti, in Bologna, until he was led, by the impulse of his genius, to apply himself to perspective, and by the aid of that science, as he was accustomed to say, to architecture, in which he executed some wonderful works, and amongst others the palace of Capraruola. There, and I know not whether in other places, are to be seen some pictures by him. As a writer, we shall refer to him in the second index, where, omitting his other works, we shall cite the two books which he wrote in this department of art. Great progress was made in Rome, in the art of perspective, after Laureti, by the genius of Gio. Alberti di Città S. Sepolcro, whose eulogy I shall not here stop to repeat, having already spoken of it in this volume. Baglione names two friends, Tarquinio di Viterbo and Giovanni Zanna, of Rome, the first of whom painted landscapes, and the second adorned them with figures. He mentions the two brothers Conti, of Ancona ; Cesare, who excelled in arabesques, and Vincenzio in figures : these artists painted for private persons. Marco da Faenza was much employed under Gregory XIII., in arabesques, and the more elegant decorations of the Vatican, and had also the direction of other artists. Of him we shall make more particular mention amongst the artists of Romagna.

The landscapes in the Apostolic palace, and in various places of Rome, were many of them painted by Matteo da Siena, and by Gio. Fiammingo, with whom Taja makes us acquainted, in the ducal hall, and particularly the two brothers Brilli, of Flanders, who painted both in fresco and oil. Matteo always retained his *ultramontane* manner, rather dry, and not very true in colour. Paolo, who survived him, improved his style, from the study of Titian and the Caracci, and was an excellent artist in every department of landscape, and in the



power of adapting it to historical subjects. Italy abounds with his pictures. Two other landscape painters also lived in Rome at this time, Fabrizio of Parma, who may be ranked with Matteo, and Cesare, a Piedmontese, more attached to the style of Paolo. Nor ought we to omit Filippo d'Angeli, who, from his long residence in Naples, is called a Neapolitan. though he was born in Rome, where, and as we have observed in Florence, he was highly esteemed. His works are generally of a small size; his prospects are painted with great care, and ornamented with figures admirably introduced. There are also some battle-pieces by him.

But in battles and in hunting-pieces, none in these times equalled Antonio Tempesti. He was followed, though at a considerable interval, by Francesco Allegrini, a name not new to those who have read the preceding pages. To these we may add Marzio di Colantonio, a Roman, though he has left fewer works in Rome than in Turin, where he was employed by the Cardinal, prince of Savoy. He was also accomplished in arabesque and landscapes, and painted small frescos in an agreeable manner.

It is at this epoch that Vasari describes the manufacture of earthen vases, painted with a variety of colours, with such exquisite art, that they seemed to rival the oil pictures of the first masters. He pretends that this art was unknown to the ancients, and it is at any rate certain that it was not carried to such perfection by them. Signor Gio. Batista Passeri, who composed "*l'Istoria delle pitture in Majolica fatte in Pesaro e ne' luoghi circonvicini*," derives the art from Luca della Robbia, a Florentine, who discovered a mode of giving to the clay a glazing to resist the injuries of time. In this manner were formed the bassi-relievi and altars which still exist, and the pavements which are described at page 375. Others derive this art from Cina, whence it passed to the island of Majolica, and from thence into Italy; and this invention was particularly cultivated in the state of Urbino. The coarse manufacture had been for a long time in use. The fine earthenware commenced there about 1500, and was manufactured by an excellent artist, of whom there exists in the convent of Dominicans, of Gubbio, a statue of an abbot, S. Antonio, well modelled and painted, and many services in

various noble houses with his name "M. Giorgio da Ugubio." The year is also inscribed, from which it appears that his manufacture of these articles began in 1519, and ended in 1537. At this time Urbino also cultivated the plastic art, and the individual of his day, who most excelled, was Federigo Brandani. Whoever thinks that I exaggerate, may view the Nativity, which he left at S. Joseph, and say, whether, except Begarelli of Modena, there is any one that can be compared with him for liveliness and grace in his figures, for variety and propriety of attitude, and for natural expression of the accessory parts; the animals, which seem alive; the satchels and a key suspended; the humble furniture, and other things admirably appropriate, and all wonderfully represented: the figure of the divine Infant is not so highly finished, and is perhaps the object which least surprises us. Nor in the meanwhile did the people of Urbino neglect to advance the art of painted vases, in which fabric a M. Rovigo, of Urbino, is much celebrated. The subjects which were first painted in porcelain were poor in design, but were highly valued for the colouring, particularly for a most beautiful red, which was subsequently disused, either because the secret was lost, or because it did not amalgamate with the other colours.

But the art did not attain the perfection which Vasari describes until about the year 1540, and was indebted for it to Orazio Fontana, of Urbino, whose vases, for the polish of the varnish, for the figures, and for their forms, may perhaps be ranked before any that have come down to us from antiquity. He practised this art in many parts of the state, but more especially in Castel Durante, now called Urbania, which possesses a light clay, extremely well adapted for every thing of this nature. His brother, Flamminio, worked in conjunction with him, and was afterwards invited to Florence by the grand duke of Tuscany, and introduced there a beautiful manner of painting vases. This information is given us by the Sig. Lazzari, and for which the Florentine history of art ought to express its obligations to him. The establishment of this fine taste in Urbino was, in a great measure, owing to the duke Guidobaldo, who was a prince enthusiastically devoted to the fine arts, and who established a manufactory, and supported it at his own expense. He did not allow the

painters of these vases to copy their own designs, but obliged them to execute those of the first artists, and particularly those of Raffaello; and gave them for subjects many designs of Sanzio, never before seen, and which formed part of his rich collection. Hence these articles are commonly known in Italy by the name of Raffaello ware, and from thence arose certain idle traditions respecting the father of Raffaello, and Raffaello himself; and the appellation of "boccalajo di Urbino" (the potter of Urbino), was in consequence applied, as we shall mention, to that great master.\* Some designs of Michelangelo, and many of Raffaele del Colle, and other distinguished masters, were adopted for this purpose. In the life of Batista Franco, we are informed that that artist made an infinite number of designs for this purpose, and in that of Taddeo Zuccaro it is related that all the designs of the service which was manufactured for Philip II. were entrusted to him. Services of porcelain were also prepared there for Charles V. and other princes, and the duke ordered not a few for his own court. Several of his vases were transferred to, and are now in the S. Casa di Loreto; and the queen of Sweden was so much charmed with them, that she offered to replace them with vases of silver. A large collection of them passed into the hands of the grand duke of Florence, in common with other things inherited from the duke of Urbino, and specimens of them are to be seen in the ducal gallery, some with the names of the places where they were manufactured. There are many, too, to be found in the houses of the nobility of Rome, and in the state of Urbino, and, indeed, in all parts of Italy. The art was in its highest perfection for about the space of twenty years, or from 1540 to 1560; and the specimens of that period are not unworthy a place in any collection of art. If we are to believe Lazzari, the secret of the art died with the Fontani, and the practice daily declined until it ended in a common manufactory and object of merchandise. Whoever wishes for further information on this subject, may consult the

\* Another probable cause of this appellation, is to be found in the name of Raffaello Ciarla, who was one of the most celebrated painters of this ware, and was appointed by the duke to convey a large assortment of it to the court of Spain. Hence the vulgar, when they heard the name of Raffaello, might attribute them to Sanzio.



above cited Passeri, who inserted his treatise in the fourth volume of the Calogeriani, not forgetting the *Dizionario Urbinate*, and the *Cronaca Durantina*.

The art of painting on leather deserves little attention; nevertheless, as Baglione mentions it with commendation in his life of Vespasian Strada, a fresco-painter of some merit in Rome, I did not think it right to pass it over without this slight notice.

# ROMAN SCHOOL.

## EPOCH IV.

Restoration of the Roman School by Barocci, and other Artists, Subjects of the Roman State, and Foreigners.

THE numerous works carried on by the pontiffs Gregory and Sixtus, and continued under Clement VIII., while they in a manner corrupted the pure taste of the Roman school, contributed, nevertheless, at the same time, to regenerate it. Rome, from the desire of possessing the best specimens of art, became by degrees, the resort of the best painters, as it had formerly been in the time of Leo X. Every place sent thither its first artists, as the cities of Greece formerly sent forth the most valiant of their citizens to contend for the palm and the crown at Olympia. Barocci, of Urbino, was the first restorer of the Roman school. He had formed himself on the style of Correggio, a style the best calculated to reform an age which had neglected the true principles of art, and particularly colouring and chiaroscuro. Happy, indeed, had it been had he remained in Rome, and retained the direction of the works which were intrusted to Nebbia, Ricci, and Circignani! He was there, indeed, for some time, and assisted the Zuccari in the apartments of Pius IV., but was compelled to fly, in consequence of some pretended friends having, in an execrable manner, administered poison to him, through jealousy of his talents, and so materially injured his health, that he could only paint at intervals, and for a short space of time. Forsaking Rome, therefore, he resided for some time in Perugia, and a longer period in Urbino, from whence he despatched his pictures, from time to time, to Rome and other places. By means of these, the Tuscan School derived great benefit through Cigoli, Passignano, and Vanni, as we have before observed; and it is not improbable,

that Roncalli and Baglione may have profited by them, if we may judge from some works of both the one and the other of these artists, to be seen in various places.

However this might be, at the commencement of the 17th century, these five were in the highest repute as artists, who were not corrupted by the prevailing taste. An idea had subsisted from the time of Clement VIII., of decorating the church of the Vatican with the History of S. Peter, and of employing in that work the best artists. The execution of this design occupied a considerable time, the pictures being reduced to mosaic, as the painting on wood and slate did not resist the humidity of the church. The five before-mentioned artists were selected to paint each a subject; and Bernardo Castelli, one of the first painters of the Genoese school, was the sixth, and the least celebrated. These artists were all liberally paid, and the five first raised to the rank of *Cavalieri*, and their works had a beneficial influence on the rising generation, and proved that the reign of the mannerists was on the decline. Caravaggio gave it a severe shock by his powerful and natural style, and Baglione attests, that this young artist, by the great applause which he gained, excited the jealousy of Federigo Zuccaro, then advanced in years, and entered into competition with Cesare, his former master. But the most serious blow the mannerists received, was from the Caracci and their school. Annibale arrived in Rome, not much before the year 1600, invited by the Cardinal Farnese, to paint his gallery; a work which occupied him for nearly eight years, and for which he received only five hundred scudi, a sum so inadequate, that we can scarcely believe it to be correct. He also decorated several churches. Lodovico, his cousin, was with him for a short time; Agostino, his brother, for a longer period; and he had his scholars with him, amongst whom we may enumerate Domenichino, Guido, Albano, and Lanfranc. They came thither, at different periods, matured in their talents, and able to assist their master not only in execution, but design.

Rome had for some years seen only the two extreme styles of painting. Caravaggio and his followers were mere *naturalists*; Arpino and his scholars pure idealists. Annibale introduced a style founded in nature, yet ennobled in the



ideal, and supported his ideal by his knowledge of nature. He was at first denounced as cold and insipid, because he was not affected and extravagant, or rather, because great merit was never unaccompanied by envy. But though envy for a time, by her insidious suggestions and subterfuges, may derive a mean pleasure in persecuting a man of genius, she can never hope to succeed in blinding the public, who ever decide impartially on the merits of individuals, and whose judgment is not disregarded even by princes. The Farnese gallery was opened, and Rome beheld in it a grandeur of style, which might claim a place after the Sistine chapel, and the chambers of the Vatican. It was then discovered, that the preceding pontiffs had only lavished their wealth for the corruption of art, and that the true secret which the great ought to put in practice lay in a few words: a judicious selection of masters, and a more liberal allowance of time. Hence, though somewhat tardy, indeed, in consequence of the death of Annibale, came the order from Paul V., to distribute the work among the Bolognese; for so the Caracci and their scholars were at that time designated; one of whom, Ottaviano Mascherini, was the pope's architect.\* A new spirit was thus introduced into the Roman school, which, if it did not wholly destroy the former extravagance of style, still, in a great degree, repressed it. The pontificate of Gregory XV. (Lodovisi) was short, but still, through national partiality, highly favourable to the Bolognese, amongst whom we may reckon Guercino da Cento, although a follower of Caravaggio, rather than Annibale. He was the most employed in St. Peter's, and in the villa Lodovisi. This reign was followed by the pontificate of Urban VIII., favourable both to poets and painters, though, perhaps, more so to the latter than the former; since it embraced, besides the Caracci and their school, Poussin, Pietro da Cortona, and the best landscape painters that the world had seen. The leading masters then all found employment, either from the Pope himself, or his nephew, the cardinal, or other branches of that family, and were engaged in the decoration of St. Peter's,

\* He excelled chiefly in architecture, although he had given a proof of his talents in painting in some subjects in the gallery, executed under Gregory XIII.

or their own palaces, or in the new church of the Capuchins, where the altar-pieces were distributed among Lanfranc, Guido, Sacchi, Berrettini, and other considerable artists. The same liberal plan was followed by Alexander VII. a prince of great taste, and by his successors. It was during the reign of Alexander, that Christina, queen of Sweden, established herself in Rome, and her passion for the fine arts inspired and maintained not a few of the painters whom we shall mention. It must, indeed, be premised, that we are under the necessity of deferring our notice of the greatest names of this epoch to another place, as they belong of right to the school of Bologna, and some we have already recorded in the Florentine school. But to proceed.

Federigo Barocci might from the time of his birth be placed in the preceding epoch, but his merit assigns him to this period, in which I comprise the reformers of art. He learned the principles of his art from Batista Franco, a Venetian by birth, but a Florentine in style. This artist, going young to Rome to prosecute his studies there, was struck with the grand style of Michelangelo, and copied, both there and in Florence, all his works, as well his paintings and drawings as statues. He became an excellent designer, but was not equally eminent as a colourist, having turned his attention at a late period to that branch of the art. In Rome he may be seen in some evangelical subjects painted in fresco, in a chapel in the Minerva, and preferred by Vasari to any other of his works. He also decorated the choir of the Metropolitan church of Urbino in fresco, and there left a Madonna in oil, placed between S. Peter and S. Paul, in the best Florentine style, except that the figure of S. Paul is somewhat attenuated. There is a grand picture in oil by him in the tribune of S. Venanzio, in Fabriano, containing the Virgin, with the titular and two other protecting Saints. In the sacristy of the cathedral of Osimo, I saw many small pictures representing the life of Christ, painted by him in the year 1547, as we learn from the archives of that church, a thing of rare occurrence, as Franco was scarcely ever known to paint pictures of this class. Under this artist, whilst he resided in Urbino, Barocci designed and studied from the antique. He then went to Pesaro, where

he employed himself in copying after Titian, and was instructed in geometry and perspective by Bartolommeo Genga, the architect, the son of Girolamo and the uncle of Barocci. From thence he passed to Rome, and acquired a more correct style of design, and adopted the manner of Raffaello, in which style he painted the S. Cecilia for the Duomo of Urbino, and in a still more improved and original manner, the S. Sebastian, a work which Mancini, in point of solid taste, sets above all the works of Barocci. But the amenity and gracefulness of his style led him almost instinctively to the imitation of Correggio, in whose manner he painted in his native city the delightful picture of S. Simon and S. Judas, in the church of the Conventuals.

Nevertheless this was not the style which he permanently adopted as his own, but as a free imitation of that great master. In the heads of his children and of his female figures, he approaches nearly to him; also in the easy flow of his drapery, in the pure contour, in the mode of foreshortening his figures; but in general his design is not so grand, and his chiaroscuro less ideal; his tints are lucid and well arranged, and bear a resemblance to the beautiful hues of Correggio, but they have neither his strength nor truth. It is however delightful to see the great variety of colours he has employed, so exquisitely blended by his pencil, and there is perhaps no music more finely harmonized to the ear, than his pictures are to the eye. This is in a great measure the effect of the chiaroscuro, to which he paid great attention, and which he was the first to introduce into the schools of Lower Italy. In order to obtain an accurate chiaroscuro, he formed small statues of earthenware, or wax, in which art he did not yield the palm to the most experienced sculptors. In the composition and expression of every figure, he consulted the truth. He made use of models, too, in order to obtain the most striking attitudes, and those most consonant to nature; and in every garment, and every fold of it, he did not shew a line that was not to be found in the model. Having made his design, he prepared a cartoon the size of his intended picture, from which he traced the contours on his canvas; he then on a small scale tried the disposition of his colours, and proceeded to the execution of his work. Before colouring,



however, he formed his chiaroscuro very accurately after the best ancient masters (*suprà*, p. 149), of which method he left traces in a Madonna and Saints, which I saw in Rome in the Albani palace, a picture which I imagine the artist was prevented by death from finishing. Another picture unfinished, and on that account very instructive and highly prized, is in possession of the noble family of Graziani in Perugia. To conclude, perfection was his aim in every picture, a maxim which insures excellence to artists of genius.

Bellori, who wrote the life of Barocci, has given us a catalogue of his pictures. There are few found which are not of religious subjects; some portraits, and the Burning of Troy, which he painted in two pictures, one of which now adorns the Borghese gallery. Except on this occasion his pencil may be said to have been dedicated to religion; so devout, so tender, and so calculated to awaken feelings of piety, are the sentiments expressed in his pictures. The Minerva, in Rome, possesses his Institution of the Sacrament, a picture which Clement X. employed him to paint; the Vallicella has his two pictures of the Visitation and the Presentation. In the Duomo of Genoa is a Crucifixion by him, with the Virgin and S. John, and S. Sebastian; in that of Perugia, the Deposition from the Cross; in that of Fermo, S. John the Evangelist; in that of Urbino, the Last Supper of our Lord. Another Deposition, and a picture of the Rosario, and mysteries, is in Sinigaglia; and, in the neighbouring city of Pesaro, the calling of St. Andrew, the Circumcision, the Ecstasy of S. Michelina on Mount Calvary, a single figure, which fills the whole picture, and esteemed, it is said, by Simon Cantarini, as his master-piece. Urbino, besides the pictures already noticed, and some others, possesses a S. Francis in prayer, at the Capuchins; and at the Conventuals, the great picture of the Perdono, in which he consumed seven years. The perspective, the beautiful play of light, the speaking countenances, the colour and harmony of the work, cannot be imagined by any one who has not seen it. The artist himself was delighted with it, wrote his name on it, and etched it. His Annunciation, at Loreto is a beautiful picture, and the same subject at Gubbio, unfinished; the Martyrdom of S.

Vitale, at the church of that saint, in Ravenna,\* and the picture of the *Misericordia*, painted for the Duomo of Arezzo, and afterwards transferred to the ducal gallery of Florence. The same subject exists also in the hospital of Sinigaglia, copied there by the scholars of Barocci, who have repeated the pictures of their master in numerous churches of the state of Urbino, and of Umbria, and in some in Piceno, and these are, occasionally, so well painted, that one might imagine he had finished them himself.

The same may be said of some of his cabinet pictures, which are to be seen in collections ; such is the *Virgin adoring the Infant Christ*, which I remarked in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in the Casa Bolognetti in Rome, and in a noble house in Cortona, and which I find mentioned also in the imperial gallery at Vienna. A head of the "*Ecce Homo*" has also been often repeated, and some *Holy Families*, which he varied in a singular manner ; I have seen a *S. Joseph sleeping*, and another *S. Joseph*, in the Casa Zaccaria, in the act of raising a tapestry ; and in the *Repose in Egypt*, which was transferred from the sacristy of the Jesuits at Perugia to the chamber of the Pope, he is represented plucking some cherries for the *Infant Christ*, a picture, which seems painted to rival Correggio. Bellori remarks, that he was so fond of it that he frequently repeated it.

The school of Barocci extended itself through this duchy and the neighbouring places ; although his best imitator was Vanni of Siena, who had never studied in Urbino. The disciples of Federigo were very numerous, but remaining in general in their own country, they did not disseminate the principles, and few of them inherited the true spirit of their master's style ; the most confining themselves to the exterior of the art of colouring ; and even this was deteriorated by the use of large quantities of cinnabar and azure, colours which their master had employed with greater moderation ; and they were not unfrequently condemned for this practice, as Bellori and Algarotti remark. The flesh tints under their pencil often became livid, and the contours too much charged.

\* This picture, to which the author affixed his name, forms part of the collection appropriated to instruction in the R. Palazzo of Sciences and Arts in Milan.

I cannot give an accurate catalogue of these scholars, but independent of the writers on the works in Urbino, and other guides and traditions in various parts, I am certain, that if they were not instructed by Barocci himself, they must at all events, from their country, and from the period at which they flourished, have formed themselves on his pictures. There is little to be observed respecting Francesco Baldelli, the nephew and scholar of Federigo. I do not find any memorial of him, except a picture which he placed in the Capella Danzetta, of S. Agostino, in Perugia, and which is mentioned by Crispolti, in his history of that city, at page 133.

Of Bertuzzi and Porino I have not seen any works, except copies in the style of Barocci, or feeble productions of their own. An excellent copyist was found in Alessandro Vitali of Urbino, in which city, at the Suore della Torre, is found the Annunciation of Loreto, copied by him in such a manner that it might be taken for the original picture. Barroci was pleased with his talent, and willingly retouched some of his pictures, and probably favoured him in this way in the S. Agnes and S. Agostino, placed by Vitali, the one in the Duomo, the other in the church of the Eremitani, where he may be said to surpass himself. Antonio Viviani, called il Sordo of Urbino, also made some very accurate copies of his master, which are still preserved by his noble posterity. He too was a great favourite of Federigo, and was in his native city called his nephew; although Baglione, who wrote his life, is silent on this head. He left some pictures in Urbino, in the best style of Barocci; particularly the S. Donato, in a suburban church of the saint of that name. This, however, cannot be called his own style, for he visited Rome at various times, where, having received instructions from Mascherini, and employed himself for a time in the imitation of Cesari, and of the rapid manner of the practicians recorded by us, he exhibited in that metropolis various styles, and some of the most feeble which he adopted. Assuredly his fresco pictures, which remain in various places in Rome, do not support the opinion which is inspired by a view of the vast work which he conducted in the church de' Filippini at Fano. There, in the vault, and in the chapel, are executed various histories of the chief of the apostles to whom the church is dedicated. His



style in these exhibits a beautiful imitation of Barocci and Raffaello, in which the manner of the latter predominates. Lazzari maintains that this Antonio Viviani repaired to Genoa, and that Soprani changed his name to Antonio Antoniani; thus giving to Barocci a scholar who never existed. Of this supposition we shall speak with more propriety in the Genoese School. Another Viviani Lodovico is mentioned by tradition in Urbino, a brother or cousin of the preceding. This painter sometimes imitates Barocci, as in the S. Girolamo in the Duomo, and sometimes approaches the Venetian style, as in the Epiphany at the Monastery della Torre.

Another painter almost unknown in the history of art, but of singular merit, is Filippo Bellini of Urbino, of whom I have not seen any works in his native place, but a number in oil and fresco scattered through many cities of the March. He is in general an imitator of Barocci, as in the picture of the Circumcision in the church of Loreto, in the Espousals of the Virgin in the Duomo in Ancona, and in a Madonna belonging to the Counts Leopardi at Osimo. He affords, however, sometimes an example of a vigorous and lively style, and exhibits a powerful colouring, and a grandeur of composition. He discovered this character in some works in Fabriano in his best time, and particularly in the *Opere della Misericordia*, which are fourteen subjects taken from Scripture, and represented in the church della Carità.\* They are beheld by cultivated foreigners with admiration, and it appears strange that such a painter, whose life and works are alike worthy of remembrance, should not have found a place in the catalogues. He is also extolled for his works in fresco, in the chapel of the Conventuals in Montalboddo, where he has represented the Martyrdom of S. Gaudenzio, and which is described in the guide book of that city.

We may next notice Antonio Cimatori, called also Antonio Visacci, not only by the vulgar, but also by Girolamo Benedetto, in the "*Relazione*," which in the lifetime of the artist he composed on the festival at Urbino, in honour of Giulia de' Medici, married to the Prince Federigo. Cimatori was there

\* In the, not very accurate, catalogue of pictures in Fabriano, besides the above-mentioned fourteen, seven more are mentioned by the same master.

engaged to paint the arches and pictures, which were exhibited, in conjunction with the younger Viviani, Mazzi, and Urbani. His forte lay in pen-drawing, and in chiaroscuro; as may be seen from his Prophets, in a grand style, transferred from the Duomo to the Apostolic palace. He did not leave many works in his native place; but amongst them is his picture of S. Monica, at S. Agostino. His copies from the original pictures of Barocci are to be found in various places, particularly in the Duomo of Cagli. He resided and worked for a long time in Pesaro, where he instructed Giulio Cesare Begni, a bold and animated artist, a good perspective painter, and in a great degree a follower of the Venetian school, in which he studied and painted. He left many works in Udine, and many more in his native place, in a rapid and unfinished style, but of a good general effect. In the "*Descrizione odepórica della Spagna*" (tom. ii. p. 130), we find Giovanni and Francesco d'Urbino mentioned, who, about the year 1575, it seems, were both engaged by the court to decorate the Escorial. The latter came early in life to Spain, and being endowed with a noble genius, soon became an excellent artist, and is extolled by his contemporary P. Siguenza, and by all who have seen the Judgment of Solomon, and his other pictures in a choir in that magnificent place: he died young. That these works belong to the pencil of Barocci might be suspected from their era, and the practice of that splendid court, which was in the habit of engaging in its service the first masters of Italy, or their scholars. But not possessing positive information, nor finding any indication of their style, I dare not assign these two to Barocci. I feel a pleasure, however, in restoring them to the glorious country from which they had been separated.

Passing from the fellow-countrymen of Barocci to foreigners, some persons have imagined Andrea Lilio, of Ancona, to have been his disciple. I rather consider him to have been an imitator of him, but more in respect to colour than any thing else. He had a share in the works which were carried on under Sixtus, and painted for the churches, chiefly in fresco, and sometimes in partnership with Viviani of Urbino. He went to Rome when young, and lived there until the reign of Paul V., but suffered both in body and mind from domestic misfortunes,

which interrupted not a little his progress in art. Ancona possesses several of his pictures in fresco, varying in their merit, as well as some of his oil pictures, at the Paolotti, in S. Agostino, and in the sacristy some pieces, from the life of S. Nicholas, highly prized. The most celebrated is his Martyrdom of S. Lorenzo, by many ascribed to Barocci, for which I refer to the *Guida* of Montalboddo, and the church of S. Catherine, where it is placed. His greatest work is the altarpiece in the Duomo at Fano, representing all the saints, containing a vast number of figures, well grouped and well contrasted, and if not very correctly designed, still possessing Barocci's tone of colour.

Giorgio Picchi, of Durante, I included in a former edition among the scholars of Barocci, in conformity to the general opinion prevalent in Pesaro and Rimini; but I have not found this confirmed in the chronicle of Castel Durante, published by Colucci, which contains a particular account of this artist, written soon after his death. I am therefore inclined to think him only a follower, like Lilio, with whom he was associated in Rome in the time of Sixtus V., if the chronicle is to be relied on. It relates that he worked in the library of the Vatican, at the Scala Santa, and at the Palazzo di S. Giovanni; and it appears unaccountable that all this was unknown to Baglione, who narrates the same circumstances of Lilio and others, and makes no mention of Picchi. However this may be, he was certainly a considerable artist, and was attached to the style of Barocci, which was in vogue at that period, as we may perceive from his great picture of the Cintura, in the church of S. Agostino, in Rimini, and still more from the history of S. Marino, which he painted in the church of that saint in the same city. Others of his works are to be found, both in oil and fresco, in Urbino, in his native place, at Cremona, and elsewhere; and although on a vast scale, embracing whole oratories and churches, they could not have cost him any great labour, from the rapid manner which he had acquired in Rome.

In S. Ginesio, a place in the March, Domenico Malpiedi is considered as belonging to Federigo's school, and of him there are preserved in the collegiate church, the Martyrdoms of S. Ginesio and S. Eleuterio, which are highly commended. From



Colucci we learn that there also remain other works by him; and from the prices paid, we may conclude that he was esteemed an excellent artist. He was living in 1596, and about the same time there flourished also another Malpiedi, who painted a Deposition from the Cross in S. Francesco di Osimo, and inscribed on it *Franciscus Malpedius di S. Ginesio*, a picture feeble in composition, deficient in expression, and little resembling the school of Barocci, except in a distant approximation of colour.

The *Guida* of Pesaro assigns to the same school Terenzio Terenzj, called il Rondolino, whom it characterizes as an eminent painter, and of whom there exist four specimens in public, and many more in the neighbourhood of the city (page 80). It is also mentioned that he was employed by the Cardinal della Rovere in Rome, and that he placed a picture in the church of S. Silvestro. The picture of S. Silvestro *in capite*, which represents the Madonna, attended by Saints, is ascribed by Titi to a Terenzio of Urbino, who, according to Baglione, served the Cardinal Montalto. It is most probable, that in the records of Pesaro there arose some equivoue on the name of the cardinal, and that these two painters might, or rather ought to, be merged in one. Terenzio Rondolino, it appears to me, is the same as Terenzio d'Urbino, and very probably in Rome took his name from Urbino, the capital of Pesaro. But, by whatever name this painter may be distinguished, we learn from Baglione that Terenzio d'Urbino was a noted cheat: and that, after having sold, to inexperienced persons, many of his own pictures for those of ancient masters, he attempted to pass the same deceit upon the Cardinal Peretti, the nephew of Sixtus V., and his own patron, offering to his notice one of his own pieces as a Raphael: but the fraud was detected, and Terenzio, in consequence, banished from the court; a circumstance which he took to heart, and died whilst yet young.

Two brothers, Felice and Vincenzo Pellegrini, born and resident in Perugia, are recorded by Orlandi and Pascoli, as scholars of Barocci. The first became an excellent designer, and in the pontificate of Clement VIII. was called to Rome, probably to assist Cesari, though it is not known that he left any work in his own name. Some copies after Barocci by

him exist in Perugia, and it is well known that his master was highly satisfied with his labours in that line. The other brother is mentioned by Bottari in the notes to his life of Raffaello; and I recollect having seen in Perugia a picture in the sacristy of S. Philip, in rather a hard manner, in which it is difficult to recognise the style of his supposed master. It is possible that these two artists might have had their first instructions from Barocci, and that they afterwards returned to another manner. A similar instance occurs in Ventura Marzi. In the Biographical Dictionary of the Painters of Urbino he is given to the school of Barocci. His manner, however, is different, and I should say bad, if all his pictures were similar to that of S. Uomobuono, which I saw in the sacristy of the metropolitan church; but he did indeed paint some better, and it is an ancient maxim, that to improve we must sometimes err. Benedetto Bandiera, of Perugia, who approaches nearer to the style of Barocci than most others, is said to have been a relative of Vanni, from whom he derived that manner, if we may believe Orlandi. But Pascoli, both on this point, and on the period in which he flourished, confutes him, and considers him to have been instructed by Barocci in Urbino for many years, and that afterwards he became a diligent observer of all his pictures which he could discover in other places.

Whilst Italy was filled with the fame of Barocci, there came to Urbino, and resided in his house for some time, Claudio Ridolfi, called also Claudio Veronese, from his native city, of which he was a noble. He was there instructed by Dario Pozzo, an author of few but excellent works, and after these first instructions he remained many years without further applying himself. Being afterwards compelled by necessity to practise the art, he became the scholar of Paolo, and the rival of the Bassani; and not finding employment in his native place, which then abounded with painters, he removed to Rome, and from thence to Urbino. It is said that he derived from Federigo the amenity of his style, and the beautiful airs of his heads. He married in Urbino, and afterwards fixed his residence in the district of Corinaldo, where, and in the neighbouring places, he left a great number of pictures, which yield little in tone to the best colourists of his native school, and are often conducted with a design, a sobriety, and

a delicacy sufficient to excite their envy. Ridolfi, who wrote a brief life of him, enumerates scarcely one-half of his works. There are some at Fossombrone, Cantiano, and Fabriano; and Rimini possesses a Deposition from the Cross, a beautiful composition. There are several mentioned in the "*Guida di Montalboddo*," lately edited. Urbino is rich in them, where the *Nascita del S. Precursore* (the Birth of S. John the Baptist), at S. Lucia, and the Presentation of the Virgin at the Spirito Santo, are highly valued. Many of his works are also to be seen in the Palazzo Albani, and in other collections of the nobility in Urbino. He there indeed formed a school, which gave birth to Cialdieri, of whom there are works remaining, both public and private; the most noted of which is a Martyrdom of S. John, at the church of S. Bartholomew. He possessed a facility and elegance of style, was highly accomplished in landscape, which he often introduced into his pictures, and is remarkable for his accurate perspective. Urbinelli, of Urbino, and Cesare Maggieri,\* of the same city, lived also about this time. The first was a vigorous painter, an excellent colourist, and partial to the Venetian style. The second an industrious artist, inclining to the style of Barocci and the Roman school. The history of art does not assign either of these to the school of Ridolfi; but there is a greater probability of the first rather than the second belonging to it. Another painter of uncertain school, but who partakes more of Claudio than of Barocci, is Patanazzi, who is mentioned in the *Galleria de' Pittori Urbinati* (v. Coluc. tom. xvi.), and poetic incense is bestowed on his "*risentito pennello e l'ottima invenzione*."† I have seen by him in a chapel of the Duomo a Marriage of the Virgin, the figures not large, but well coloured and correctly drawn, if indeed some of them may not be thought rather attenuated than slender and elegant. A celebrated scholar of Ridolfi, Benedetto Marini, of Urbino, went to Piacenza, where he left some highly valued pictures in several churches, in which the style of Barocci is mixed with the Lombard and Venetian. The work which excites our greatest

\* Mention is also made of one Basilio Maggieri, an excellent painter of portraits.

† His vigorous pencil and consummate invention.



admiration is the Miracle of the Loaves in the Desert, which he painted in the refectory of the Conventuals in 1625. It is one of the largest compositions in oil which is to be seen, well grouped and well contrasted, and displaying uncommon powers.\* I should not hesitate to prefer the scholar to the master in grandeur of idea and vigour of execution, though in the fundamental principles of the art he may not be equal to him. The history of his life, as well as his works, scattered in that neighbourhood in Pavia, and elsewhere, were deserving of commemoration; yet this artist as well as Bellini remains unnoticed by the catalogues, and what is more, he is little known in his native place, which has no other specimen of his pencil than a picture of S. Carlo at the Trinità, with some angels, which does not excite the same admiration as his works in Lombardy.† Some other scholars of Claudio are found in Verona, to which city he returned, and remained for a short time; and in the Bolognese School mention will be made of Cantarini, amongst the masters of which he is numbered. In the meantime let us turn from these provincial schools, which were the first that felt the reviving influence of the age, to the capital, where we shall find Caravaggio, the Caracci, and other reformers of the art.

Michelangiolo Amerighi, or Morigi da Caravaggio, is memorable in this epoch, for having recalled the art from mannerism to truth, as well in his forms, which he always drew from nature, as in his colours, banishing the cinnabar and azures, and composing his colours of few but true tints, after the manner of Giorgione. Annibale Caracci extolling him, declares that he did not paint, but grind flesh, and both Guercino and Guido highly admired him, and profited from his example. He was instructed in the art in Milan, from whence he went to Venice to study Giorgione; and he adopted at the commencement of his career that subdued style of shadow, which he had learnt from that great artist, and in which some of the most highly prized works of Cara-

\* V. Le Pitture pubbliche di Piacenza, p. 81.

† In a letter of the Oretti correspondence, written in 1777, from Andrea Zanoni to the Prince Ercolani, I find Marini classed in the school of Ferraù da Faenza, and there still remain many pictures by him in the style of that master.

vaggio are executed. He was however afterwards led away by his sombre genius, and represented objects with very little light, overcharging his pictures with shade. His figures inhabit dungeons, illuminated from above by only a single and melancholy ray. His backgrounds are always dark, and the actors are all placed in the same line, so that there is little perspective in his pictures ; yet they enchant us, from the powerful effect which results from the strong contrast of light and shade. We must not look in him for correct design, or elegant proportion, as he ridiculed all artists who attempted a noble expression of countenance, or graceful foldings of drapery, or who imitated the forms of the antique, as exhibited in sculpture, his sense of the beautiful being all derived from visible nature. There is to be seen by him in the Spada palace a S. Anne, with the Virgin at her side, occupied in female work. Their features are remarkable only for their vulgarity, and they are both attired in the common dress of Rome, and are doubtless portraits, taken from the first elderly and young women that offered themselves to his observation. This was his usual manner ; and he appeared most highly pleased when he could load his pictures with rusty armour, broken vessels, shreds of old garments, and attenuated and wasted bodies. On this account some of his works were removed from the altars, and one in particular at the Scala, which represented the Death of the Virgin, in which was figured a corpse, hideously swelled.

Few of his pictures are to be seen in Rome, and amongst them is the Madonna of Loretto, in the church of S. Agostino ; but the best is the Deposition from the Cross, in the church of the Vallicella, which forms a singular contrast to the gracefulness of Barocci, and the seductive style of Guido, exhibited on the adjoining altars. He generally painted for collections. On his arrival in Rome he painted flowers and fruit : afterwards long pictures of half figures, a custom much practised after his time. In these he represented subjects sacred and profane, and particularly the manners of the lower classes, drinking parties, conjurers, and feasts. His most admired works are his Supper at Emmaus, in the Casa Borghese ; S. Bastiano in Campidoglio ; Agar, with Ishmael Dying, in the Panfili collection ; and the picture of a Fruit Girl, which exhibits great resemblance of nature, both in the

figures and accompaniments. He was still more successful in representing quarrels and nightly broils, to which he was himself no stranger, and by which too he rendered his own life scandalous. He fled from Rome for homicide, and resided for some time in Naples; from thence he passed to Malta, where, after having been honoured with the Cross by the Grand Master, for his talent displayed in his picture of the Decollation of S. John, in the oratory of the church of the Conventuals, he quarrelled with a cavalier and was thrown into prison. Escaping from thence with difficulty, he resided for some time in Sicily, and wished to return to Rome; but had not proceeded further on his journey than Porto Ercole, when he died of a malignant fever, in the year 1609. He left numerous works in these different countries, as we learn from Gio. Pietro Bellori, who wrote his life at considerable length. Of his chief scholars we shall treat in the following book. At present we will enumerate his followers in Rome and its territories.

His school, or rather the crowd of his imitators, who were greatly increased on his death, does not afford an instance of a single bad colourist; it has nevertheless been accused of neglect, both in design and grace. Bartolommeo Manfredi, of Mantua, formerly a scholar of Roncali, might be called a second Caravaggio, except that he was rather more refined in his composition. His works are seldom found in collections, although he painted for them, as he died young, and is often supplanted by his master, as I believe was the case with some pictures painted for the Casa Medicea, mentioned by Baglione.

Carlo Saracino, or Saraceni, also called Veneziano, wishing to be thought a second Caravaggio, affected the same singular mode of dress as that master, and provided himself with a huge shagged dog, to which he gave the same name that Caravaggio had attached to his own. He left many works in Rome, both in fresco and oils. He too was a *naturalista*, but possessed a more clear style of colour. He displayed a Venetian taste in his figures, dressing them richly in the Levant fashion, and was fond of introducing into his compositions corpulent persons, eunuchs, and shaven heads. His principal frescos are in a hall of the Quirinal; his best oil



pictures are thought to be those of S. Bonone, and a martyred bishop in the church dell' Anima. He is seldom found in collections ; but, from the above peculiarities, I have more than once recognised his works. He returned to Venice, and soon afterwards died there ; hence he was omitted by Ridolfi, and scarcely noticed by Zanetti.

Monsieur Valentino, as he is called in Italy, who was born at Brie, near Paris, and studied in Rome, became one of the most judicious followers of Caravaggio. He painted in the Quirinal the Martyrdom of the Saints Processo and Martiniano. He was a young artist of great promise,\* but was cut off by a premature death. His easel pictures are not very rare in Rome. The Denial of S. Peter, in the Palazzo Corsini, is a delightful picture.

Simone Vovet, the restorer of the French school, and the master of Le Brun, formed his style from the pictures of Caravaggio and Valentino. In Rome there are some charming productions by him both in public and private, particularly in the Barberini gallery. I have heard them preferred to many others that he painted in France in his noted rapid style.

Angiolo Caroselli was a Roman, in whose works, consisting chiefly of portraits and small figures, if we except the S. Vincelao of the Quirinal palace, and a few similar pictures, we find the style of Caravaggio improved by an addition of grace and delicacy. He was remarkable for not making his design on paper, or using any preparatory study for his canvas. He is lively in his attitudes, rich in his tints, and finished and refined in his pictures, which are highly prized, but few in number, when we consider the term of his life. Besides practising the style of Caravaggio, in which he frequently deceived the most experienced, he imitated other artists in a wonderful manner. A.S. Elena by him was considered as a production of Titian even by his rivals, until they found the cipher A.C. marked on the picture in small letters, and Poussin affirms, that he should have taken his two copies

\* Though prematurely cut off, he left in France sufficient to perpetuate his fame. Though few, his works stand the test of being placed by the side of those of Caravaggio.

of Raffaello for genuine pictures, if he had not known where the originals were deposited.

Gherardo Hundhorst is called Gherardo dalle Notti, from having painted few subjects except illuminated night-pieces, in which he chiefly excelled. He imitated Caravaggio, adopting only his better parts, his carnations, his vigorous pencil, and grand masses of light and shade; but he aimed also at correctness in his costume, selection in his forms, gracefulness of attitude, and represented religious subjects with great propriety. His pictures are very numerous, and the Prince Giustiniani possesses the one of Christ led by night to the Judgment Seat, which is one of his most celebrated works.

The school of Caravaggio flourished for a considerable period, but its followers, painting chiefly for private individuals, have in a great degree remained unknown. Baglione makes particular mention of Gio. Serodine, of Ascona, in Lombardy, and enumerates many works by him, more remarkable for their facility of execution than their excellence. There remains no public specimen of him, except a Decollation of S. John at S. Lorenzo fuor delle Mura. One of the latest of the school of Caravaggio was Tommaso Luini, a Roman, who, from his quarrelsome disposition and his style, was called *Il Caravaggino*. He worked in Rome, and appeared most to advantage when he painted the designs of his master, Sacchi, as at S. Maria in Via. When he embodied his own ideas, his design was rather dry and his colouring dark. About the same time, Gio. Campino, of Camerino, who received his first instructions under Gianson in Flanders, resided in Rome for some years, and increased the number of this school. He was afterwards painter to the court of Madrid, and died in Spain. It is not known whether or not Gio. Francesco Guerrieri di Fossombrone ever studied in Rome, but his works are to be seen at Filippini di Fano, where he painted in a chapel, S. Carlo contemplating the Mysteries of the Passion, with two lateral pictures from the life of that saint; and in another chapel, where he represented the Dream of S. Joseph, his style resembles that of Caravaggio, but possesses more softness of colour and more gracefulness of form. In the Duomo of Fabriano is also a S. Joseph by him. He has left in his native place an abundance of

works, which, if distributed more widely, would give him a celebrity which it has not hitherto been his lot to receive. I there saw in a church a night-piece of S. Sebastian, attended by S. Irene, a picture of most beautiful effect; a Judith, in possession of the Franceschini family; other works in the Casa Passionei and elsewhere, very charming, and which often shew that he had very much imitated Guercino. His female forms are almost all cast in the same mould, and are copied from the person of a favourite mistress.

We now come to the Caracci and their school. Before Annibale arrived in Rome, he had already formed a style which left nothing to be desired, except to be more strongly imbued with the antique. Annibale added this to his other noble qualities when he came to Rome; and his disciples, who trod in his steps, and continued after his death to paint in that city, are particularly distinguished by this characteristic from those who remained in Bologna under the instruction of his cousin Lodovico. The disciples of Annibale left scholars in Rome; but no one except Sacchi approached so near in merit to his master, as they had done to Annibale, nor did there appear, like them, any founder of an original style. Still they were sufficient to put a check on the mannerists, and the followers of Caravaggio, and to restore the Roman school to a better taste. We shall now proceed to enumerate their scholars in their various classes.

Domenichino Zampieri, to his talents as a painter, added commensurate powers of instruction. Besides Alessandro Fortuina, who under the direction of his master, painted some fables from Apollo, in the villa Aldobrandini in Frascati, and died young, Zampieri had in Rome, two scholars of great repute, mentioned only by Bellori; Antonio Barbalunga, of Messina, and Andrea Camassei of Bevagna, both of whom honoured their country with their names and works, although they did not live many years. The first was a happy imitator of his master, who had long employed him in copying for himself. In the church of the P. P. Teatini, at Monte Cavallo, is his picture of their Founder, and of S. Andrea Avellino, attended by angels, which might be ascribed to Zampieri himself, whose forms in this class of subjects were select, and his attitudes elegant, and most engaging. To



him, I shall return in the fourth book. The second, who had also studied in the school of Sacchi, lived longer in Rome; and whoever wishes justly to appreciate him, must not judge from the chapel which he painted whilst yet young in his native place, but must inspect his works in the capital. There, in S. Andrea della Valle, is the S. Gaetano, painted at the same time, and in competition with the S. Andrea of Barbalunga, before mentioned with commendation; the Assumption, at the Rotonda, and the Pietà at the Capucins; and many excellent frescos in the Baptistery of the Lateran, and in the church of S. Peter; which evince that he had almost an equal claim to fame with his comrade. If, indeed, he was somewhat less bold and less select, yet he had a natural style, a grace, and a tone of colour, that do honour to the Roman school, to which he contributed Giovanni Carbone, of S. Severino, a scholar of some note. It has been remarked, that his fate resembles that of Domenichino, as his merits were undervalued, and himself persecuted by his relatives, and he was also prematurely cut off by domestic afflictions.

Francesco Cozza was born in Calabria, but settled in Rome. He was the faithful companion of Domenichino, during the life of that master, and after his death completed some works left unfinished by him, and executed them in the genuine spirit of his departed friend, as may be seen in Titi. He appears to have inherited from his teacher, his learning, rather than his taste. One of his most beautiful pictures is the Virgin del Riscatto, at S. Francesca Romana a Capo alle Case. Out of Rome, there are few public or private works to be met with by him. He was considered exceedingly expert in his knowledge of the hands of the different masters, and on disputed points, which often arose on this subject in Rome, his opinion was always asked and acted on, without any appeal from his judgment. Of Pietro del Po, also a disciple of Domenichino, and of his family, we shall speak more at large in the fourth book.

Giannangiolo Canini, of Rome, was first instructed by Domenichino, and afterwards by Barbalunga, and would have obtained great reputation for his inventive genius, if, seduced by the study of antiquities, he had not for his pleasure taken a short way to the art; which led him to neglect the com-

ponent parts, and to satisfy himself with a general harmonious effect. He possessed, however, great force and energy in subjects which required it, as in the Martyrdom of S. Stephen at S. Martino a' Monti. The works which he executed with the greatest labour and care were some sacred and profane subjects, which he was commissioned to paint for the queen of Sweden. But, although, he was appointed painter to that court, and was also a great favourite with the queen, it would seem that he did not much exercise his profession either for her or others, as his great pleasure was in designing from the antique. He filled a large volume with a collection of portraits of illustrious ancients, and heads of the heathen deities, from gems and marbles. This book, the Cardinal Chigi having carried with him into France, presented it to Louis XIV., and received a collar of gold as a remuneration for it. On his return to Rome, he was intending to eulogize the queen in verse, and to continue in prose, the lives of the painters, which he had in part prepared, when he died. His biographical work, probably, afforded assistance to Passeri or to Bellori, his intimate friends.

With Canini worked Giambatista Passeri, a Roman, a man of letters, and who became afterwards a secular priest. It is recorded that in the early part of his life he lived on very intimate terms with Domenichino at Frescati, and he adhered much to his style. There exists by him a Crucifixion between two Saints at S. Giovanni della Malva, but no other work in public, as most of his pictures are in private collections. In the Palazzo Mattei are some pictures representing butcher's meat, birds, and game, touched with a masterly pencil; to these are added some half figures, and also some sparrows (*passeri*) in allusion to his name. There is also, by his hand, at the academy of S. Luke, the portrait of Domenichino, painted on the occasion of his funeral; on which occasion Passeri, and not Passerino, as Malvasia states, recited a funeral oration, and probably paid some poetical tribute to his memory, since he was accustomed to write both verse and prose as Bellori did; and his silence on the Lives of Bellori, which had then appeared, and which he had numerous opportunities of noticing, probably arose from feelings of jealousy. He is esteemed one of the most authentic writers on

Italian art; and if Marietto expressed himself dissatisfied with him (v. Lett. Pitt. tom. vi. p. 10), it probably arose from his having seen only his Life of Pietro da Cortona, which was left unfinished by the author. He possessed a profound knowledge of the principles of art, was just in his criticisms, accurate in his facts; if, indeed, as has been pretended by a writer in the *Pittoriche Lettere*, he did not in some degree depreciate Lanfranc, in order to raise his own master, Zampieri. His work contains the lives of many painters, at that time deceased, and was published anonymously, it is supposed, by Bottari, who in many places shortened it, and improved the style, which was too elaborate, containing useless preambles, and was occasionally too severe against Bernino and others, on which account the work remained unedited for more than a century.

Vincenzio Manenti, of Sabina, who was first the scholar of Cesari, and afterwards of Domenichino, left many works in his native place. Some pictures by him are to be seen in Tivoli, as the S. Stefano in the Duomo, and the S. Saverio at the Gesù, which do not exhibit him as an artist of very great genius, but assiduous and expert in colouring. Of Ruggieri, of Bologna, we shall speak elsewhere.

Guido cannot be said to have contributed much to the Roman school, except in leaving in the capital a great number of works displaying that charm of style, and distinguished by that superhuman beauty, which were his characteristics. We are told of two scholars who came to him at the same time from Perugia, Giandomenico Cerrini and Luigi, the son of Giovanni Antonio Scaramuccia. The pictures of Cerrini (who was commonly called Il Cav. Perugino) were frequently touched by his master Guido, and passed for originals of that artist, and were much sought after. In his other works he varies, having sometimes followed the elder Scaramuccia. His fellow-disciple is more consistent. He displays grace in every part of his work, and if he does not soar, still he does not fall to the ground. There are many of his paintings in Perugia, both in public and private, amongst which is a Presentation at the Filippini, from all accounts a beautiful performance. He left many works in Milan, where, in the church of S. Marco, is a S. Barbera by him, a large compo-



sition, and extremely well coloured. He published a book in Pavia, in 1654, which he entitled "*Le Finezze de' Pennelli Italiani.*" It is full, says the Abbate Bianconi, *di buona volontà pittorica*. It possesses nevertheless some interesting remarks.

Gio. Batista Michelini, called Il Folignate, is almost forgotten in this catalogue; but there are in Gubbio various works by him, and particularly a *Pietà*, worthy of the school of Guido. Macerata possessed a noble disciple of Guido, in the person of the Cav. Sforza Compagnoni, by whose hand there is, in the academy de' Catinati, the device of that society, which might be taken for a design of Guido. He gave a picture to the church of S. Giorgio, which is still there, and presented a still more beautiful one to the church of S. Giovanni, which was long to be seen over the great altar, but is now in the possession of the Conte Cav. Mario Compagnoni. Malvasia mentions him in the life of Viola, but makes him a scholar of Albano. The Ginesini boast of Cesare Renzi, as a respectable scholar of Guido, and, in the church of S. Tommaso, they shew a picture of that saint by his hand. In addition to the scholars of Guido, whose names have been handed down to us, I shall here beg leave to add an imitator of Guido, who from the time in which he flourished, and from his noble style of colour, probably belonged to the same school. I found his name subscribed Giorgio Giuliani da Città Castellana, 161 . . , on a large picture of the Martyrdom of S. Andrew, which Guido painted for the Camaldolesi di S. Gregorio at Rome, and which this artist copied for the celebrated monastery of the Camaldolesi all' Avellana. It is exhibited in the refectory, and notwithstanding the dampness of the place, maintains a freshness of colour very unusual in pictures of that antiquity.

The Cav. Gio. Lanfranco came to Rome whilst yet young, and there formed that free and noble style which served to decorate many cupolas and noble edifices, and which pleases also in his cabinet pictures when he executed them with care. Giacinto Brandi di Poli was his most celebrated scholar in Rome. He at first adopted his master's moderate tone of colour, the variety and contrast of his composition, and his flowing pencil; but in consequence of his filling, as he did,

Rome and the state with his works, he neglected correctness of design, and never arrived at that grandeur of style which we admire in Lanfranc. He sometimes indeed went beyond himself, as in the S. Rocco of the Ripetta, and in the forty martyrs of the Stigmata in Rome; but his inordinate love of gain would not allow him to finish many works in the same good style. I have been informed by a connoisseur, on whose opinion I can rely, that the best works of this artist are at Gaeta, where he painted at the Nunziata a picture of the Madonna with the Holy Infant; and where, in the inferior part of the Duomo, he painted in the vault three recesses and ten angles, adding over the altar the picture of the martyrdom of S. Erasmus, bishop of the city, who was buried in that church. Brandi did not perpetuate the taste of his school, not leaving any pupil of eminence except Felice Ottini, who painted in his youth a chapel at the P. P. di Gesù e Maria, and did not long survive that work. Orlandi also mentions a Carlo Lamparelli di Spello, who left in Rome a picture at the church of the Spirito Santo, but nothing further. An Alessandro Vaselli also left some works in another church in Rome.

After Brandi, we ought to commemorate Giacomo Giorgetti, of Assisi, who is little known beyond his native city and the neighbouring towns. He is said to have first studied the art of design in Rome, when he learned colouring from Lanfranc, and became a good fresco painter. There is by him in a chapel of the Duomo at Assisi, a large composition in fresco, and in the sacristy of the Conventuals various subjects from the Life of the Virgin, also in fresco; all works coloured in a fine style, and much more finished than was usual with Lanfranc. If there be any fault to be found with them, it is the proportions of the figures, which not unfrequently incline to awkwardness. His name is found in the "Descrizione della Chiesa di S. Francesco di Perugia," together with that of Girolamo Marinelli, his fellow-citizen and contemporary, of whom I never found any other notice.

Lanfranc instructed in Rome a noble lady, who filled the church of S. Lucia with her pictures. These were designed by her master, and coloured by herself. Her name was Caterina Ginnasi. There were also with Lanfranc in Rome,

Mengucci, of Pesaro, and others, who afterwards left Rome, and will be mentioned by us elsewhere. Some have added to these Beinaschi, but he was only an excellent copyist and imitator, as we shall see in the fourth book. At the same time, we may assert that none of the Caracci school had a greater number of followers than Lanfranc; as Pietro di Cortona, the chief of a numerous family, derived much of his style from him, and the whole tribe of machinists adopted him as their leader, and still regard him as their prototype.

Albano too, here deserves a conspicuous place as a master of the Roman school. Giambatista Speranza, a Roman, learned from him the principles of the art, and became a fresco painter of the best taste in Rome. If we inspect his works at S. Agostino, and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and in other places where he painted religious subjects, we immediately perceive that his age is not that of Zuccari, and that the true style of fresco still flourished. From Albano too, and from Guercino, Pierfrancesco Mola di Como derived that charming style which partook of the excellences of both these artists. He renounced the principals of Cesari, who had instructed him for many years; and after having diligently studied colouring at Venice, he attached himself to the school of the Caracci, but more particularly to Albano. He never, however, equalled his master in grace, although he had a bolder tone of colour, greater invention, and more vigour of subject. He died in the prime of life whilst preparing for his journey to Paris, where he was appointed painter to the court. Rome possesses many of his pictures, particularly in fresco, in the churches; and in the Quirinal palace, is Joseph found by his Brethren, which is esteemed a most beautiful piece. There are also many of his pictures to be found in private collections; and in his landscapes, in which he excelled, it is doubted whether the figures are by him or Albano. He had in Rome three pupils, who, aspiring to be good colourists, frequented the same fountains of art as their master had done, and travelled through all Italy. They were Antonio Gherardi da Rieti, who on the death of Mola frequented the school of Cortona, and painted in many churches in Rome with more



despatch than elegance;\* Gio. Batista Boncuore, of Abruzzo, a painter in a grand though somewhat heavy style;† and Giovanni Bonnati, of Ferrara, whom we shall reserve for his native school.

Virgilio Ducci, of Città di Castello, is little known among the scholars of Albano, though he does not yield to many of the Bolognese in the imitation of their common master. Two pictures of Tobias, in a chapel of the Duomo, in his native place, are painted in an elegant and graceful style. An Antonio Catalani, of Rome, is mentioned to us by Malvasia, and with him Giarolamo Bonini, of Ancona, the intimate friend of Albani. These artists resided in Bologna, and were employed there, as we shall see in our history of that school. Of the second we are told that he painted both in Venice and in Rome; and Orlandi praises his works in the Sala Farnese, which either no longer exist or are neglected to be mentioned in the Guida of Titi.

Lastly, from the studio of Albani issued Andrea Sacchi, after its chief the best colourist of the Roman school, and one of the most celebrated in design, in the practice of which he continued until his death. Profoundly skilled in the theory of art, he was yet slow in the execution. It was a maxim with him that the merit of a painter does not consist in giving to the world a number of works of mediocrity, but a few perfect ones, and hence his pictures are rare. His compositions do not abound with figures, but every figure appears appropriate to its place; and the attitudes seem not so much chosen by the artist, as regulated by the subject itself. Sacchi did not, indeed, shun the elegant, though he

\* Pascoli has restored to him the picture of S. Rosalia at the Maddalena, which Titi had ascribed to Michele Rocca, called Il Parmigianino, an artist of repute, and proper to be mentioned, as by those who are not acquainted with his name and style, he might be mistaken for Mazzuola or perhaps Scaglia. The same author, soon afterwards, mentioned Grecolini, and thereby renders any further notice of that artist on my part unnecessary.

† We ought to judge of him from the Visitation, at the church of the Orfanelli, rather than from the picture of various Saints, in Ara Cæli. This kind of observation may be extended to many other artists, who are commemorated for the sake of some superior work.

seems born for the grand style—grave miens, majestic attitudes, draperies folded with care and simplicity; a sober colouring, and a general tone, which gave to all objects a pleasing harmony and a grateful repose to the eye. He seems to have disdained minuteness, and, after the example of many of the ancient sculptors, to have left some part always unfinished; so at least his admirers assert. Mengs expresses himself differently, and says, that Sacchi's principle was to leave his pictures, as it were, merely indicated, and to take his ideas from natural objects, without giving them any determinate form; on this matter the professors of the art must decide. His picture of S. Romualdo surrounded by his monks, is ranked among the four best compositions in Rome; and the subject was a difficult one to treat, as the great quantity of white in the vestures tends to produce a sameness of colour. The means which Sacchi adopted on this occasion have always been justly admired. He has placed a large tree near the foreground, the shade of which serves to break the uniformity of the figures, and he thus introduced a pleasing variety in the monotony of the colours. His *Transito di S. Anna* at S. Carlo a' Catinari, his *S. Andrea* in the Quirinal, and his *S. Joseph* at Capo alle Case, are also beautiful pictures. Perugia, Foligno, and Camerino, possess altar-pieces by him which are the boast of these cities. He enjoyed the reputation of an amiable and learned instructor. One of his lectures, communicated by his celebrated scholar, Francesco Lauri, may be read in the life of that artist, written by Pascoli, who, as I have before remarked, collected the greater part of his information from the old painters in Rome. He has probably engrafted on them some sentiments either of his own or of others, as often happens in a narrative when the facts related are founded more in probability than in certainty; but the maxims there inculcated by Sacchi are worthy of an artist strongly attached to the true, the select, and the grand, and who, to give dignity to his figures, seems to have had his eyes on the precepts of Quintilian respecting the action of his orator. He had a vast number of scholars, among whom we may reckon Giuseppe Sacchi, his son, who became a conventual monk, and painted a picture in the sacristy, in the church of the Apostles. But his most illus-

trious disciple was Maratta, of whom and of whose scholars we shall speak in another epoch.

We find a follower of the Caracci, though we know not of what particular master, in Giambatista Salvi, called from the place in which he was born, Sassoferrato,\* and whom we shall notice further when we speak of Carlo Dolci, and his very devotional pictures. This artist excelled Dolci in the beauty of his Madonnas, but yielded to him in the fineness of his pencil. Their style was dissimilar, Salvi having formed himself on other models; he first studied in his native place under Tarquinio, his father,† then in Rome, and afterwards in Naples; it is not known precisely under what masters, except that in his MS. Memoirs we read of one Domenico. The period in which Salvi studied corresponds in a remarkable manner with the time in which Domenichino was employed in Naples, and his manner of painting shews that he adopted the style of that master, though not exclusively. I have seen in the possession of his heirs many copies from the first masters, which he executed for his own pleasure. I observed several of Albano, Guido, Barocci, Raffaello, reduced to a small size, and painted, as one may say, all in one breath. There are also some landscapes of his composition, and a vast number of sacred portraits; several of S. John the Baptist, but more than all of the Madonna. Though not possessing the ideal beauty of the Greeks, he has yet a style of countenance peculiarly appropriate to the Virgin, in which an air of humility predominates, and the simplicity of the dress and the attire of the head corresponds with the expression of the features, without at the same time lessening the dignity of her character. He painted with a flowing pencil, was varied in his colouring, had a fine relief and chiaroscuro; but in his local tints he was somewhat hard. He delighted

\* Memoirs of this painter have been long a desideratum, as may be seen from the Lett. Pitt. tom. v. p. 257. I give such information as I have been able to procure in his native place, assisted by the researches of the very obliging Monsignore Massajuoli, bishop of Nocera. Gio. Batista was born in Sassoferrato on the 11th July, 1605, and died in Rome on the 8th August, 1685. And I may here correct an error of my first edition, where it is printed 1635.

† There is a picture of the Rosario in the church of the Eremitani, with his name, and the year 1573. It is a large composition.



most in designing heads with a part of the bust, which frequently occur in collections; his portraits are very often of the size of life, and of that size, or larger, is a Madonna, by him, with the infant Christ, in the Casali palace at Rome. The picture of the Rosario, that he painted at S. Sabina, is one of the smallest pictures in Rome. It is, however, well composed, and conducted with his usual spirit, and is regarded as a gem. In other places the largest picture by him which is to be seen is an altar-piece in the cathedral of Montefiascone.

A follower of the Caracci also, though of an uncertain school, was Giusseppino da Macerata, whom a dubious tradition has assigned to Agostino. His works are to be seen in the two collegiate churches of Fabriano; an Annunciation, in oils, in S. Niccolò, and at S. Venanzio two chapels, painted in fresco, in one of which, where he represented the miracles of the apostles, he surpassed himself in the beauty of the heads and in the general composition; in other respects he is somewhat hasty and indecisive. Two of his works remain in his native place; at the Carmelites the Madonna in Glory, with S. Nicola and S. Girolamo on the foreground; and at the Capuchins, S. Peter receiving the Keys. Both these pictures are in the Caracci style, but the second is most so; corresponding in a singular manner with one of the same subject which the Filippini of Fano have in their church, and which is an authentic and historical work of Guido Reni. The second, therefore, is probably a copy. There is written on it *Joseph Ma. faciebat* 1630, but the figures of the year are not very legible. Marcello Gobbi, and Girolamo Boniforti,\* a tolerable good imitator of Titian, lived at this time in Macerata. Perugia presents us with two scholars of the Caracci, Giulio Cesare Angeli and Anton. Maria Fabrizzi, the one the pupil of Annibale in Rome, the other of Lodovico in Bologna. They were attracted by the fame of their masters, and secretly leaving their native place for about the space of

\* In the Oretti Correspondence there is a letter from an anonymous writer to Malvasia respecting this painter, who is there called Francesco, and is declared to be *Pittore di molta stima*. He then painted in Ancona, as appears from letters under his own hand to Malvasia, where he invariably subscribes himself Francesco.

twelve years, they obtained admission for some time into their school, if we may rely on Pascoli. Fabrizzi, who is also said to have worked under Annibale, does not shew great correctness, and the cause may be ascribed to his too ardent temperament, and the want of more mature instruction; for Annibale dying after three years, from a scholar he became a master, and was celebrated for his vigorous colouring, his composition, and the freedom of his pencil. Angeli was more remarkable for expression and colour than design, and excelled rather in the draped than in the naked figure. There is a vast work by him in fresco in the oratory of the church of S. Agostino in Perugia, and in part of it a limbo of saints, certainly not designed by the light of Lodovico's lamp, if indeed it ought not to be considered that this lunette is by another hand. This branch of the Bolognese school, which was constantly degenerating from the excellence of its origin, being at such a distance from Bologna as not to be able to be revived by the pictures of the Caracci, still survived for a long time. Angeli instructed Cesare Franchi, who excelled in small pictures, which were highly prized in collections; and Stefano Amadei also, who was formed more on the Florentine school of that age than on the school of Bologna. Stefano was also attached to letters, and opened a school, and by frequent meeting and instructive lectures improved the minds of the young artists who frequented it. One of the most assiduous of these was Fabio, brother of the duke of Cornia, of whom some works are mentioned in the Guida di Roma, and who entitled himself to a higher rank than that of a mere dilettante.

Besides the Bolognese, a number of Tuscans who were employed by Paul V. in the two churches of S. Peter and S. M. Maggiore, also contributed to the melioration of the Roman school; and some others who, deprived of that opportunity of distinguishing themselves, are yet memorable for the scholars they left behind them. Of the diocese of Volterra was Cristoforo Roncalli, called Il Cav. delle Pomarance, cursorily noticed by us among the Tuscans. I now place him in this school, because he both painted and taught for a considerable time in Rome; and I assign him to this epoch, not from the generality of his works, but from his best having

been executed in it. He was the scholar of Niccolò delle Pomarance, for whom he worked much with little reward ; and from his example he learnt to avail himself of the labour of others, and to content himself with mediocrity. Yet there are several pictures by him, in which he appears excellent, except that he too often repeats himself in his backgrounds, his foreshortened heads, and full and rubicund countenances. His style of design is a mixture of the Florentine and Roman. In his frescos he displayed fresh and brilliant colours ; in his oil pictures, on the contrary, he adopted more sober tints, harmonized by a general tone of tranquillity and placidness. He frequently decorated these with landscapes gracefully disposed. Among his best labours is reckoned the Death of Ananias and Sapphira, which is at the Certosa, and which was copied in mosaic in S. Peter's. Other mosaics also in the same church were executed after his cartoons, and in the Lateranense is his Baptism of Constantine, a grand historical composition. But his most celebrated work is the cupola of Loreto, very rich in figures, but injured by time, except some prophets, which are in a truly grand style. He painted considerably in the treasury of that church ; and there are some histories of the Madonna not conducted with equal felicity, particularly in the perspective. He obtained this vast commission through the patronage of the Cardinal Crescenzi, in competition with Caravaggio, who, to gratify his revenge, hired an assassin to wound him in the face ; and in rivalry too with Guido Reni, who retaliated in a more laudable manner, by proving his superiority by his works. Roncalli from this time was in great request in the cities of Picenum, which in consequence abound with his pictures. There is to be seen at the Eremitani at S. Severino, a *Noli me tangere* ; at S. Agostino in Ancona, a S. Francis praying ; and at S. Palazia in Osimo, a picture of a saint, one of his most finished productions. In the same city, in the Casa Galli, he painted, so as to be viewed from below, the Judgment of Solomon ; and this is perhaps the best fresco that he ever executed. He could vary his manner at will. There is an Epiphany in the possession of the Marquis Mancinforti in Ancona, quite in the style of the Venetian school.



There were two artists who approached this master in style, the Cav. Gaspare Celio, a Roman, and Antonio, the son of Niccolò Circignani. Celio was the pupil of Niccolò, according to Baglione, but of Roncalli, if we are to believe Titi. He designed and engraved antique statues, and painted in a commendable manner whilst young, after the design of P. Gio. Bat. Fiammeri, at the Gesù, and at a more mature age after his own, in numerous churches. The S. Francis, on the altar of the Ospizio, at Ponte Sisto, is by him; and he also painted the history of S. Raimondo at the Minerva, and the Moses passing the Red Sea, in a vault of the Mattei gallery, where he competed with other first-rate artists. Antonio is not well known in Rome, where he worked with his father, after whose death he decorated by himself a chapel at the Traspontina, another at the Consolazione, and painted also in private houses. Città di Castello, where he passed some of the best years of his life, possesses many of his pictures, and amongst the rest, that of the Conception, at the Conventuals, which may be called a mixture of Barocci and Roncalli, from whom he probably learned to improve the style he had inherited from his father.

The Cav. delle Pomarance instructed the Marchese Gio. Batista Crescenzi, who became a great patron of the fine arts, and who was so much skilled in them, that Paul V. appointed him superintendent of the works which he was carrying on in Rome; and Philip III., the Catholic, also availed himself of his services in the Escorial. He did not execute many works, and his chief talent lay in flower-painting. His house was frequented by literary men, and particularly by Marino; he formed in it a gallery containing an extensive collection of pictures and drawings, of which he himself says, "I believe I may indeed safely affirm that there is not a prince in Europe that does not yield to me in this respect." (Lett. p. 89.) There the artists were always to be found, one of whom, his disciple, was called Bartolommeo del Crescenzi, of the family of Cavarozzi of Viterbo. He was a most correct artist, a follower first of Roncalli, and afterwards became the author of a captivating natural style. There exist many excellent pictures by him in collections, and in the

church of S. Anna a picture of that saint, executed, says Baglione, in his best taste, and with a vigorous pencil.

Among the scholars of Roncalli may also be ranked Giovanni Antonio, father of Luigi Scaramuccia, who also saw and imitated the Caracci. His works are often met with in Perugia. The spirit and freedom of his pencil are more commended than his tints, which are too dark, and which in the churches easily distinguish him amidst a crowd of other artists. It is probable that he used too great a quantity of *terra d'ombra*, like others of his day. Girolamo Buratti, of the same school, painted in Ascoli the beautiful picture of the Presepio at the Carità, and some subjects in fresco, highly commended by Orsini. Of Alessandro Casolani, who belongs to this master, we spoke in the Sienese School. With him, too, was included Cristoforo, his son, who, with Giuseppe Agellio of Sorrento, may be ranked with the inferior artists.

Francesco Morelli, a Florentine, demands our notice only as having imparted the rudiments of the art to the Cav. Gio. Baglione of Rome. His pupil, however, did not remain with him for any length of time, but formed a style for himself from a close application to the works of the best masters, and was employed by Paul V., by the duke of Mantua, and by persons of distinction. He is less vigorous in design and expression than in colour and chiaroscuro. We meet with his works not only in Rome, where he painted much, but also in several provincial towns, as the S. Stephen in the Duomo of Perugia, and the S. Catherine at the Basilica Loretana. In his colours he resembled Cigoli, but was far behind him in other respects. The picture which procured him great applause in the Vatican, the Resuscitation of Tabitha, is defaced by time; but both there and at the Cappella della Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore, which was the most considerable work of Paul N., his pieces in fresco still remain, and are not unworthy of their age. He is not often found in collections, but in that of the Propaganda I saw a S. Rocco painted by him with great force of colour. He lived to a considerable age, and left behind him a compendium of the lives of professors of the fine arts, who had been his

contemporaries in Rome from 1572 to 1642. He wrote in an unostentatious manner, and free from party spirit, and was on all occasions more disposed to commend the good than to censure the bad. Whenever I peruse him, I seem to hear the words of a venerable teacher, inclined rather to inculcate precepts of morals than maxims on the fine arts. Of the latter, indeed, he is very sparing, and it would almost lead one to suppose that he had succeeded in his profession more from a natural bias, and a talent of imitation, than from scientific principles and sound taste. It was, perhaps, in order that he might not be tied to treat of the art theoretically, and to write profoundly, that he distributed his work in five dialogues, in the course of which we do not meet with professors of art, but are introduced to a foreigner and to a Roman gentleman, who act the respective parts of master and scholar. Dialogues, indeed, were never composed in a more simple style, in any language. The two interlocutors meet in the cloisters of the Minerva, and after a slight salutation, one of them recounts the lives of the masters of the art, to the number of eighty, which are commenced, continued, and ended in a style sufficiently monotonous, both as to manner and language; the other listens to this long narrative, without either interrupting or answering, or adding a word in reply: and thus the dialogue, or rather the soliloquy, concludes, without the slightest expression of thanks on the part of the auditor, or even the ceremony of a farewell. We shall now return to the Tuscan scholars.

Passignano was at Rome many times, without, however, leaving there any scholars, at least of much name. We may indeed mention Vanni, and he left there, too, a Gio. Antonio, and a Gio. Francesco del Vanni, who are mentioned in the "Guida di Roma." The school of Cigoli produced two Roman artists of considerable reputation; Domenico Feti, who distinguished himself in Mantua, and Gio. Antonio Lelli, who never left his native place. They painted more frequently in oil, and for private collections, than in fresco, or in churches. Of the first, no public work remains except the two Angels at S. Lorenzo in Damaso; of the second some pictures, and some histories on the walls, among which the Visitation in the choir of the Minerva is much praised.



Comodi and Ciarpi are said to have been the successive masters of Pietro di Cortona; and on that account, and from his birthplace, he has by many been placed in the school of Florence; although others have assigned him to that of Rome. It is true, indeed, that he came hither at the age of fourteen, bringing with him from Tuscany little more than a well-disposed genius; and he here formed himself into an excellent architect, and as a painter became the head of a school distinguished for a free and vigorous style, as we have mentioned in our first book. Whoever wishes to observe how far he carried this style in fresco, and in large compositions, must inspect the Sala Barberina in Rome: although the Palazzo Pitti, in Florence, presents us with works more elegant, more beautiful, and more studied in parts. Whoever, too, wishes to see how far he carried it in his altar-pieces, must inspect the Conversion of S. Paul at the Capuchins in Rome, which, placed opposite the S. Michael of Guido, is nevertheless, the admiration of those who do not object to a variety of style in art: nor am I aware that we should reject this principle in what we designate the fine arts: as it is invariably acknowledged in eloquence, in poetry, and history, where we find Demosthenes and Isocrates, Sophocles and Euripides, and Thucydides and Xenophon, equally esteemed, though all dissimilar in style.

The works of Pietro in Rome, and in the states of the Church, are not at all rare. They are to be found also in other states of Italy, and those pieces are the most attractive in which he had the greatest opportunity of indulging his love of architecture. His largest compositions, which might dismay the boldest copyist, are S. Ivo at the Sapienza of Rome, and the S. Charles in the church of that saint, at Catinari, in the act of relieving the infected. The Preaching of S. James in Imola, in the church of the Dominicans, is also on a vast scale. The Virgin attended by S. Stephen, the Pope, and other saints in S. Agostino, in Cortona, is a picture of great research, and is considered one of his best performances. There is an enchanting picture of the Birth of the Virgin, in the Quirinal palace; and the Martyrdom of S. Stephen, at S. Ambrogio, in Rome, and Daniel in the Den of Lions, in the church of that saint, in Venice, are most beautiful works,

superior to those of most of his competitors in this school, in regard to composition, and equal to them in colour. His historical subjects are not met with in the galleries of the Roman nobility. In that of the Campidoglio, is the battle between the Romans and the Sabines, full of picturesque spirit ; and in possession of the Duke Mattei, is the Adultery, half-figures, more studied and more highly finished than was customary with him. This brief notice of him may suffice for the present. Of the scholars whom he formed in the Roman school, I shall speak more opportunely in the subsequent epoch.

At this period we find three Veronese artists, Ottini, Bassetti, and Turchi, studying in Rome ; and we shall speak of them more at length in the Venetian School. The first returned home without executing any public work. The second left, in the church dell' Anima, in Rome, two pictures in fresco, the Birth, and the Circumcision of Christ. The third, known under the name of Orbetto, took up his residence, and died in that capital ; but I am not aware that he left there any disciples of merit, except some of his own countrymen, who returned to their native place. This engaging and elegant painter, who possessed great originality and beauty of colour, worked still more in Verona than in Rome, and we ought to see his works in the former city, in order justly to appreciate them. But he is not on that account held in the less esteem in Rome for his cabinet pictures, which are highly prized, as the *Sisara de' Colonnese*, and for his scriptural subjects, as the *Flight into Egypt*, in the church of S. Romualdo, and the *S. Felice Cappuccino*, at the Conception, where, as we before observed, the Barberini family employed the most eminent artists.

Many other Italians worked in Rome in the time of the Caracci, but their schools, as well as the places of their birth, are uncertain ; and of these, in a city so abounding in pictures, a slight notice will suffice. In the "*Guida di Roma*," we find only a single notice of Felice Santelli, a Roman, in the church of the P. P. Spagnuoli del Riscatto Scalzi, where he painted in competition with Baglione ; he is a painter full of truth, and one of his pictures in Viterbo, in the church of S. Rosa, is inscribed with his name. In Baglione, we read

of Orazio Borgianni, a Roman, the rival of Celio, and we find pictures and portraits by him in a good natural style. Gio. Antonio Spadarino, of the family of Galli, painted in S. Peter's at S. Valeria, with such talent, that Orlandi complains of the silence of biographers respecting him. He had a fellow-disciple in Matteo Piccione, of the March, and Titi mentions their peculiar style. Nor is Grappelli much known, whose proper name or country I cannot accurately ascertain; but his *Joseph Recognised*, which is painted in fresco, in the Casa Mattei, commands our admiration. Mattio Salvucci, who obtained some reputation in Perugia, came to Rome, and although he was graciously received by the pope, yet, from his inconstant temper, he did not remain there, nor does Pascoli, his fellow-countryman and biographer, mention any authentic pictures by him. Domenico Rainaldi, nephew of the architect Cav. Carlo Rainaldi, who was employed by Alexander VII., is mentioned in the *Roman Guida*, as also Giuseppe Vasconio, praised too by Orlandi. In the same description of books, and particularly in those which treat of the pictures of Perugia, mention is made in this epoch of the Cav. Bernardino Gagliardi, who was domiciled for many years in that city, though born in Città di Castello. Although a scholar of Avanzino Nucci, he adopted a different style, after having seen in his travels the best works of every school of Italy, from Rome to Turin. In historical composition he particularly followed the Caracci and Guido, but in what I have seen of him, both in his own and his adopted city, he appears exceedingly various. The noble house of Oddi, in Perugia, amongst some feeble productions of his, have a *Conversazione* of young people, half-figures, and truly beautiful. In the Duomo of Castello is a *Martyrdom of S. Crescenziano*, a picture of fine effect, though inferior in other respects. He there appears more studied and more select in the two pictures of the young Tobias, which are included among his superior works. His best is perhaps the picture of S. Pellegrino, with its accompaniments, in the church of S. Marcello in Rome. I do not recollect any other provincial painters of this period whom I have not assigned to one or other of the various masters.

A more arduous task than recording the names of the



Italian artists now awaits us in the enumeration of strangers. About the beginning of the century Peter Paul Rubens came young to Rome, and left some oil-pictures at the Vallicella, and in S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Not many years afterwards Antonio Vandyck arrived there also, with an intention of remaining for a long period ; but many of his fellow-countrymen, who were there studying, became offended at his refusing to join them in their convivial tavern parties and dissipated mode of life ; he in consequence left Rome. Great numbers too of that nation, who professed the lower school of art, remained in Italy for a considerable period, and some are mentioned in their classes. Others were employed in the churches of Rome and the Ecclesiastical State. The master is unknown who painted, at S. Pietro in Montorio, the celebrated Deposition, which is recommended to students as a school of colour in itself ; by some he is called Angiolo Fiammingo. Of Vincenzo Fiammingo there is at the Vallicella a picture of the Pentecost ; of Luigi Gentile, from Brussels, the picture of S. Antonio at S. Marco, and others in various churches in Rome ; he painted also at the church of the Capuchins, at Pesaro, a Nativity and a S. Stephen, pictures highly finished and of a beautiful relief. He executed others at Ancona, and in various cities, with his usual taste, which is still more to be admired in his easel-pictures. He excelled, says Passeri, who was very sparing in his praise of artists, in small compositions ; since besides finishing them with great diligence, he executed them in an engaging style ; and he concludes with the further encomium, that he equalled, if not surpassed, most artists in portrait-painting.

About the year 1630, Diego Velasquez, the chief ornament of Spanish art, studied in Rome and remained there for a year. He afterwards returned thither under the pontificate of Innocent X., whose portrait he painted, in a style which was said to be derived from Domenico Greco, instructed by Titian, at the court of Spain. Velasquez renewed in this portrait the wonders which are recounted of those of Leo X. by Raffaello, and of Paul III. by Titian ; for this picture so entirely deceived the eye as to be taken for the pope himself. At this time too a number of excellent German artists were employed in Rome ; as Daniel Saiter, whom I shall notice in

the school of Piedmont, and the two Scors, Gio. Paolo, called by Taja Gian. Paolo Tedesco, whose Noah's Ark, painted in the Quirinal palace, has excited the most enthusiastic encomiums; and Egidio, his brother, who worked there for a considerable time in the gallery of Alexander VII. There were also in Rome Vovet, as we have observed, and the two Mignards, Nicolas, an excellent artist, and Pierre, who had the surname of Romano, and who left some beautiful works at S. Carlino and other places; and a master who claims more than a brief notice, Nicolas Poussin, the Raffaello of France.

Bellori, who has written the Life of Poussin, introduces him to Rome in 1624, and informs us that he was already a painter, and had formed his style more after the prints of Raffaello than the instruction of his masters. At Rome he improved, or rather changed his style, and acquired another totally different, of which he may be considered the chief. Poussin \* has left directions for those who come to study the art in Rome; the remains of antiquity afforded him instruction which he could not expect from masters. He studied the beautiful in the Greek statues, and from the Meleager of the Vatican (now ascertained to be a Mercury) he derived his rule of proportions. Arches, columns, antique vases, and urns, were rendered tributary to the decoration of his pictures. As a model of composition, he attached himself to the Aldobrandine Marriage; and from that, and from basso-relievos, he acquired that elegant contrast, that propriety of attitude, and that fear of crowding his picture, for which he was so remarkable, being accustomed to say, that a half-figure more than requisite was sufficient to destroy the harmony of a whole composition.

Leonardo da Vinci, from his sober and refined style of colour, could not fail to please him; and he decorated that master's work "*Su la Pittura*" with figures designed in his usual fine taste. He followed him in theory and emulated him in practice. He adopted Titian's style of colour, and the famous Dance of Boys, which was formerly in the Villa

\* Poussin, the present model for composition, was unable to take rules from the "*Nozze Aldobrandine*," inasmuch as these present a composition adopted rather for basso-relievo than for paintings.

Lodovisi, and is now in Madrid, taught him to invest with superior colours the engaging forms of children, in which he so much excelled. It should seem that he soon abandoned his application to colouring, and his best-coloured pictures are those which he painted on first coming to Rome. He was apprehensive lest his anxiety on that head might distract his attention from the more philosophical part of his picture, to which he was singularly attentive ; and to this point he directed his most serious and assiduous care. Raffaello was his model in giving animation to his figures, in expressing the passions with truth, in selecting the precise moment of action, in intimating more than was expressed, and in furnishing materials for fresh reflection to whoever returns a second and a third time to examine his well-conceived and profound compositions.\* He carried the habit of philosophy in painting even further than Raffaello, and often executed pictures, whose claim to our regard is the poetical manner in which their moral is inculcated. Thus, in that at Versailles, which is called "*Memoria della Morte*," he has represented a group of youths, and a maid visiting the tomb of an Arcadian shepherd, on which is inscribed the simple epitaph, "I also was an Arcadian."

He did not owe this elegant expression of sentiment to his genius alone, but was indebted for it, as well to the perusal of the first classic authors, as to the conversation of literary men, and his intercourse with scholars. He deferred much to the Cav. Marini, and might do so with advantage where poetry was not concerned. In the art of modelling, in which he excelled, he accomplished himself under Fiammingo ; he consulted the writings of P. Zaccolini for perspective ; he studied the naked figure in the academy of Domenichino and in that of Sacchi ; he made himself acquainted with anatomy ; he exercised himself in copying the most beautiful landscapes from nature, in which he acquired an exquisite taste, which he communicated to his relative, Gaspar Dughet, of whom we shall speak in a short time. I think it may be asserted without exaggeration, that the Caracci improved the art of land-

\* Here, indeed, we should be placed in contradiction with the study of the "*Nozze Aldobrandine*."



scape painting, and that Poussin brought it to perfection.\* His genius was less calculated for large than small figures, and he has generally painted them a palm and a half, as in the celebrated Sacraments, which were in the Casa Boccapaduli: sometimes of two or three palms' size, as in the picture of the Plague in the Colonna gallery, and elsewhere. Other pictures of his are seen in Rome, as the Death of Germanicus in the Barberini palace, the Triumph of Flora in the Campidoglio, the Martyrdom of S. Erasmus, in the pope's collection at Monte Cavallo, afterwards copied in mosaic in S. Peter's. Although he had established himself in Rome, he afterwards left that city for Paris, where he was appointed first painter to the court; after two years' time, however, he again returned to Rome, but had his appointment confirmed, and, though absent, enjoyed the same place and stipend. He remained in Rome for twenty-three years, and there closed his days. It is not long since his bust in marble, with an appropriate eulogy, was placed in the church of the Rotunda, at the suggestion and general expense of the Sig. Cav. d'Agincourt.

In the class of portrait-painters, we find at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Antiveduto Grammatica, and Ottavio Lioni of Padua, who engraved the portraits of the painters; and, on his death, Baldassare Galanino was pre-eminent. It must however be remarked, that these artists were also designers; and that even those who were held the first masters in composition were employed in portrait-painting, as Guido for example, who executed for the Cardinal Spado one of the finest portraits in Rome.

Thus far of historical painters. We may now recur to landscape and other inferior branches of the art, whose brightest era may be said to have been in the reign of Urban VIII. Landscape, indeed, never flourished so greatly as at that period. A little time before this pontificate, died in Rome, Adam Elzheimer, or Adam of Frankfort, or Tedesco, who had already, under the pontificate of Paul V., established

\* Passeri, "Vite de' Pittori," page 363. He was remarkable for being the first to adopt a new style in trees, in landscapes, where, by a strong character of truth and attention to the forms of the trunk, foliage, and branches, he denoted the particular species he wished to express.

a school (in which David Teniers was instructed); an artist of an admirable fancy, who in an evening committed to the canvas, with singular fidelity, the scenery which he had visited in the early part of the day; and he so refined his style in Rome, that his pictures, which generally represented night-scenes, were there held in the greatest request. Only a short time too had elapsed since the death of Giovanni Batista Viola in Rome, one of the first artists who, profiting from the instructions of Annibal Caracci, reformed the old, dry style of the Flemish,\* and introduced a richer mode of touching landscape. Vincenzio Armano had also promoted this branch of art, adding to his landscapes a similitude to nature, which without much selection of ground, or trees, or accompaniments, charms us by its truth, and a certain stillness of colour, pleasingly chequered with lights and shades. He is highly to be commended, too, in his figures, and is copious in his invention. But the three celebrated landscape-painters, whose works are so much sought after in the collections of princes, appeared under Urban; Salvator Rosa, a Neapolitan, and a poet of talent; Claude Gellée, of Lorraine; and Gaspar Dughet, also called Poussin, the relative of Nicolas, as I have already mentioned. That kind of fashion,† which often aspires to give a tone to the fine arts, alternately exalted one or other of these three, and thus also obliged the painters in Rome to copy in succession, and to follow their various styles.

Rosa was the most celebrated of this class at the commencement of this century. A scholar of Spagnoletto, and the son, as one may say, of Caravaggio, as in historical composition he attached himself to the strong natural style and dark colouring of that master,‡ so in landscape he seems to have

\* The former dryness of the Flemings proved less pernicious than the soft manner which subsequently prevailed. The first led the way to truth, the last to mannerism.

† If this can be called fashion, it is confessedly one that has maintained itself even to our own times. There are persons who now prefer Salvator to Poussin. This depends upon individual taste.

‡ These three great heads of schools observed nature on the side in which they felt impelled to imitate her. Of the first, it might be averred that he admired nature in its most convulsed and terrific aspect; the second exhibited her smiling; the last, in her most pompous array.

adopted his subject without selection, or rather to have selected the least pleasing parts. *Le selve selvagge*, to speak with Dante, savage scenery, Alps, broken rocks and caves, wild thickets, and desert plains, are the kind of scenery in which he chiefly delighted; his trees are shattered, torn, and dishevelled; and in the atmosphere itself he seldom introduced a cheerful hue, except occasionally a solitary sunbeam. He observed the same manner too in his sea-views. His style was original, and may be said to have been conducted on a principle of savage beauty, as the palate of some persons is gratified with austere wines. His pictures too were rendered more acceptable from the small figures of shepherds, mariners, or banditti, which he has introduced in almost all his compositions; and he was reproached by his rivals with having continually repeated the same ideas, and in a manner copied himself.

Owing to his frequent practice, he had more merit in his small than in his large figures. He was accustomed to insert them in his landscapes, and composed his historical pictures in the same style as the *Regulus*, so highly praised in the Colonna palace; or fancy subjects, as the *Witchcrafts*, which we see in the *Campidoglio*, and in many private collections. In these he is never select, nor always correct, but displays great spirit, freedom of execution, and skill and harmony of colour. In other respects he has proved, more than once, that his genius was not confined to small compositions, as there are some altar-pieces well conceived, and of powerful effect, particularly where the subject demands an expression of terror, as in a *Martyrdom of Saints* at S. Gio. de' Fiorentini at Rome; and in the *Purgatory*, which I saw at S. Giovanni delle Case Rotte in Milan, and at the church del Suffragio in Matelica. We have also some profane subjects by him, finely executed on a large scale; such is the *Conspiracy of Catiline*, in the possession of the noble family of Martelli, in Florence, mentioned also by Bottari, as one of his best works. Rosa left Naples at the age of twenty, and established himself in Rome, where he died at the age of about sixty. His remains were placed in the church degli Angeli, with his portrait and eulogy; and another portrait of him is to be seen in the Chigi gallery, which does not seem to have been recognised by



Pascoli ; the picture represents a savage scene ; a poet is represented in a sitting attitude (the features those of Salvator), and before him stands a satyr, allusive to his satiric style of poetry ; but the picture is described by the biographer as the god Pan appearing to the poet Pindar. He had a scholar in Bartolommeo Torregiani, who died young, and who excelled in landscape, but was not accomplished enough to add the figures. Giovanni Ghisolfi, of Milan, a master of perspective, adopted in his figures the style of Salvator.

Gaspar Dughet, or Poussin, of Rome, or of the Roman school, did not much resemble Rosa, except in despatch. Both these artists were accustomed to commence and finish a landscape and decorate it with figures on the same day. Poussin, contrary to Salvator, selected the most enchanting scenes, and the most beautiful aspects of nature ; the graceful poplar, the spreading plane-trees, limpid fountains, verdant meads, gently undulating hills, villas delightfully situated, calculated to dispel the cares of state, and to add to the delights of retirement. All the enchanting scenery of the Tusculan or Tiburtine territory, and of Rome, where, as Martial observes, nature has combined the many beauties which she has scattered singly in other places, was copied by this artist. He composed also ideal landscapes, in the same way that Torquato Tasso, in describing the garden of Armida, concentrated in his verses all the recollections of the beautiful which he had observed in nature.

Notwithstanding this extreme passion for grace and beauty, it is the opinion of many, that there is not a greater name amongst landscape painters. His genius had a natural fervour, and as we may say, a language, that suggests more than it expresses. To give an example, in some of his larger landscapes, similar to those in the Panfilo palace, we may occasionally observe an artful winding of the road, which in part discovers itself to the eye, but in other parts leaves itself to be followed by the mind. Every thing that Gaspar expresses is founded in nature. In his leaves he is as varied as the trees themselves, and is only accused of not having sufficiently diversified his tints, and of adhering too much to a green hue. He not only succeeded in representing the rosy tint of morning, the splendour of noon, evening twilight, or a

sky tempestuous or serene ; but the passing breeze that whispers through the leaves, storms that tear and uproot the trees of the forest, lowering skies, and clouds surcharged with thunder and rent with lightning, are represented by him with equal success. Nicolas, who had taught him to select the beauties of nature, instructed him also in the figures, and the accessory parts of the composition. Thus in Gaspar every thing displays elegance and erudition, the edifices have all the beautiful proportions of the antique ; and to these may be added arches and broken columns, when the scene lay in the plains of Greece or Rome ; or, if in Egypt, pyramids, obelisks, and the idols of the country. The figures which he introduces are not in general shepherds and their flocks, as in the Flemish pictures, but are derived from history, or classic fables, hawking-parties, poets crowned with laurel, and other similar decorations, generally novel, and finished in a style almost as fine as miniature. His school gave birth to but few followers. By some Crescenzo di Onofrio is alone considered his true imitator, of whom little remains in Rome ; nor indeed is he much known in Florence, although he resided there many years in the service of the ducal house. It is said that he executed many works for the ducal villas ; and that he painted for individuals may be conjectured from some beautiful landscapes which the Sig. Cancelliere Scrilli possesses, together with the portrait of Sig. Angelo, his ancestor, on which the artist has inscribed his name and the year 1712, the date of his work. After him we may record Gio. Domenico Ferracuti, of Macerata, in which city, and in others of Piceno, are to be found many landscapes painted by him, chiefly snow-pieces, in which kind of landscape he was singularly distinguished.

Claude Lorraine is generally esteemed the prince of landscape painters, and his compositions are indeed, of all others, the richest and the most studied. A short time suffices to run through a landscape of Poussin or Rosa from one end to the other, when compared with Claude, though on a much smaller surface. His landscapes present to the spectator an endless variety ; so many views of land and water, so many interesting objects, that like an astonished traveller, the eye is obliged to pause to measure the extent of the prospect, and his dis-

tances of mountains or of sea are so illusive, that the spectator feels, as it were, fatigued by gazing. The edifices and temples, which so finely round off his compositions, the lakes peopled with aquatic birds, the foliage diversified in conformity to the different kinds of trees,\* all is nature in him ; every object arrests the attention of an amateur, every thing furnishes instruction to a professor, particularly when he painted with care, as in the pictures of the Altieri, Colonna, and other palaces of Rome. There is not an effect of light, or a reflection in the water, or in the sky itself, which he has not imitated ; and the various changes of the day are nowhere better represented than in Claude. In a word, he is truly the painter who, in depicting the three regions of air, earth, and water, has embraced the whole universe. His atmosphere almost always bears the impress of the sky of Rome, whose horizon is, from its situation, rosy, dewy, and warm. He did not possess any peculiar merit in his figures, which are insipid, and generally too much attenuated ; hence he was accustomed to observe to the purchasers of his pictures, that he sold them the landscape, and presented them with the figures gratis. The figures indeed were generally added by another hand, frequently by Lauri. A painter of the name of Angiolo, who died young, deserves to be mentioned as the scholar of Claude, as well as Vandervert. Claude also contributed to the instruction of Gaspar Poussin.

To the preceding may be added those artists who particularly distinguished themselves by sea views and shipping. Enrico Cornelio Vroom is called Enrico di Spagna, as he came to Rome immediately from Seville, although born in Haerlem in Holland. He was a pupil of the Brills, and seems rather to have aimed at imitating the national art of ship-building, than the varying appearances of the sea and sky. No one is more diligent or more minute in fitting up the vessels with every requisite for sailing ; and some persons have purchased

\* He painted for his studio a landscape enriched with views from the Villa of Madama, in which a wonderful variety of trees was introduced. This he preserved for the purpose of supplying himself, as from nature, with subjects for his various pictures, and refused to sell it to the munificent pontiff, Clement IX., although that prince offered to cover it with pieces of gold.



his pictures for the sole purpose of instructing themselves in the knowledge of ships, and the mode of arming them. Sandrart relates that he returned to Spain, and there painted landscapes, views of cities, fishing-boats, and sea-fights. He places his birth in 1566, whence he must have flourished about the year 1600. Guarienti makes a separate article of Enrico Vron of Haerlem, as if he had been a different artist. Another article is occupied upon Enrico delle Marine, and on the authority of Palomino, he says that that artist was born in Cadiz, and coming to Rome, there acquired that name; and that, without wishing ever to return to Spain, he employed himself in painting in that city shipping and sea views until his death, at the age of sixty, in 1680. I have named three writers, whose contradictions I have frequently adverted to in this work, and whose discordant notices require much examination to reconcile or refute. What I have advanced respecting Enrico was the result of my observations on several pictures in the Colonna gallery, six in number, and which, as far as I could judge, all partake of a hard and early style, and generally of a peculiar reddish tone, often observed in the landscapes of Brill. Any other Enrico di Spagna, a marine painter, or of a style corresponding with that of him who died in 1680, I have not met with in any collection, nor is any such artist to be found in the works of Sig. Conca, as any one may ascertain by referring to the index of his work. Hence, at present, I can recognise the Dutch artist alone, and shall be ready to admit the claims of the Cadiz painter whenever I am furnished with proofs of his having really existed.

Agostino Tassi, of Perugia, whose real name was Buonamici, a man of infamous character, but an excellent painter, was the scholar of Paul Brill, though he was ambitious of being thought a pupil of the Caracci. He had already distinguished himself as a landscape painter, when he was condemned to the galleys at Leghorn, where, through interest, the laborious part of his sentence was remitted, and in this situation he prosecuted his art with such ardour, that he soon obtained the first rank as a painter of sea views, representing ships, storms, fishing-parties, and the dresses of mariners of various countries with great spirit and propriety. He excelled too in perspective, and in the papal palace of the Quirinal and

in the palace de' Lancellotti displayed an excellent style of decoration, which his followers very much overcharged. He painted many pictures in Genoa in conjunction with Salimbeni and Gentileschi, and was assisted by a scholar of his born in Rome, and domiciled in Genoa, where he died. This scholar is called by Raffaello Soprani, Gio. Batista Primi, and he eulogizes him as an esteemed painter of sea views.

Equal to Tassi in talent, and still more infamous in his life, was Pietro Mulier, or Pietro de Mulieribus, of Holland, who, from his surprising pictures of storms, was called *Il Tempesta*. His compositions inspire a real terror, presenting to our eyes death, devoted ships overtaken by tempests and darkness, fired by lightning, or driving helpless before the demons of the storm; now rising on the mountain waves, and again submerged in the abyss of ocean. His works are more frequently met with than those of Tassi, as he almost always painted in oil. He was assisted in Rome by a young man, who in consequence obtained the name of *Tempestino*, though he often exercised his genius in landscape in the style of Poussin. He afterwards married a sister of this young artist, and subsequently procured her assassination, for which he was sentenced to death in Genoa, but his sentence was commuted for five years' imprisonment. His pictures of storms, which he painted in his dungeon, seem to have acquired an additional gloom from the horrors of his prison, his merited punishment, and his guilty conscience. These works were very numerous, and were considered his best performances. He excelled also in the painting of animals, for which purpose he kept a great variety of them in his house. Lastly, he acquired celebrity from his landscapes, in some of which he has shewn himself not an unworthy follower of Claude in invention, enriching them with a great variety of scenery, hills, lakes, and beautiful edifices, but he is still far behind that master in regard to tone of colour and finishing. He was however superior to Claude in his figures, to which he gave a mixed Italian and Flemish character, with lively, varied, and expressive countenances. There are more specimens of his talents in Milan than in any other place, as he passed his latter years in that and the neighbouring cities, as

in Bergamo, and particularly in Piacenza. His epitaph is given in the "*Guida di Milano*," page 129.

Il Montagna, another artist from Holland, was also a painter of sea views, which may almost indeed be called the landscapes of the Dutch. He left many works in Italy, more particularly in Florence and in Rome, where he is sometimes mistaken for Tempesta in the galleries and in picture sales; but Montagna, as far as I can judge, is more serene in his skies, and darker in his waves and the appearance of the sea. A large picture of the Deluge, which is at S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo, placed there in 1668, in which the figures are by the Cav. Liberi, is supposed to be by Montagna, from the tone of the water. This however is an error, for the Montagna of whom we speak, called by Felibien (tom. iii. p. 339) *Montagna di Venezia*, certainly died in Padua; and in a MS. by a contemporary author, where he is mentioned as a distinguished sea-painter, he is said to have died in 1644. I apprehend this is the same artist whom Malvasia (tom. ii. p. 78) calls Mons. Rinaldo della Montagne, and states that he was held in esteem by Guido for his excellence in sea views. I also find a Niccolo de Plate Montagne, favourably mentioned by Felibien, also a marine painter, who died about 1665; and I formerly imagined that this might be the artist who painted so much in Italy, but I now retract that opinion.

Tempesta was the first to introduce the custom of decorating landscapes with battles and skirmishes. A Flemish artist of the name of Jacopo succeeded to him in this branch, but his fame was eclipsed by his own scholar Cerquozzi, a Roman, who, from his singular talent in this respect, was called Michelangelo delle Battaglie. He was superior to Tempesta in colouring, but inferior to him in designing horses. In the human figure, too, he is less correct, and more daring in the style of his master Cesari. It must however be remembered, that when Cerquozzi painted battles he was not in his prime, and that his chief merit lay in subjects on which I shall presently make some remarks.

Padre Jacopo Cortese, a Jesuit, called from his native country Il Borgognone, carried this branch of the art to a



height unknown before or since. M. A. Cerquozzi discovered his genius for this department, and persuaded him to abandon the other branches of painting which he cultivated, and to confine himself to this alone. The Battle of Constantine, by Giulio Romano, in the Vatican, was the model on which he founded his style. His youth had been dedicated to arms, and his military spirit was not to be extinguished by the luxury of Rome, or the indolence of the cloister. He imparted a wonderful air of reality to his compositions. His combatants appear before us courageously contending for honour or for life, and we seem to hear the cries of the wounded, the blast of the trumpet, and the neighing of the horses. He was indeed an inimitable artist in his line, and his scholars were accustomed to say that their own figures seemed to fight only in jest, while those of Borgognone were the real occupants of the field of battle. He painted with great despatch, and his battle-pieces are in consequence very frequent in collections; his touch was rapid, in strokes, and his pencil flowing, so that the effect is heightened by distance; and this style was probably the result of his study of Paolo at Venice, and of Guido in Bologna. From whatever cause it may be, his colouring is very different from that of Guglielmo Baur, who is considered his master, and of whom there are some works in the Colonna gallery. There also may be seen several specimens of his scholars, Bruni, Graziano, and Giannizero, who adopted from Borgognone their colouring, and the selection of a distant point of view for their subject. Others of his scholars occur in various schools.

It was also during the pontificate of Urban, about the year 1626, that the burlesque style was first brought into notice in Rome. It had been practised by Ludius in the time of Augustus, and was not wholly unknown to our early artists; but I am not aware that any one had exercised this branch as a profession, or on so small a scale as was practised by Pietro Laar, who was called Bamboccio, from his deformity, as well as from the subjects of his pencil; and the appellation of *bambocciate* is generally applied to these small pictures, which represent the festivities of the vintage, dances, fights, and carnival masquerades. His figures are usually of a span in size, and the accompanying landscape and the animals are

so vividly coloured, that we seem, says Passeri, to see the very objects themselves from an open window, rather than the representation on canvas. The great painters frequently purchased the pictures of Pietro, in order to study his natural style of colour, though at the same time they lamented that so much talent should be misapplied to such low subjects.\* He resided many years in Rome, and then retired to Holland, where he died at an advanced age, and not a young man, as Passeri has imagined.

His place and his employ in Rome were soon filled up by Cerquozzi, who had for some time past exchanged the name of M. A. delle Battaglie, for that of M. A. delle Bambocciate. Although the subjects which he represents are humorous, like those of Laar, the incidents and the characters are for the most part different. The first adopted the Flemish boors, the other the peasantry of Italy. They had both great force of colour, but Bamboccio excels Cerquozzi in landscape, while the latter discovers more spirit in his figures. One of Cerquozzi's largest compositions is in the Spado palace at Rome, in which he represented a band of insurgent Lazzaroni applauding Maso Aniello.

Laar had another excellent imitator in Gio. Miel, of Antwerp, who having imbibed a good style of colouring from Vandyke, came to Rome and frequented the school of Sacchi. From thence, however, he was soon dismissed, as his master wished him to attempt serious subjects, but he was led both by interest and genius to the burlesque. His pictures pleased from their spirited representations and their excellent management of light and shade, and brought high prices from collectors. He afterwards painted on a larger scale, and besides some altar-pieces in Rome, he left considerable works in Piedmont, where we shall notice him again. Theodore Hembreker, of Haerlem, also employed himself on humorous subjects and scenes of common life, although there are some religious pieces attributed to him in the church della Pace in Rome, and a number of landscapes in private collections. He passed many years in Italy, and visited most of the great

\* V. Salvator Rosa, sat. iii. p. 79, where he reprehends not only the artists, but also the great, for affording such pictures a place in their collections.

cities, so that his works are frequently found not only in Rome, where he had established himself, but in Florence, Naples, Venice, and elsewhere. His style is a pleasing union of the Flemish and Italian.

Many artists of this period attached themselves to the painting of animals. Castiglione distinguished himself in this line, but he resided for the most part of his time in another country. M. Gio. Rosa, of Flanders, is the most known in Rome and the State, for the great number of his paintings of animals, in which he possessed a rare talent. It is told of him, that dogs were deceived by the hares he painted, thus reviving the wonderful story of Zeuxis, so much boasted of by Pliny. Two of his largest and finest pictures are in the Bolognetti collection, and there is attached to them a portrait, but whether of the painter himself, or some other person, is not known. We must not confound this artist with Rosa da Tivoli, who was also an excellent animal painter, but not so celebrated in Italy, and flourished at a later period, and whose real name was Philip Peter Roos. He was son-in-law of Brandi, and his scholar in Rome, and rivalled his hasty method in many pictures which I have seen in Rome and the states of the Church; but we ought not to rest our decision of his merits on these works, but should view the animals painted by him at his leisure, particularly for the galleries of princes. These are to be found in Vienna, Dresden, Monaco, and other capital cities of Germany; and London possesses not a few of the first value in their way.\*

After Caravaggio had given the best examples of flowers in his pictures, the Cav. Tommaso Salini, of Rome, an excellent artist, as may be seen in a S. Niccola at S. Agostino, was the first that composed vases of flowers, accompanying them with beautiful groups of corresponding foliage, and other

\* He was the ancestor of the Sig. Giuseppe Rosa, director of the imperial gallery in Vienna, who has given us a catalogue of the Italian and Flemish pictures of that collection, and who will, we hope, add the German. Of this deserving artist he possesses a portrait, engraved in 1789, where we find a list of the various academies that had elected him a member, and these are numerous, and of the first class in Europe. We find him also amongst those masters whose drawings were collected by Mariette; and he is mentioned in the "*Lessico Universale delle Belle Arti*," edited in Zurich, in 1763.



elegant designs. Others too pursued this branch, and the most celebrated of all was Mario Nuzzi della Penna, better known by the name of Mario da' Fiori, whose productions during his life were emulously sought after, and purchased at great prices; but after the lapse of some years, not retaining their original freshness, and acquiring, from a vicious mode of colouring, a black and squalid appearance, they became much depreciated in value. The same thing happened to the flower-pieces of Laura Bernasconi, who was his best imitator, and whose works are still to be seen in many collections.

Orsini informs us, that he found in Ascoli some paintings of flowers by another of the fair sex, to whose memory the Academy of S. Luke in Rome erected a marble monument in their church, not so much in compliment to her talents in painting, as in consequence of her having bequeathed to that society all her property, which was considerable. In her epitaph she is commemorated only as a miniature painter, and Orlandi describes her as such, adding, that she resided for a long time in Florence, where she left a large number of portraits in miniature of the Medici, and other princes of that time, about the year 1630. She also painted in other capitals of Italy, and died at an advanced age in Rome, in 1673.

Michelangiolo di Campidoglio, of Rome, was greatly distinguished for his masterly grouping of fruits. Though almost fallen into oblivion from the lapse of years, his pictures are still to be met with in Rome, and in other places. The noble family of Fossombroni in Arezzo possess one of the finest specimens of him that I have ever seen. More generally known is Pietro Paolo Bonzi, called by Baglione, *Il Gobbo di Cortona*, which was his native place; by others, *Il Gobbo de' Caracci*, from his having been employed in their school; and by the vulgar, *Il Gobbo da' Frutti*, from the natural manner of his painting fruit. He did not pass the bounds of mediocrity in historical design, as we may see from his *S. Thomas*, in the church of the *Rotunda*, nor in landscapes; but he was unrivalled in painting fruits, and designing festoons, as in the ceiling of the *Palazzo Mattei*; and in his elegant grouping of fruit in dishes and baskets, as I have seen in Cortona, in the house of the noble family of *Velluti*, in the *Olivieri* gallery in *Pesaro*, and elsewhere.

The Marchesi Venuti, in Cortona, have a portrait of him, painted, it is believed, by one of the Caracci, or some one of their school, and it is well known that the drawing of caricatures was a favourite amusement of that academy.

At this brilliant epoch, the art of perspective too was carried to a high degree of perfection in deceiving the eye of the spectator. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, it had made great advances by the aid of P. Zaccolini, a Theatine monk of Cesena, in whose praise it is sufficient to observe, that Domenichino and Poussin were instructed by him in this art. S. Silvestro, in Montecavallo, possesses the finest specimen of this power of illusion, in a picture of feigned columns, and cornices and other architectural decorations. His original drawings remain in the Barberini library. Gianfrancesco Niceron de' P. P. Minimi added to this science by his work entitled "*Thaumaturgus opticus*," 1643; and in a gallery of his convent at Trinità de' Monti, he painted some landscapes, which, on being viewed in a different aspect, are converted into figures. But the most practised artist in the Academy of Rome was Viviano Codagora, who drew from the ruins of ancient Rome, and also painted compositions of his own invention in perspective. He engaged Cerquozzi and Miel, and others in Rome, to insert the figures for him, but he was most partial to Gargioli of Naples, as we shall mention in our account of that school. Viviano may be called the Vitruvius of this class of painters. He was correct in his linear perspective, and an accurate observer of the style of the ancients. He gave his representations of marble the peculiar tint it acquires by the lapse of years, and his general tone of colour was vigorous. What subtracts the most from his excellence is a certain hardness, and too great a quantity of black, by which his pictures are easily distinguished from others in collections, and which in the course of time renders them dark and almost worthless. His true name is unknown to the greater number of the lovers of art, by whom he is called *Il Viviani*; and who seem to have confounded him with Ottavio Viviani of Brescia, who is mentioned by the Dictionaries; a perspective painter also, but in another branch, and in a different style, as we shall hereafter see.

# ROMAN SCHOOL.

## EPOCH V.

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The Scholars of Pietro da Cortona, from an injudicious imitation of their Master, deteriorate the art. Maratta and others support it.

It may with equal justice be asserted of the fine arts, as of the belles lettres, that they never long remain in the same state, and that they experience often great changes even in the common period assigned to the life of man. Many causes contribute to this; public calamities, such as I mentioned to have occurred after the death of Raffaello; the instability of the human mind, which in the arts, as in dress, is guided by fashion and the love of novelty; the influence of particular artists; the taste of the great, who, from their selection or patronage of particular masters, silently indicate the path to those artists who seek the gifts of fortune. These and other causes tended to produce the decline of painting in Rome towards the close of the 17th century, at a time too when literature began to revive; a clear proof that they are not mutually progressive. This was in a great measure occasioned by the calamitous events which afflicted Rome and the state, about the middle of that century; by the feuds of the nobles, the flight of the Barberini family, and other unfortunate circumstances, which, during the pontificate of Innocent X., as we are informed by Passeri (p. 321), rendered the employment of artists very precarious; but more than all, the dreadful plague of 1655, under Alexander VII. To this state of decay, too, the evil passions of mankind contributed in no small degree, and these indeed in all revolutions are among the most active and predominant sources of evil, and often even in a prosperous state of things sow the seeds of future calamities.



The Cav. Bernini, a man of more talents as an architect than as a sculptor, was, under Urban VIII. and Innocent X., and also until the year 1680, in which he died, the arbiter of the public taste in Rome. The enemy of Sacchi and the benefactor of Cortona, he obtained more employ for his friend than for his rival ; and this was easily accomplished, as Cortona was rapid as well as laborious, while Sacchi was slow and irresolute, qualities which rendered him unacceptable even to his own patrons. In course of time Bernini began to favour Romanelli, to the prejudice of Pietro ; and, instructing that artist and Baccio in his principles, he influenced them to the adoption of his own style which, though it possessed considerable beauty, was nevertheless mannered, particularly in the folds of the drapery. The way being thus opened to caprice, they abandoned the true, and substituted false precepts of art, and many years had not elapsed before pernicious principles appeared in the schools of the painters, and particularly in that of Cortona. Some went so far as to censure the imitation of Raffaello, as Bellori attests in the "Life of Carlo Maratta" (p. 102), and others ridiculed, as useless, the study of nature, preferring to copy, in a servile manner, the works of other artists. These effects are visible in the pictures of the time. All the countenances, although by different artists, have a fulness in the lips and nose like those of Pietro, and have all a sort of family resemblance, so much are they alike ; a defect which Bottari says is the only fault of Pietro, but it is not the only fault of his school. Every one was anxious to avoid the labour of study, and to promote facility at the expense of correct design ; the errors in which they endeavoured to conceal by overcharging rather than discriminating the contours. No one can be desirous that I should enter into further particulars, when we are treating of matters so very near our own times, and whoever is free from prejudice may judge for himself. I now return to the state of the Roman school about one hundred and twenty years back.

The schools most in repute, after the death of Sacchi, in 1661, and of Berrettini, in 1670, when the best scholars of the Caracci were dead, were reduced to two, that of Cortona, supported by Ciro, and that of Sacchi, by Maratta. The

first of these expanded the ideas, but induced negligence; the second enforced correctness, but fettered the ideas. Each adopted something from the other, and not always the best part; an affected contrast pleased some of the scholars of Maratta, and the drapery of Maratta was adopted by some of the followers of Ciro.\* The school of Cortona exhibited a grand style in fresco; the other school was restricted to oils. They became rivals, each supported by its own party, and were impartially employed by the pontiffs until the death of Ciro, that is, until 1689. From that time a new tone was given to art by Maratta, who, under Clement XI., was appointed director of the numerous works which that pontiff was carrying on in Rome and in Urbino. Although this master had many able rivals, as we shall see, he still maintained his superiority, and on his death, his school continued to flourish until the pontificate of Benedict XIV., ultimately yielding to the more novel style of Subleyras, Batoni, and Mengs. Thus far of the two schools in general: we shall now notice their followers.

Besides the scholars whom Pietro formed in Tuscany, as Dandini of Florence, Castellucci of Arezzo, Palladino of Cortona, and those whom he formed in other schools, where we shall see them as masters, he educated others in the Roman state, of whom it is now time to speak. The number of his scholars is beyond belief. They were enumerated by Sig. Cav. Luzi, a nobleman of Cortona, who composed a life of Berrettini with more accuracy than had been before done, but his death prevented the publication of it. Pietro continued to teach to the close of his life, and the picture of S. Ivo, which he left imperfect, was finished by Gio. Ventura Borghesi, of Città di Castello. Of this artist there are also at S.

\* With regard to drapery, Winckelmann conjectures ("Storia delle Arti del Disegno," tom. i. p. 450), that the erroneous opinion that the ancients did not drape their figures well, and were surpassed in that department by the moderns, was at that time common among the artists. This opinion still subsists among some sculptors, who disapprove particularly of the ancient custom of moistening the drapery, in order to adapt it the better to the form of the figure. The ancients, they say, ought to be esteemed, not idolized. To carry nature to the highest degree of perfection was always allowable, but not so to degrade her by mannerism.—R.

Niccola, two pictures, the Nativity and the Assumption of the Virgin, and I am not acquainted with any other public specimens of his pencil in Rome. His native place possesses many of his performances, and the most esteemed are four circles of the History of S. Caterina, V.M., in the church of that saint. Many of his works are to be found also in Prague, and the cities of Germany. He follows Pietro with sufficient fidelity in design, but does not display so much vigour of colour. Carlo Cesi, of Rieti, or rather of Antrodoco, in that neighbourhood, was also a distinguished scholar of Pietro. He lived in Rome, and in the Quirinal gallery, where the best artists of the age painted under Alexander VII., he has left a large picture of the Judgment of Solomon. He worked also in other places; as at S. M. Maggiore, at the Rotunda, and was patronised by several cardinals. He was correct in his design, and opposed, both in person and by his precepts and example, the fatal and prevailing facility of his time. Pascoli has preserved some of his axioms, and this among others, that the beautiful should not be crowded, but distributed with judgment in the composition of pictures; otherwise they resemble a written style, which, by the redundancy of brilliant and sententious remarks, fails in its effect. Francesco Bonifazio was of Viterbo, and from the various pictures by him, which Orlandi saw in that city, I do not hesitate to rank him among the successful followers of Pietro. We may mention Michelangelo Ricciolini, a Roman by birth, although called of Todi, whose portrait is in the Medici gallery, where is also that of Niccolo Ricciolini, respecting whom Orlandi is silent. Both were employed in decorating the churches of Rome; the second had the reputation of a better designer than the first, and in the cartoons painted for some mosaics for the Vatican church, he competed with the Cav. Franceschini. Paolo Gismondi, called also Paolo Perugino, became a good fresco painter, and there are works remaining by him in the S. Agata, in the Piazza Nova, and at S. Agnes, in the Piazza Navona. Pietro Paolo Baldini, of whose native place I am ignorant, is stated by Titi to have been of the school of Cortona. Ten pictures by him are counted in the churches of Rome, and in some of them, as in the Crucifixion of S. Eustace, a precision of style derived from another school is observable.



Bartolommeo Palombo has only two pictures in the capital. That of S. Maria Madalena de' Pazzi, which is placed at S. Martino a' Monti, entitles him to rank with the best of his fellow-scholars, the picture possesses so strong a colouring, and the figures are so graceful and well designed. Pietro Lucatelli, of Rome, was a distinguished painter, and is named in the catalogue of the Colonna gallery, as the scholar of Ciro, and in Titi, as the disciple of Cortona. He is a different artist from Andrea Lucatelli, of whom we shall shortly speak. Gio. Batista Lenardi, whom, in a former edition, I hesitated to place in the list of the pupils of Pietro, I now consider as belonging to that school, though he was instructed also by Baldi. In the chapel of the B. Rita, at S. Agostino, he painted two lateral pictures as well as the vault; he also ornamented other churches with his works, and particularly that of Buonfratelli, at Trastevere, where he painted the picture of S. Gio. Calibita. That of the great altar was ascribed to him, probably from a similarity of style; but is by Andrea Generoli, called Il Sabinese, a pupil either of Pietro himself, or of one of his followers.

Thus far of the less celebrated of this school. The three superior artists, whose works still attract us in the galleries of princes, are Cortesi, and the two elder scholars of the academy of Pietro, Romanelli and Ferri. Nor is it improbable that, having competitors in some of his first scholars, he became indisposed to instruct others with the same degree of good-will, as those noble minds are few in whom the zeal of advancing the art exceeds the regret at having produced an ingrate or a rival.

Guglielmo Cortesi, the brother of P. Giacomo, like him named Il Borgognone, was one of the best artists of this period; and a scholar rather than an imitator of Pietro. His admiration was fixed on Maratta, whom he followed in the studied variety of his heads, and in the sobriety of the composition, more than in the division of the folds of his drapery or in colour; in which latter he manifested a clearness partaking of the Flemish. His style was somewhat influenced by that of his brother, whose assistant he was, and by his study of the Caracci. He often appears to have imitated the strong relief and azure grounds of Guercino. His Crucifixion

of S. Andrea, in the church of Monte Cavallo, the Fight of Joshua, in the Quirinal palace, and a Madonna attended by saints, in the Trinità de' Pellegrini, merit our attention. In these works there is a happy union of various styles, exempt from mannerism.

Francesco Romanelli was born at Viterbo, and, as well as Testa, studied some time under Domenichino. He afterwards placed himself with Pietro, whose manner he imitated so successfully, that on Pietro going on a journey into Lombardy, he left him, together with Bottalla (called Bortelli by Balducci), to supply his place in decorating the Barberini palace. It is reported that the two scholars, in the absence of their master, endeavoured to have the work transferred to themselves, and were on that account dismissed. It was at this time that Romanelli, assisted by Bernini, changed his style, and adopted by degrees a more elegant and a seductive manner in his figures, but possessing less grandeur and science than that of Pietro. He used more slender proportions, clearer tints, and a more minute taste in folding his drapery. His Deposition in S. Ambrogio, which was extolled as a prodigy, stimulated Pietro to paint opposite to it that wonderful picture of S. Stephen, on seeing which, Bernini exclaimed, that he then perceived the difference between the master and the scholar. Romanelli was twice in France, having found a patron in the Cardinal Barberini, who had fled to Paris; and he participated in the spirited manner of that country, which gave an animation before unknown to his figures. This, at least, is the opinion of Pascoli. He decorated a portico of Cardinal Mazarine with subjects from the Metamorphoses of Ovid, and afterwards adorned some of the royal saloons with passages from the *Æneid*. He was preparing to return to France, with his family, for the third time, when he was intercepted by death, at Viterbo. He left in that city, at the grand altar of the Duomo, the picture of S. Lorenzo, and in Rome, and in other cities of Italy, numerous works both public and private, although he died at about forty-five years of age. He had the honour of painting in the church of the Vatican. The Presentation which he placed there is now in the church of the Certosa, the mosaic in S. Peter's. He did not leave behind him any scholars who

inherited his reputation. Urbano, his son, was educated by Ciro after the death of his father. He is known for his works in the cathedral churches of Velletri and Viterbo: those in Viterbo are from the life of S. Lorenzo, the patron saint of the church, and prove him to have been a young man of considerable promise, but he was cut off prematurely.

Ciro Ferri, a Roman by birth, was, of all the disciples of Cortona, the one the most attached in person, and similar to him in style; and not a few of the works of Pietro were given to him to complete, both in Florence and in Rome. There are, indeed, some pictures so dubious, that the experienced are in doubt whether to assign them to the master or the scholar. He displays, generally, less grace in design, a less expansive genius, and shuns that breadth of drapery which his master affected. The number of his works in Rome is not proportioned to his residence there, because he lent much assistance to his master. There is a S. Ambrogio in the church of that saint just mentioned, and it is a touch-stone of merit for whoever wishes to compare him with the best of his fellow-scholars, or with his master himself. His works in the Pitti palace have been already mentioned in another place, and we ought not to forget another grand composition by him in S. M. Maggiore in Bergamo, consisting of various scriptural histories painted in fresco. He speaks of them himself, in some letters inserted in the "*Pittoriche*" (tom. ii. p. 38), from which we gather, that he had been reprehended for his colouring, and contemplated visiting Venice, in order to improve himself. He did not leave any scholar of celebrity in Rome. Corbellini, who finished the cupola of S. Agnes, the last work of Ciro, which has been engraved, would not have found a place in Titi and Pascoli, if it had not been to afford those writers an opportunity of expressing their regret at so fine a composition being injured by the hand that attempted to finish it.

But another scion of the same stock sprung up to support the name and credit of the school of Ciro, transferred from Florence to Rome. We mentioned in the first book, that when Ciro was in Florence, he formed a scholar in Gabbiani, who became the master of Benedetto Luti. Ciro was only just dead, when Luti arrived in Rome, who not being



able to become his scholar, as he had designed, when he left his native place, applied himself to studying the works of *Ciro*, and those of other good masters, as I have elsewhere remarked. He thus formed for himself an original style, and enjoyed in Rome the reputation of an excellent artist in the time of *Clement XI.*, who honoured him with commissions, and decorated him with the cross. It is to be regretted that he attached himself so much to crayons, with which he is said to have inundated all Europe. He was intended by nature for nobler things. He painted well in fresco, and still better in oils. His *S. Anthony* in the church of the Apostles, and the *Magdalen* in that of the Sisters of *Magnanapoli*, which is engraved, are highly esteemed. Nor would it add a little to his reputation, if we had engravings of his two pictures in the *Duomo* of *Piacenza*, *S. Conrad penitent*, and *S. Alexius* recognised after death; where, amidst other excellences, a fine expression of the pathetic predominates. Of his profane pieces, his *Psyche*, in the *Capitoline gallery*, is the most remarkable, and breathes an elegant and refined taste. Of the few productions which *Tuscany* possesses by him, we have written in the school of *Gabbiani*. We shall here mention a few of his scholars, who remained in Rome, noticing others in various schools.

*Placido Costanzi* is often mentioned with approbation in the collections of Rome, for the elegant figures he inserted in the landscapes of *Orizzonte*; he also painted some altar-pieces in a refined style. In the church of the *Magdalen* is a picture of *S. Camillo* attended by Angels, so gracefully painted, that he seems to have aspired to rival *Domenichino*. He also distinguished himself in fresco, as may be seen in the *S. Maria in Campo Marzio*, where the ceiling in the greater tribune is the work of *Costanzi*.

*Pietro Bianchi* resembled *Luti* more than any of his scholars in elegance of manner, and excelled him in large compositions, which he derived from his other master, *Baciccio*. His extreme fastidiousness and his early death prevented him from leaving many works. A very few of his pictures are found in the churches of Rome. At *Gubbio* is his picture of *S. Chiara*, with the Angel appearing, a piece of grand effect, from the distribution of the light. The sketch of this

picture was purchased by the king of Sardinia at a high price. He painted for the church of S. Peter a picture, which was executed in mosaic in the altar of the choir: the original is in the Certosa, in which the Cav. Mancini had the greatest share, as Bianchi did little more than furnish the sketch.

Francesco Michelangeli, called l' Aquilano, is known to posterity from a letter written by Luti himself (Lett. Pitt. tom. vi. p. 278), where the annotator informs us, that his master frequently employed him in copying his works, and that he died young. This notice is not without its use, as it acquaints us with the origin of the beautiful copies of Luti which are so frequently met with.

We may lastly notice an artist of mediocrity of this school, who is nevertheless said to be the painter of some beautiful pictures; the two pictures of S. Margaret, in Araceli; S. Gallicano, in the church of that saint; and the Nativity, in the church of the Infant Jesus. His name was Filippo Evangelisti, and he was chamberlain to the Cardinal Corradini, through whose influence he obtained many commissions. Being himself incapable of executing these well (if we may rely on a letter in the "Pittoriche"), he engaged Benefial, whom we shall shortly notice, to assist him. They thus painted in partnership, the gain was divided between them, but the celebrity was the portion of the principal; and if any piece came out under the name of the assistant, it was rather censured than praised. The poor artist at last became impatient of this treatment, and disdaining any longer to support a character which did him no honour, he left his companion to work by himself; and it was then that Evangelisti, in his picture of S. Gregory, in the church of the Saints Peter and Marcellino, appeared in his true colours, and the public thus discovered that he was indebted to Benefial for genius as well as labour.

The school of Sacchi may boast of one of the first artists of the age in Francesco Lauri, of Rome, in whom his master flattered himself he had found a second Raffaello. The disciple himself, in order to justify the high expectation which the public had conceived of him, before opening a school in Rome, travelled through Italy, and from thence

visited Germany, Holland, and Flanders, and resided for the space of a year in Paris; thus adding greatly to the funds of knowledge and experience already obtained by him in his native place. He was, however, cut off very early in life, leaving behind him, in the Sala de' Crescenzi, three figures of Goddesses painted in the vault in fresco; but no other considerable work, as far as my knowledge extends. This artist must not be confounded with Filippo, his brother, and scholar in his early years, who was afterwards instructed by Caroselli, who espoused his sister. He was not accustomed to paint large compositions; and the Adam and Eve, which are seen in the Pace, it should seem, he represented on so much larger a scale, lest any one should despise his talent, as only capable of small works, on which he was always profitably employed. We meet with cabinet pictures by him in the Flemish style, touched with great spirit, and coloured in good taste, evincing a fund of lively and humorous invention. He sometimes painted sacred subjects, and at S. Saverio, in the collection of the late Monsignor Goltz, I saw an enchanting picture by him, a perfect gem, and greatly admired by Mengs. He painted in the Palazzo Borghese some beautiful landscapes in fresco, in which branch his family was already celebrated, as his father, Baldassare, of Flanders, who had been a scholar of Brill, and lived in Rome in the time of Sacchi, was ranked among the eminent landscape-painters, and is commemorated by Baldinucci.

The immature death of Lauri was compensated for by the lengthened term of years accorded to Luigi Garzi and Carlo Maratta, who continued to paint to the commencement of the 18th century; enemies to despatch, correct in their style, and free from the corrupt prejudices which afterwards usurped the place of the genuine rules of art. The first, who is called a Roman by Orlandi, was born in Pistoja, but came while yet young to Rome. He studied landscape for fifteen years under Boccali, but being instructed afterwards by Sacchi, he discovered such remarkable talents, that he became highly celebrated in Naples and in Rome in every class of painting. In the former city, his decoration of two chambers of the royal palace is greatly extolled; and in the latter, where he ornamented many churches, he seemed to surpass himself in the



Prophet of S. Giovanni Laterano. He is praised in general for his forms and attitudes, and for his fertile invention and his composition. He understood perspective, and was a good machinist, though in refinement of taste he is somewhat behind Maratta. In his adherence to the school of Sacchi we may still perceive some imitation of Cortona, to whom some have given him as a scholar, as well in many pictures remaining in Rome, as in others sent to various parts; among which is his S. Filippo Neri, in the church of that saint at Fano, which is a gallery of beautiful productions. But on no occasion does he seem more a follower of Cortona, or rather of Lanfranco, than in the Assumption in the Duomo of Pescia, an immense composition, and which is considered his master-piece. It is mentioned in the "*Catalogo delle migliori Pitture di Valdinienvole*," drawn up by Sig. Innocenzio Ansaldi, and inserted in the recent *History of Pescia*. Mario, the son of Luigi Garzi, who is mentioned twice in the "*Guida di Roma*," died young. We may here also mention the name of Agostino Scilla of Messina, whom we shall hereafter notice more at length.

Carlo Maratta was born in Camurano, in the district of Ancona, and enjoyed, during his life, the reputation of one of the first painters in Europe. Mengs, in a letter "*On the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Art of Design*," assigns to Maratta the enviable distinction of having sustained the art in Rome, where it did not degenerate as in other places. The early part of his life was devoted to copying the works of Raffaello, which always excited his admiration, and his indefatigable industry was employed in restoring the frescos of that great master in the Vatican and the Farnesina, and preserving them for the eyes of posterity; a task requiring both infinite care and judgment, and described by Bellori. He was not a machinist, and in consequence neither he nor his scholars distinguished themselves in frescos, or in large compositions. At the same time he had no fear of engaging in works of that kind, and willingly undertook the decoration of the Duomo of Urbino, which he peopled with figures. This work, with the cupola itself, was destroyed by an earthquake in 1782; but the sketches for it are preserved in Urbino, in four pictures, in the Albani palace. He was most attached by

inclination to the painting of cabinet pictures and altar-pieces. His Madonnas possess a modest, lively, and dignified air ; his angels are graceful ; and his saints are distinguished by their fine heads, a character of devotion, and are clothed in the sumptuous costume of the church. In Rome his pictures are the more prized the nearer they approach to the style of Sacchi, as the S. Saverio in the Gesù, a Madonna in the Panfili palace, and several others. Some are found beyond the territories of the Church, and in Genoa is his Martyrdom of S. Bagio, a picture as to the date of which I do not inquire, but only to assert that it is worthy of the greatest rival of Sacchi. He afterwards adopted a less dignified style, but which for its correctness is worthy of imitation. Though he had devoted the early part of his life to the acquisition of a pure style of design, he did not think himself sufficiently accomplished in it, and again returned, when advanced in years, to the study of Raffaello, of whose excellences he possessed himself, without losing sight of the Caracci and Guido. But many are of opinion that he fell into a style too elaborate, and sacrificed the spirit of his compositions to minute care. His principal fault lay in the folding of his drapery, when through a desire of copying nature he too frequently separates its masses, and neglects too much the naked parts, which takes away from the elegance of his figures. He endeavoured to fix his principal light on the most important part of his composition, subduing rather more than was right, the light in other parts of his picture, and his scholars carried this principle afterwards so far as to produce an indistinctness which became the characteristic mark of his school.

Though not often, he yet painted some few pictures of an extraordinary magnitude, as the S. Carlo in the church of that saint at the Corso, and the Baptism of Christ in the Certosa, copied in mosaic in the Basilica of S. Peter. His other pictures are for the most part on the smaller scale ; many are in Rome, and amongst them the charming composition of S. Stanislaus Kostka, at the altar where his ashes repose ; not a few others in other cities, as the S. Andrea Corsini in the chapel of that noble family in Florence, and the S. Francesco di Sales at the Filippini di Forlì, which is one of his most studied works. He contributed largely, also,

to the galleries of sovereigns and private individuals. There is not a considerable collection in Rome without a specimen of his pencil, particularly that of the Albani, to which family he was extremely attached. His works are frequently met with in the State. There is a valuable copy of the Battle of Constantine, in possession of the Mancinforti family in Ancona. It is related, that, being requested to copy that picture, he proposed the task to one of his best scholars, who disdained the commission. He therefore undertook the work himself, and on finishing it, took occasion to intimate to his pupils, that the copying such productions might not be without benefit to the most accomplished masters. He had a daughter whom he instructed in his own art, and her portrait, executed by herself, in a painting attitude, is to be seen in the Corsini gallery at Rome.

Maratta, in his capacity of an instructor, is extolled by his biographer, Bellori (p. 208); but is by Pascoli accused of jealousy, and of having condemned a youth of the most promising talents in his school, Niccolo Berrettoni di Montefeltro, to the preparation of colours. This artist, however, from the principles which he imbibed from Cantarini, and from his imitation of Guido and Correggio, formed for himself a mixed style, delicate, free, and unconstrained, and the more studied, as that study was concealed under the semblance of nature. He died young, leaving very few works behind him, almost all of which were engraved, in consequence of his high reputation. The Marriage of the Virgin Mary, which he executed for S. Lorenzo in Borgo, was engraved by Pier Santi Bartoli, a very distinguished engraver of those times, an excellent copyist, and himself a painter of some merit.\* Another of his pictures, a Madonna, attended by saints, at S. Maria di Monte Santo, and the lunettes of the same chapel, were en-

\* He was the pupil of Niccolas Poussin, and from him acquired his taste for drawing after the antique. He employed this talent in copying the finest bassi-rilievi, and the noblest remains of ancient Rome. These were engraved by him, and circulated through Europe. He also copied a great number of ancient pictures from the Sottterranei, which passed into private hands unpublished. Pascoli mentions many more of his works in engraving, the pursuit of which branch of the art led him gradually to forsake painting. Of his pictures we find one in the church of Porto, and a very few more of his own designing. He devoted himself to



graved by Frezza. An account of this artist may be found in the *Lettere Pitt.* tom. v. p. 277.

Giuseppe Chiari of Rome, who finished some pictures of Berrettoni and of Maratta himself, was one of the best painters of easel-pictures of that school. Many of his works found their way to England. He painted some pictures for the churches of Rome, and probably the best is the Adoration of the Magi in the church of the Suffragio, of which there is an engraving. He also succeeded in fresco. Those works in particular, which he executed in the Barberini palace under the direction of the celebrated Bellori, and those also of the Colonna gallery, will always do him credit; he was sober in his colours, careful and judicious: rare qualities in a fresco painter. He did not inherit great talents from nature, but by force of application became one of the first artists of his age. Tommaso Chiari, a pupil also of Maratta, and whose designs he sometimes executed, did not pass the bounds of mediocrity. The same may be observed of Sigismond Rosa, a scholar of Giuseppe Chiari.

To Giuseppe Chiari, who was the intimate friend of Maratta, we may add two others, who were, according to Pascoli, the only scholars whom he took a pleasure in instructing; Giuseppe Passeri, the nephew of Giambatista, and Giacinto Calandrucci of Palermo. Both were distinguished as excellent imitators of their master. Passeri worked also in the State. In Pesaro is a S. Jerome by him, meditating on the Last Judgment, which may be enumerated among his best works. In the church of the Vatican, he painted a pendant to the Baptism of Maratta, S. Peter baptizing the Centurion, which, after being copied in mosaic, was sent to the church of the Conventuals in Urbino. This picture, which was executed under the direction of Maratta, is well coloured; but in many of his works his colouring is feeble, as in the Conception at the church of S. Thomas in Parione, and in other places in Rome. Calandrucci, after having given proof of his talents in the churches of S. Antonino de' Portoghesi, and S. Paolino

the copying the pictures of the best masters, and carried his imitation even to the counterfeiting the effects of time on the colours; and he copied some pictures of Poussin with such dexterity, that it was with difficulty the painter himself could distinguish them.

della Regola, and in other churches of Rome, and after having been creditably employed by many noble persons, and by two pontiffs, returned to Palermo, and there, in the church del Salvatore, placed his large composition of the Madonnas, attended by S. Basil and other saints, which work he did not long survive. He left behind him in Rome a nephew, who was his scholar, called Giambatista ; and he had also a brother there of the name of Domenico, a disciple of Maratta and himself ; but there are no traces of their works remaining.

Andrea Procaccini and Pietro de' Petri also hold a distinguished place in this school, although their fortunes were very dissimilar. Procaccini, who painted in S. Giovanni Laterano, the Daniel, one of the twelve prophets which Clement XI. commanded to be painted as a trial of skill by the artists of his day, obtained great fame, and ultimately became painter to the court of Spain, where he remained fourteen years, and left some celebrated works. Petri on the contrary continued to reside in Rome, and died there at a not very advanced age. He was employed there in the tribune of S. Clement, and in some other works. He did not, however, obtain the reputation and success that he deserved, in consequence of his infirm health and his extreme modesty. He is one of those who engrafted on the style of Maratta, a portion of the manner of Cortona. Orlandi calls him a Roman, others a Spaniard, but his native place in fact was Premia, a district of Novara. Paolo Albertoni and Gio. Paolo Melchiorri, both Romans, flourished about the same time ; less esteemed, indeed, than the foregoing, but possessing the reputation of good masters, particularly the second.

At a somewhat later period, the last scholar of Maratta, Agostino Masucci, presents himself to our notice. This artist did not exhibit any peculiar spirit, confining himself to pleasing and devout subjects. In his representations of the Virgin he emulated his master, who, from his great number of subjects of that kind, was at one time called Carlo dalle Madonne ; as he himself has commemorated in his own epitaph. Like Maratta, he imparted to them an expression of serene majesty rather than loveliness and affability. In some of his cabinet pictures I am aware that he occasionally renounced this manner, but it was only through intercession and expos-

tulation. He was a good fresco painter, and decorated for Pope Benedict XIV. an apartment in a casino, erected in the garden of the Quirinal. He painted many altar-pieces, and his angels and children are designed with great elegance and nature, and in a novel and original style. His *S. Anna*, at the *Nome S. S. di Maria*, is one of the best pictures he left in Rome; there is also a *S. Francis* in the church of the *Osservanti di Macerata*, a *Conception* at *S. Benedetto di Gubbio*, in *Urbino* a *S. Bonaventura*, which is perhaps his noblest composition, full of portraits (in which he was long considered the most celebrated painter in Rome), and finished with exquisite care. *Lorenzo*, his son and scholar, was very inferior to him.

*Stefano Pozzi* received his first instructions from *Maratta*, and afterwards became a scholar of *Masucci*. He had a younger brother, *Giuseppe*, who died before him, ere his fame was matured. *Stefano* lived long, painting in Rome with the reputation of one of the best masters of his day; more noble in his style of design than *Masucci*, and if I err not, more vigorous, and more natural in his colouring. We may easily estimate their merits in Rome in the church just mentioned, where we find the *Transito di S. Giuseppe* of *Pozzi*, near the *S. Anna* of *Masucci*. Of the *Cav. Girolamo Troppa*, I have heard from oral tradition that he was the scholar of *Maratta*. He was certainly his imitator, and a successful one, too, although he did not live long. He left works both in oil and fresco in the capital, and in the church of *S. Giacomo delle Penitenti*, he painted in competition with *Romanelli*. I have found pictures by him in the State; and in *S. Severino* is a church picture very well conducted. *Girolamo Odam*, a Roman of a *Lorena* family, is reckoned among the disciples of the *Cav. Carlo*, and is eulogized in a long and pompous article by *Orlandi*, or perhaps by some friend of *Odam*, who supplied *Orlandi* with the information. He is there described as a painter, sculptor, architect, engraver, philosopher, mathematician, and poet, and accomplished in every art and science. In all these I should imagine he was superficial, as nothing remains of him except some engravings and a very slender reputation, not at all corresponding to such unqualified commendation.



Of other artists who are little known in Rome and its territories, such as Jacopo Fiammingo, Francesco Pavesi, Michele Semini, there is little information that can be relied on. Respecting Subissati, Conca is silent, though information might possibly be obtained of him in Madrid, at which court he died. In Urbino, which was his native place, I find no picture of him remaining, except the head of a Sibyl: Antonio Balestra, of Verona, and Raffaellino Bottalla, will be found in their native schools, but I must not here omit one, a native of the State, who, after being educated in the academy, returned to his native country, and there introduced the style of Carlo, at that time so much in vogue. Orlandi mentions with applause Gioseffo Laudati, of Perugia, as having contributed to restore the art, which, after the support it had found in Bassotti and others, had fallen into decay.

Lodovico Trasi, of Ascoli, is deserving of particular notice. He was for several years a fellow-disciple of Maratta in the school of Sacchi, and was afterwards desirous of becoming his scholar. After studying some time in his academy, he returned to Ascoli, where he has left a great number of works, both public and private, in various styles. In some of his smaller pictures he discovers a good Marattesque style; but in his fresco and altar-pieces he is negligent, and adheres much to Sacchi, yet in a manner that discovers traces of Cortona. His picture of S. Niccolo at the church of S. Cristoforo is beautiful, and is one of the pieces which he finished with more than usual care. He has there represented the enfranchisement of a slave, at the moment the pious youth is serving at his master's table. There are some remarkable pictures of this artist in the cathedral, painted in distemper, particularly that of the Martyrdom of S. Emidio.

Trasi was the instructor of D. Tommaso Nardini, who continued, on his master's death, the decoration of the churches of the city, and his best work is perhaps in S. Angelo Magno, a church of the Olivetani. The perspective was by Agostino Collaceroni, of Bologna, a scholar of Pozzi. Nardini supplied the figures, representing the mysteries of the Apocalypse and other scriptural events. It displays great spirit and harmony, richness of colouring and facility, which are the distinguishing characteristics of this master, and are perhaps better expressed

in this picture than in any other. We may add to the two before-mentioned painters, Silvestro Mattei, who studied under Maratta ; Giuseppe Angelini, the scholar of Trasi ; and Biagio Miniera, also of Ascoli, whom Orsini has noticed in his "Guida."

There flourished about the same time in the neighbouring city of Fermo, two Ricci, scholars of Maratta, who were probably instructed before going to Rome by Lorenzino di Fermo, a good artist, though it is doubtful of what school, and who is said to have painted the picture of S. Catherine at the church of the Conventuals, and other pictures in the adjoining territories. The one was named Natale, the other Ubaldo ; the latter was superior to the former, and is much extolled for his S. Felice, which he painted for the church of the Capuchins, in his native place. He did not often pass the bounds of mediocrity, which is frequently the case with artists residing at a distance from a capital, and who have not the incitement to emulation and an opportunity of studying good examples. The same observation is, I think, applicable also to another scholar of Maratta, Giuseppe Oddi, of Pesaro, where one of his pictures remains in the church della Carità. We shall now return to the metropolis.

A fresh reinforcement, to support the style of the Caracci in Rome, was received from the school of Bologna. I speak only of those who established themselves there. Domenico Muratori had been the scholar of Pasinelli, and painted the great picture in the church of the Apostles, which is probably the largest altar-piece in Rome, and represents the martyrdom of S. Philip and S. James. The grandeur of this composition, its judicious disposition and felicity of chiaroscuro, though its colouring was not entirely perfect, gave him considerable celebrity. He was also employed in many smaller works, in which he always evinced an equally correct design, and perhaps better colouring. He was chosen to paint one of the prophets in the Basilica Lateranense, and was employed also in other cities. In the cathedral of Pisa, he painted a large picture of S. Ranieri, in the act of exorcising a demon, which is esteemed one of his most finished works. Francesco Mancini di S. Angiolo in Vado, and Bonaventura Lamberti di Carpi, had better fortune in Bologna, in having for their

master Carlo Cignani. Mancini, when he came to Rome, did not adhere exclusively to his master's manner, as he was rather more attached to the facility and freedom of Franceschini, his fellow-scholar, whom he somewhat resembles in style. He seems, however, to have had less despatch, and certainly painted less. He was chaste in his invention, and followed the example of Lazzarini; he designed well, coloured in a charming manner, and was numbered among the first artists of his age in Rome. He painted the Miracle of S. Peter at the beautiful gate of the temple, a picture which is preserved in the palace of Monte Cavallo, and is copied in mosaic in S. Peter's. This picture, which is a spirited composition, and well arranged in the perspective, is his principal work, and does not suffer from a comparison with those mentioned in the "Guida di Roma," and others scattered through the dominions of the Church. Such are pictures with various saints in the church of the Conventuals of Urbino, and in that of the Camaldolesi of Fabriano; the appearing of Christ to S. Peter in that of the Filippini, in Città di Castello, and the various works executed in oil and in fresco at Forli and at Macerata. He painted many pictures for foreign collections, and was commended for his large compositions. From his studio issued the Canonico Lazzarini before named, whom, as he lived amongst other followers of Cignani, I shall reserve with them to the close of the Bolognese school. Niccola Lapiccola, of Crotone, in Calabria Ultra, remained in Rome; and a cupola of a chapel in the Vatican, painted by him, was copied in mosaic. There are some pictures by him in other churches; the best are, perhaps, in the State, particularly in Velletri. I have heard that he was a disciple of Mancini, though in his colouring he somewhat adhered to his native school.

Bonaventura Lamberti is numbered by Mengs among the latest of the successful followers of the school of Cignani, whose style he preserved more carefully than Mancini himself. He did not give many works to the world. He had, however, the honour of having his designs copied in mosaic by Giuseppe Ottaviani, in S. Peter's, and one of his pictures engraved by Frey. It is in the church of the Spirito Santo de' Napolitani, and represents a miracle of S. Francesco di Paola.



The Gabrieli family, which patronised him in an extraordinary manner, possesses a great number of historical pictures by him, which are in themselves sufficient to engage the attention of an amateur for several hours. Lamberti had the honour of giving to the Roman school the Cav. Marco Benefial, born and resident in Rome, a painter of great genius, though not always equal to himself, rather perhaps from negligence, than deficiency of powers.

The Marchese Venuti \* extols this master above all others of his time for his accurate design, and his Caracciesque colouring. His monument is placed in the Pantheon, among those of the most celebrated painters, and to his bust is attached the eulogy bestowed on him by the Abate Giovenazzo, where he is particularly commended for his power of expression. The factions to which he gave rise still subsist, as if he were yet living. His admirers not being able to defend all his works, have fixed on the Flagellation at the Stimmate, painted in competition with Muratori,† and S. Secondino at the Passionisti, as the subjects of their unqualified approbation; pictures, indeed, of such science, that they may challenge any comparison. To these may be added his S. Lorenzo and S. Stefano, in the Duomo of Viterbo, and a few others of similar merit, in which he evidently imitated Domenichino and his school. His enemies have designated him as an inferior artist, and adduce several works feeble in expression and effect. The impartial consider him an eminent artist, but his productions vary, being occasionally in a grand style, and at other times not passing the bounds of mediocrity. This is a character which has been ascribed to many poets also, and even to Petrarch himself.

Our obligations are due to the Sig. Batista Ponfredi, his scholar, for the memoirs of this eminent man. They were addressed to the Count Niccola Soderini, a great benefactor of Benefial, and more rich in his works than any other Roman collector. His letter is in the fifth volume of the "Pit-

\* In the "Risposta alle Riflessioni Critiche di Mons. Argens."

† This artist had painted one of the two laterals of the chapel, asserting that there was no artist living capable of painting a companion to it. Benefial painted one very superior, and represented in it an executioner with his eyes fixed on and deriding the picture of Muratori.

toriche," and is one of the most instructive in the collection, although altered by the editor in some points. I shall transcribe a passage from it, as it may be satisfactory to see the actual state of the art at that time, and the way in which Marco contributed to its support. "He was so anxious to revive the art, and so grieved to see it fall into decay, that he frequently consumed several hours in the day in declaiming against the prevailing conception of style, and urging the necessity of shunning mannerism, and adopting a style founded in truth, which few did, or if they did, attempted not to imitate its simplicity, but adapted it to their own manner. He directed the particular attention of his pupils to the difference between the production of a mannerist, and one which was studied and simple, and founded in nature; that the first, if it were well designed, and had a good chiaroscuro, had at first sight a striking effect from the brilliancy of its colours, but gradually lost ground at every succeeding view, while the other appeared the more excellent the longer it was inspected."—These and other precepts of the same kind he delivered in terms perhaps too cynical; not only in private, but in the school of design at the Campidoglio, at the time that he presided there; the consequence was, that the inferior artists combined against him, deprived him of his employment, and suspended him from the academy. Some further information respecting Benefial was communicated to the public in the "*Risposta alle Lett. Perugine*," p. 48.

From a scholar also of Cignani (Franceschini), Francesco Caccianiga received instructions in Bologna, whence he came to Rome, where he perfected his style and established himself. He was a painter to whom nothing was wanting, except that natural spirit and vigour which are not to be supplied by industry. He was employed by several potentates, and two of his works executed for the king of Sardinia were engraved by himself. Ancona possesses four of his altar-pieces, among which are the Institution of the Eucharist, and the Espousals of the Virgin; pictures coloured in a clear, animated, and engaging style, and easily distinguished among a thousand. Rome has few public works by him. In the Gavotti palace is a good fresco, and there are others in the palace and villa of the Borghesi, who generously extended to him a permanent

and suitable provision, when overtaken by poverty and age.\*

From the school of Guercino came Sebastiano Ghezzi of Comunanza, not far from Ascoli. He was eminent both in design and colouring, and at the church of the Agostiniani Scalzi di Monsammartino is a S. Francesco by him, which is esteemed an exquisite picture, and wants only the finishing hand of the artist. He was the father and teacher of Giuseppe Ghezzi, who studied in Rome, and was also a tolerable writer, considering the period at which he wrote. In his painting he seemed to adopt the style of Cortona. His name is frequently mentioned in the "Guida di Roma," and more than once in the "Antichità Picene," where it is stated that he was held in great esteem by Clement XI., and that he died secretary to the academy of S. Luke (tom. xxv. p. 11). Pascoli, who has written his life, extols him for his skill in restoring pictures, in which capacity the queen of Sweden employed him exclusively on all occasions.

Pierleone, his son and scholar, possessed a style similar to that of his father, but less hurried, and became a more distinguished artist. He was selected with Luti and Trevisani, and other eminent masters, to paint the prophets of the Lateran, as well as other commissions. But for his chief reputation he is indebted to the singular talent he possessed in designing caricatures, which are to be found in the cabinets of Rome and other places. In these he humorously introduced persons of quality, a circumstance particularly gratifying in a country where the freedom of the pencil was thought a desirable addition to the license of the tongue.

Other schools of Italy also contributed artists to the Roman school, who however did not produce any new manner, except that in respect of the two principal masters then in vogue, Cortona and Maratta, they have afforded an occasional modification of those two styles.

Gio. Maria Morandi came whilst yet a youth from Florence, and forsaking the manner of Bilivert, his first instructor,

\* See "Memorie per le Belle Arti," tom. ii p. 135, where Sig. Giangherardo de' Rossi gives an account of this artist, derived principally from information furnished by Sig. Cav. Puccini, who has been occasionally mentioned with approbation in this work.



formed for himself a new style. This was a mixture of Roman design and Venetian colouring (for in travelling through Italy, he resided some time at Venice, and copied much there), while some part of it partakes of the manner of Cortona, and was esteemed in Rome. He established himself in this latter city, in the Guida of which he is often mentioned, and his works are not unfrequently found in collections. His Visitation at the Madonna del Popolo is a fine composition; and still more highly finished, and full of grand effect, is his picture of the death of the Virgin Mary, in the church della Pace. This may indeed be considered his master-piece, and it has been engraved by Pietro Aquila. He was also celebrated for his historical pictures, which he sometimes sent into foreign countries, and more than in any other branch, he acquired a reputation in portraits, in which he was constantly employed by persons of quality in Rome and Florence, and was also called to Vienna by the emperor. There, besides the imperial family, he painted also the portraits of many of the lesser princes of Germany. Odoardo Vicinelli, a painter of considerable merit in these latter times, in vol. vi. of the Lett. Pitt. is said to have been a scholar of Morandi, and Pascoli does not hesitate to assert that he conferred greater honour than any other of his scholars on his master; I believe, in Rome, where Pietro Nelli alone could dispute precedence with him.

Francesco Trevisani, a native of Trevigi, was educated by Zanchi in Venice, where, in order to distinguish him from Angiolo Trevisani, he was called *Il Trevisani Romano*. In Rome he abandoned his first principles, and regulated his taste by the best manner then in vogue. He possessed a happy talent of imitating every manner, and at one time appears a follower of Cignani, at another of Guido; alike successful whichever style he adopted. The Albiccini family, in Forli, possess many of his pictures in various styles, and amongst them a small Crucifixion, most spirited and highly finished, which the master esteemed his best work, and offered a large sum to obtain back again. His pictures abound in Rome, and in general exhibit an elegance of design, a fine pencil, and a vigorous tone of colour. His S. Joseph dying, in the church of the Collegio R., is a remarkably noble pro-

duction. A subject painted by him to accompany one by Guido in the Spada palace is also highly esteemed. He enjoyed the patronage of Clement XI., by whom he was not only commissioned to paint one of the prophets of the Lateran, but was also employed in the cupola of the Duomo in Urbino, in which he painted the four quarters of the world : a work truly estimable for design, fancy, and colouring. In other cities of the state we find pictures by him painted with more or less care, in Foligno, at Camerino, in Perugia, at Forli, and one of S. Antonio at S. Rocco in Venice, of a form more elegant than robust.

Pasquale Rossi, better known by the name of Pasqualino, was born in Vicenza, and from long copying the best Venetian and Roman pictures, attained without the instruction of a master, a natural mode of colour, and a good style of design. Few of his public works remain in Rome ; Christ praying in the garden, in the church of S. Carlo al Corso, the Baptism also of our Saviour at the Madonna del Popolo. The Silvestrini of Fabriano have several pictures by him, and among them a Madonna, truly beautiful. His S. Gregory, in the Duomo of Matelica, in the act of liberating souls from purgatory, is in the style of Guercino, and is one of his best works. In private collections we find his cabinet pictures representing gaming parties, conversations, concerts, and similar subjects, carefully finished on a small scale, and little inferior to Flemish pictures. I have met with numerous specimens of them in various places ; but in no place have I admired this artist so much as in the royal gallery at Turin, in which are some ornaments over doors, and pictures of considerable size by him, chiefly scriptural subjects, executed in an animated and vigorous style, and with so much imitation of the Roman school, that we should think them to be by some other master.

Giambatista Gaulli, commonly called Bacciocci, studied first in Genoa. Whilst still young he went to Rome, where, under the direction of a Frenchman, and by the more valuable aid of Bernino, he formed himself on the style of the great machinists. As he was endowed by nature with a ready genius and a dexterity of hand, he could not have chosen any branch of the art more adapted to his talent. The vault of the Gesù is his most conspicuous work. The knowledge of

foreshortening seen from below, the unity, harmony, and correct perspective of its objects, the brilliancy and skilful gradation of the light, rank it among the best, if indeed it be not his best picture in Rome. It must, however, be confessed, that we must inspect it with an eye to the general effect, rather than to the local tints, or the drawing of the figures, in which he is not always correct. His faults in his easel pictures, which are very numerous in Italy and in foreign countries, are less obtrusive, and are abundantly atoned for by their spirit, freshness of tints, and engaging countenances. He varies his manner with his subject, assigning to each a peculiar style. There is a delightful picture in his best manner, gracefully painted in the church of S. Francesco a Ripa, representing the Madonna with the divine Infant in her arms, and at her feet S. Anna kneeling, surrounded by Angels. In a grave and pathetic style, on the contrary, is the representation of S. Saverio dying in the desert island of Sanciano, which is placed near the altar of S. Andrea at Monte Cavallo. His figures of children are very engaging and highly finished, though after the manner of Fiammingo, more fleshy and less elegant than those of Titian or the Greeks. He painted seven pontiffs, and many persons of rank of his day, and was considered the first portrait painter in Rome. In this branch of his art he followed a custom of Bernino, that of engaging the person he painted in an animated conversation, in order to obtain the most striking expression of which the subject was susceptible.

Giovanni Odazzi, his first scholar, was ambitious of emulating him in celerity, but not possessing equal talent, he did not attain the same distinction. He is the most feeble, or, at all events, the least eminent of the painters of the prophets of the Lateran, where his Hosea is to be seen; and indeed, in every corner of Rome, his pictures are to be met with, as he never refused any commission. Pascoli has preserved the memory of another of his scholars, a native of Perugia, in the lives of the painters of his native country. This was Francesco Civalli, initiated in the art by Andrea Carlone; he was a youth of talent, but impatient of instruction. He painted in Rome and other places, but did not pass the bounds of mediocrity. The Cav. Lodovico Mazzanti was the



scholar of Gaulli, and emulated his manner to the best of his ability; but his talents were not commanding, nor were his powers equal to his ambition. Gio. Batista Brughi, a worker in mosaic rather than a painter, left notwithstanding some public pictures in Rome. He is called in the Guida sometimes Brughi, and sometimes Gio. Batista, the disciple of Bacciocci, which makes it there appear as if they had been distinct individuals. I do not recollect any other artist contributed by Gaulli to the Roman school.

The Neapolitan school, which was in the beginning of this age supported by Solimene, sent some scholars to Rome, who adopted a Roman style. Sebastiano Conca was the first that arrived there with an intention of seeing it, but he established himself there, together with Giovanni, his brother, to meliorate his style of design. Resigning the brush, he returned at forty years of age to the pencil, and spent five years in drawing after the antique, and after the best modern productions. His hand, however, had become the slave of habit in Naples, and would not answer to his own wishes; and he was kept in constant vexation, as he could appreciate excellence, but found himself incapable of attaining it. The celebrated sculptor Le Gros advised him to return to his original style, and he then became in Rome an eminent painter, in the manner of Pietro da Cortona, with considerable improvements on his early manner. He possessed a fertile invention, great facility of execution, and a colour which enchanted by its lucidness, its contrasts, and the delicacy of the flesh tints. It is true, that on examination we find that he was not in reality a profound colourist, and that to obtain a grandeur of tone, he adopted in the shadows a green tint, which produced a mannerism. He distinguished himself in frescos, and also in pictures in the churches, decorating them with choirs of angels, happily disposed in a style of composition that may be called his own, and which served as an example to many of the machinists. He was indefatigable too in painting for private individuals, and in the states of the church there is scarcely a collection without its Conca. His most studied, finished, and beautiful work is the Probatice at the hospital of Siena. Of great merit in Rome is the Assumption at S. Martina, and the Jonah among the prophets in the S. Gio-

vanni Laterano. His works were in high esteem in the Ecclesiastical State; his best appear to be the S. Niccolo at Loretto, S. Saverio in Ancona, S. Agostino at Foligno, S. Filippo in Fabriano, and S. Girolamo Emiliano at Velletri. Giovanni, his brother, assisted Sebastiano in his commissions, had an equal facility, a similar taste, though less beautiful in his heads, and of not so fine a pencil. He shewed great talent in copying the pictures of the best masters. In the church of the Dominicans of Urbino are the copies which he made of four pictures to be executed in mosaic; they were by Muziani, Guercino, Lanfranco, and Romanelli. Conca is eulogized by Rossi with his usual intelligence and discrimination (v. tom. ii. of his "Memorie," p. 81).

Mengs perhaps censures him too severely where he says, that by his precepts he contributed to the decay of the art. He had his followers, but they were not so numerous as to corrupt all the other schools of Italy. Every school, as we have seen, had within itself the seeds of its own destruction, without seeking for it elsewhere. It is true, indeed, that some of his scholars inherited his facility and his colouring, and left many injurious examples in Italy. Nor shall I give myself much trouble to enumerate his disciples, but shall content myself with the names of the most celebrated. Gaetano Lapis di Cagli was one of these, and brought with him good principles of design when he came to study under Conca. He was a painter of an original taste, as Rossi describes, not very spirited, but correct. Many of his works are found in the churches of his native place; and in the Duomo are two highly prized pieces on each side the altar, a Supper of our Lord, and a Nativity. In the various pictures I have seen of him at S. Pietro, S. Niccolo, and S. Francesco, I generally found the same composition of a Madonna of a graceful form, attended by Saints in the act of adoring her and the Holy Infant. We find some of his works also in Perugia and elsewhere. The Prince Borghese, in Rome, has a Birth of Venus by him, painted on a ceiling, with a correctness of design, and a grace superior to any thing that remains of him, and no one can justly appreciate his talents who has not seen this work. It should seem that a timidity and diffidence of his own powers prevented his at-

taining that high station which his genius seemed to have intended for him. Salvator Monosilio, who resided much in Rome, was of Messina, and trod closely in the footsteps of his master. In a chapel of S. Paolino della Regola, where Calundrucci furnished the altar-piece, he painted the vault in fresco; and others of his works are to be seen at the S. S. Quaranta, and at the church of the Polacchi. In Piceno, where Conca was in great reputation, Monosilio was held in high esteem, and was employed both in public and in private. At S. Ginesio is a S. Barnabas by him, in the church of that saint, which in the "Memorie," so often quoted by us, is designated as an excellent work. Conca educated another Sicilian student, the Abbate Gaspero Serenari, of Palermo, who was considered a young man of talents in Rome, and painted in the church of S. Teresa, in competition with the Abate Peroni of Parma. On his return to Palermo he became a celebrated master, and besides his oil pictures he executed some vast works in fresco, particularly the cupola of the Gesù, and the chapel of the monastery of Carità.

Gregorio Guglielmi, a Roman, is not much known in his native place, although his fresco pictures in the hospital of the S. Spirito in Sassia, entitle him to be numbered amongst the most eminent young artists who painted in Rome in the pontificate of Benedict XIV. He left Rome early and went to Turin, where, in the church of S. S. Solutore e Comp. is a small picture of the Tutelar Saints. He was afterwards in Dresden, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, where he painted in fresco with much applause, for the respective sovereigns of those cities. He was facile in composition, pleasing in his colour, and attached to the Roman style of design, which, like Lapis, he seemed to have carried from some other school into that of Conca. Among his most esteemed works is a ceiling, painted in the university of Vienna, and another in the imperial palace at Schoenbrunn. He did not succeed so well in oils, in which his efforts are mostly feeble; a proof that he belongs more to the school of Conca than that of Trevisani, to which some have assigned him.

Corrado Giaquinto was another scholar of Solimene. He came from Naples to Rome, where he attached himself to Conca to learn colouring, in which he chiefly followed his



master's principles, though he was less correct and more of a mannerist, and was accustomed to repeat himself in the countenances of his children, which resemble the natives of his own country. He was not, however, without merit, as he possessed facility as well as vigour, and was known in the Ecclesiastical State for various works executed in Rome, Macerata, and other places. He went afterwards to Piedmont, as we shall mention at the proper time; then to Spain, where he was engaged in the service of the court, and gave satisfaction to the greater part of the native artists. The public taste in Spain, which had for a long time retained the principles of the school founded by Titian, had been changed within a few years. Luca Giordano was become the favorite, and they admired his spirit, his freedom, and his despatch; qualities which were combined in Corrado. This partiality lasted even after Mengs had introduced his style, which in consequence appeared at first meagre and cold, to many of the masters and connoisseurs of the day, when compared with that of Luca Giordano; until prejudice there, as in Italy, ultimately yielded to truth.

Some other artists flourished in Rome at the commencement, and, as far as the middle of the century, and somewhat beyond, who may, perhaps, have a claim to be remembered. Of Francesco Fernandi, called L'Imperiali, the Martyrdom of S. Eustachio, in the church of the saint of that name, is well conceived and scientifically coloured. Antonio Bicchierai, a fresco painter, is more particularly known at S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, in which church he painted a recess which did him honour. Michelangiolo Ceruti, and Biagio Puccini, a Roman, about the time of Clement XI. and Benedict XIII., were esteemed artists of good execution. Of others who acquired some reputation in the following pontificate, I shall write in other schools; or if I should not mention them, they may be found in the Guida of the city.

I shall now pass from native to foreign artists, and shall take a brief notice of them, since my work has grown upon me with so many new Italian names, which are its proper object, that I have not much spare room for foreigners, and a sufficient notice of them may be found in their own country.

Not a few *oltremontani* painted at this period in Rome, celebrated for the most part in the inferior branches of painting, where they deserve commemoration. Some of them were employed in the churches, as Gio. Batista Vanloo di Aix, a favorite scholar of Luti, who painted the picture of the Flagellation at S. Maria in Monticelli. But he did not remain in Rome, but passed to Piedmont, and from thence to Paris and London, and was celebrated for his historical compositions, and highly esteemed in portrait. Some years after Vanloo, Pietro Subleyras di Gilles settled in Rome, and conferred great benefit on the Roman school; for whilst it produced only followers of the old manuer, and thus fell gradually into decay, he very opportunely appeared and introduced an entirely new style. An academy had been founded in Rome, by Louis XIV., about the year 1666. Le Brun had there co-operated, the Giulio Romano of France, and the most celebrated of the four Carli, who were, at that time, considered the supporters of the art; the others, were Cignani, Maratta, and Loth. It had already produced some artists of celebrity, as Stefano Parocel, Gio. Troy, Carlo Natoire, by whom many pictures are to be found in the public edifices in Rome. There prevailed, however, in the style of this school a mannerism, which in a few years brought it into disrepute. Mengs designated it by the epithet of *spiritoso*, and it consisted, according to him, in overstepping the limits of beauty and propriety, overcharging both the one and the other, and aiming at fascinating the eyes rather than conciliating the judgment. Subleyras, educated in this academy, reformed this taste, retaining the good, and rejecting the feeble part, and adding from his own genius what was wanting to form a truly original manner. There was an engaging variety in the air of his heads and in his attitudes, and he had great merit in the distribution of his chiaroscuro, which gives his pictures a fine general effect. He painted with great truth; but the figures and the drapery, under his pencil, took a certain fulness which in him appears easy, because it is natural; it remained his own, for although he left some scholars, none of them ever emulated the grandeur of style which distinguished their master.

He was mature in talent, when he left the academy, and

the portrait which he, in preference to Masucci, painted of Benedict XIV., established his reputation as the first painter in Rome. He was soon afterwards chosen to paint the history of S. Basil, for the purpose of being copied in mosaic for the church of the Vatican. The original is in the church of the Carthusians, and astonishes, by the august representation of the Sacrifice solemnly celebrated by the saint, in the presence of the emperor, who offers bread at the altar. The countenances are very animated, and there is great truth in the drapery and accompaniments, and the silks in their lucid and light folds appear absolutely real. From this production, and others of smaller size, and particularly the Saint Benedict at the church of the Olivetani di Perugia, which is, perhaps, his master-piece, he deserves a place in the first collections, where, indeed, his pictures are rare and highly prized. Further notices of this artist may be found in the second volume of the "*Giornale delle belle Arti*."

Egidio Alè, of Liege, studied in Rome, and became a spirited, pleasing, and elegant painter. His works in the sacristy dell' Anima, in fresco and oil, painted in competition with Morandi, Bonatti, and Romanelli, do him honour. Ignazio Stern was a Bavarian, who was instructed by Cignani in Bologna, and worked in Lombardy. An Annunciation in Piacenza, in the church of the Nunziata, exhibits a certain grace and elegance, which is peculiar to him, as is observed in the description of the public pictures in that city. Stern afterwards established himself in Rome, where he painted in fresco the sacristy of S. Paolino, and left some oil pictures in the church of S. Elizabetta, and in other churches. He was more particularly attached to profane history, conversations, and similar subjects, which have a place even in royal collections. Spain possessed a disciple of the school of Maratta, in Sebastiano Mugnoz, but dying young, he left few works behind him.

In this place I ought to notice an establishment designed "to revive the art in that quarter, where it seemed to have so much declined," as D. Francesco Preziado, of that country, says, in a letter which we shall shortly have occasion to mention with commendation. "The Royal Academy of S. Ferdinand, in Madrid, which owed its origin to Philip V., and was



completed and endowed by Ferdinand VI., sent several students to Rome, and provided for their maintenance." They there selected the master the most agreeable to their genius, and had, in addition, a director, who was employed to superintend their studies; as I am informed by Sig. Bonaventura Benueci, a Roman painter, educated in that academy. Bottari and all Rome called it the Spanish academy, and I myself, in a former edition, followed the common report, and the two above-named sovereigns I described as the founders of the academy. Having been censured for this statement, I have here thought proper to specify my authorities. It may without dispute be asserted, that the Spanish students have left in Rome many noble specimens of their talents and taste. D. Francesco Preziado was for many years the director of this academy, and painted a Holy Family at the S. S. Quaranta, in a good style. He made also a valuable communication to the "*Lettere Pittoriche*" (tom. vi. p. 308), on the artists of Spain, very useful to any one desiring information respecting this school, which is less known than it deserves to be.

An institution very much on the plan of the French academy was founded in Rome a few years ago, by his most faithful majesty, for Portuguese students, to the promotion of which, two celebrated Portuguese, the Cav. de Manique, intendant-general of the police in Lisbon, and the Count of Souza, minister of that court in Rome, had the merit of contributing their assistance; the one having projected, and the other executed, the plan in the year 1791. The government of the academy was entrusted to the Sig. Gio. Gherardo de' Rossi, known for his very numerous and able writings, to which he has recently added an ingenious little work, intitled, "*Scherzi poetici e pittorici*," with engravings by a celebrated academician. These establishments are of too recent a date to allow me to speak further respecting their productions.

The provincial painters have been occasionally noticed in connection with their masters. I here add a supplement, which may be useful in the way of completion. Foligno possessed a Fra Umile Francescano, a good fresco painter, engaged in Rome by Cardinal Castaldi, to ornament the tribune of S. Margaret, while Gaulli and Garzi were commanded to paint

the pictures for it. The Abbate Dondoli lived at Spello at the beginning of this century. He was more to be commended for his design than for his colouring. Marini has some celebrity in S. Severino, his native place. He was the scholar of Cipriano Divini, whom he surpassed in his art. Marco Vannetti, of Loreto, is known to me more from his life of Cignani, who was his master, than from his own works. Antonio Caldana, of Ancona, painted a very large composition in Rome, in the sacristy of S. Niccola da Tolentino, from the life of that saint. I do not know whether there remain any works of his in his native place; but there are a great number by a respectable artist, one Magatta, whose name was Domenico Simonetti, and who painted the gallery of the Marchesi Trionfi; he furnished many churches with his paintings, and distinguished himself in that of the church of the Suffragio, which is his most finished production. Anastasi di Sinigaglia was a painter less elegant and finished, but free and spirited. His works are not scarce in that city, and his best are the two historical subjects in the church della Croce. Three pictures by him also in S. Lucia di Monte Alboddo are highly prized, and are called by the writer of the "Guida," "Capi d'opera dell' Anastasi." Camillo Scacciani, of Pesaro, called Carbone, flourished at the beginning of the age we are writing on, and had a Caracciesque style allied to the modern. There is a S. Andrea Avellino by him in the Duomo of Pesaro; his other works are in private collections. This notice I deem sufficient, always excepting the living artists, whom I of course omit.\*

\* Francesco Appiani, of Ancona, a scholar of Magatta, and not long since deceased, did not find a place in my former edition, but is fully entitled to one in this. He studied a considerable time in Rome, whilst Benefial, Trevisani, Conca, and Mansini, flourished there; and through the friendship of these masters (particularly of the latter), was enabled to form an agreeable style, of which he there left a specimen at S. Sisto Vecchio. It is the death of S. Domenico, painted in fresco, by order of Benedict XIII., who remunerated him with a gold medal. He went afterwards to Perugia, where he was presented with the freedom of the city, and continued his labours there with unabated ardour, until ninety years of age, an instance of vigour unexampled, except in the case of Titian. Perugia abounds with his paintings of all kinds, and his best works are to be found in the churches of S. Pietro de' Cassinensi, S. Thomas, and Monte Corona. He also decorated the church of S. Francis, and the vault of the cathedral,

Three masters who died successively in the pontificate of Pius VI. seem to require from me more than a transient notice, and with them I shall conclude the series of historical painters of the fifth epoch. I shall first commemorate the Cav. Raffaello Mengs, from whom our posterity may perhaps date a new and more happy era of the art. He was born in Saxony, and brought to Rome by his father while yet a boy, and was at that time skilled in miniature, and was a careful and correct draughtsman. On his arrival in Rome, his father employed him in copying the works of Raffaello, and chastised the young artist for every fault in his work, with an incredible severity, or rather inhumanity, inflicting on him even corporeal punishment, and reducing his allowance of food. Being thus compelled to study perfection, and endowed with a genius to appreciate it and perceive it, he acquired a consummate taste in art; he communicated to Winckelmann very important materials for his "*Storia delle belle arti*," and was himself the author of many profound and valuable essays on the fine arts, which have materially contributed to improve the taste of the present age. They have different titles, but all the same aim, the discrimination of the real perfection of art.\*

The artist, as characterized by Mengs, may be compared to the orator of Cicero, and both are endued by their authors with an ideal perfection, such as the world has never seen, and

where he rivalled the freedom of style and composition of Carloni. Both he himself, and one of his pictures, placed in a church of Masaccio, are eulogised in the "*Antich. Picene*" (tom. xx. p. 159). He painted many pictures also for England.

\* For the more particular catalogue of these works, see the "*Memorie delle belle arti*," 1788, in which year they were republished in Rome, with the remarks of the Sig. Avvocato Fea, in one vol. 4to. and 2 vols. 8vo. The most celebrated treatise of Mengs is the "*Riflessioni sopra i tre gran pittori, Raffaello, Tiziano, e Correggio, e sopra gli antichi*." On the life and style of Correggio he wrote a separate paper, which was afterwards the subject of a controversy; for as, at the close of the year 1781, appeared the "*Notizie storiche del Correggio*" of Ratti, accompanied by a letter from Mengs, dated Madrid, 1774, in which he entreats Ratti to collect and publish them, Ratti was by several writers accused of plagiarism, and of having endeavoured, by a change of style and the addition of some trifling matter, to appropriate to himself what in reality belonged to Mengs. Not long afterwards there appeared an anonymous Defence of Ratti, without date or place, for which I refer to the next note.



will probably never see ; and it is the real duty of an instructor to recommend excellence, that in striving to attain it, we may at least acquire a commendable portion of it. Considered in this point of view, I should defend several of his writings, where, in the opinion of others, he seems to assume a dictatorial tone in the judgment he passes on Guido, Domenichino, and the Caracci ; the very triumvirate whom he proposes as models in the art. Mengs assuredly was not so infatuated as to hope to surpass these great men ; but because he knew that no one does so well but that it might be done still better, he shews where they attained the summit of art, and where they failed. The artist, therefore, described by Mengs, and to whose qualifications he also aspired, and was anxious that all should do the same, ought to unite in himself the design and beauty of the Greeks, the expression and composition of Raffaello, the chiaroscuro and grace of Correggio, and, to complete all, the colouring of Titian. This union of qualities Mengs has analyzed with equal elegance and perspicuity, teaching the artist how to form himself on that ideal beauty, which is itself never realised. If, on some occasions, he appears too enthusiastic, or in some degree obscure, it cannot excite our surprise, as he wrote in a foreign language, and was not much accustomed to composition. His ideas therefore stood in need of a refined scholar to render them clear and intelligible ; and this advantage he would have procured, had he been resolved to publish them ; but his works are all posthumous, and were given to the world by his excellency the Sig. Cav. Azara. Hence it frequently happens in his works, that one treatise destroys another, as Tiraboschi has observed in regard to his notice of Correggio, in his “*Notizie degli Artefici Modenesi* ;” and hence concludes that the “*Riflessioni di Mengs su i tre gran Pittori*,” where he finds much to censure in Correggio, were written by him before he saw the works of that master ; and that his “*Memorie*” on the life of the same master, where he extols Coreggio to the skies, and calls him the Apelles of modern painting, were written after having seen and studied him.\* In spite however

\* In the “*Difesa del Ratti*,” accused *de repetundis*, this very obvious contradiction is adduced as a proof that the “*Memorie*” were really composed by that author. It is there asserted that he wrote them in a

of all objections, he will retain a distinguished place, as well among the theorists or writers, as among professors themselves, as long as the art endures.

We perhaps should not say that Menges was a whetstone which gave a new quality to the steel, which it could not otherwise have acquired; but that he was the steel itself, which becomes brighter and finer the more it is used. He became painter to the court of Dresden; every fresh work gave fresh proof of his progress in the art. He went afterwards to Madrid, where in the chambers of the royal palace he painted the assembly of the Gods, the Seasons, and the various parts of the day, in an enchanting manner. After repairing a second time to Rome to renew his studies, he again returned to Madrid, where he painted in one of the saloons the Apotheosis of Trajan, and in a theatre, Time subduing Pleasure; pictures much superior to his former pieces. In Rome there are three large works by him; the painting in the vault of S. Eusebio; the Parnassus in the saloon of the Villa Albani, far superior to the preceding one;\* and lastly, the cabinet of manuscripts in the Vatican was painted by him, where the celestial forms of the angels, the majesty of Moses, and the dignified character of S. Peter, the enchanting colour, the relief, and the harmony, contribute to render this chamber one of the most remarkable in Rome for its beautiful

clear and simple style, and then communicated them to Menges, on whose death they were found among his writings, and published as his. Some other things are indeed said, that do not favour the cause of Ratti; as that when he was in Parma he consulted Menges on what he should say of the works of Correggio in that city, and as he could not see those in Dresden, he had from him a minute account of them; and also that Menges was accustomed to add remarks to the MS. on which his friends consulted him. If, therefore, it be conceded that Menges had such a share in this MS. (which would appear to have been drawn up by the scholar under the direction of the master, as to opinions on art, and as to a catalogue of the best pictures, accompanied too with remarks), who does not perceive that the best part of that work, and the great attraction of its matter and style, is due to Menges?

\* This picture is one of the most finished compositions since the restoration of art. Each muse is there represented with her peculiar attribute, as derived from antiquity; and the artist is deservedly eulogized by the Sig. Ab. Visconti, in the celebrated "*Museo Pio Clementino*," tom. i. p. 57.

decorations. This constant endeavour to surpass himself would be evident also from his easel pictures, if they were not so rare in Italy ; as he painted many of this description for London and the other capitals of Europe. In Rome itself, where he studied young, where he long resided, to which he always returned, and where at last he died, there are few of his works to be found. We may enumerate the portrait of Clement XIII. and his nephew Carlo, in the collection of the prince Rezzonico ; that of Cardinal Zelada, secretary of state ; and a few other pieces, in the possession of private gentlemen, more particularly the Sig. Cav. Azara. Florence has some large compositions by him in the Palazzo Pitti, and his own portrait in the cabinet of painters, besides the great Deposition from the Cross in chiaroscuro, for the Marchese Rinuccini, which he was prevented by death from colouring ; and a beautiful Genius in fresco in a chamber of the Sig. Conte Senatore Orlando Malevolti del Benino.

Returning from the consideration of his works to Mengs himself, I leave to others to estimate his merit, and to determine how far his principles are just.\* As far as regards myself, I cannot but extol that inextinguishable ardour of improving himself by which he was particularly distinguished, and which prompted him, even while he enjoyed the reputa-

\* This eminent man was not without his enemies and calumniators, excited by his criticisms on the great masters, and still more by his animadversions on artists of inferior fame, and some recently deceased. Cumberland wrote against him with manifest prejudice ; and the anonymous author of the "*Difesa del Cav. Ratti*," the work of Ratti himself, or for which at least he furnished the materials, speaks of him in a contemptuous manner. He particularly questions his literary character and his discernment, and ascribes to his confidential friend, Winckelmann, the merit of his remarks. In point of art he estimates Mengs as an excellent, but by no means an unrivalled painter. Descending to particulars, he publishes not a few criticisms, which he received either in MS. or from the mouths of different professors, and adds others of his own. Of these the experienced must form their own judgment. With regard to his colouring, indeed, with which his rival Batoni found great fault, the most inexperienced person may perceive that it is not faultless, as the flesh tints are already altered by time, at least in some of his works. Lastly, in the "*Difesa*" are some personal remarks regarding Mengs, which, if Ratti, from respect to his late deceased friend, thought it right to omit them in his life of him, printed in 1779, might with still greater propriety have been spared in this subsequent work.



tion of a first-rate master, to proceed in every work as if he were only commencing his career. Truth was his great aim, and he diligently studied the works of the first luminaries of the art, analyzed their colours, and examined them in detail, till he entered fully into the spirit and design of those great models. Whilst employed in the ducal gallery in Florence, he did not touch a pencil until he had attentively studied the best pieces there, and particularly the *Venus of Titian* in the tribune. In his hours of leisure he employed himself in carefully studying the fresco pictures of the best masters of that school, which is so distinguished in this art. He was accustomed to do the same by every work of celebrity which fell in his way, whether ancient or modern; all contributed to his improvement, and to carry him nearer to perfection; he was, in short, a man of a most aspiring mind, and may be compared to the ancient, who declared that he wished "to die learning." If maxims like these were enforced, what rapid strides in the art might we not expect! But the greater part of artists form for themselves a manner which may attract popularity, and then relax their efforts, satisfied with the applause of the crowd; and if they feel the necessity of improving, it is not with a design of acquiring a just reputation, but of adding to the price of their works.

Notwithstanding the considerable space which Mengs has occupied in our time, he has nevertheless left room for the celebrity of Pompeo Batoni, of Lucca. The Cav. Boni, who has honoured this artist with an elegant eulogium, thus expresses himself in comparing him with Mengs. "The latter," he says, "was the painter of philosophy, the former of nature. Batoni had a natural taste which led him to the beautiful without effort; Mengs attained the same object by reflection and study. Grace was the gift of nature in Batoni, as it had formerly been in Apelles; while the higher attributes of the art were allotted to Mengs as they were in former days to Protogenes. Perhaps the first was more painter than philosopher, the second more philosopher than painter. The latter, perhaps, was more sublime, but more studied; Batoni less profound, but more natural. Not that I would insinuate that nature was sparing to Mengs, or that Batoni was devoid of the necessary science of the art, &c." If it were ever said with

truth of any artist, that he was born a painter, this distinction must be allowed to Batoni. He learned only the principles of the art in his native country, and of the two correspondents from whom I have received my information, the one considers him to have been the scholar of Brugieri, the other of Lombardi, as already mentioned (*suprà*, p. 259), and probably he was instructed by both. He came young to Rome, and did not frequent any particular school, but studied and copied Raffaello and the old masters with unceasing assiduity, and thus learnt the great secret of copying nature with truth and judgment.

That boundless and instructive volume, open to all, but cultivated by few, was rightly appreciated by Batoni, and it was hence that he derived that beautiful variety in his heads and contours, which is sometimes wanting even in the great masters, who were occasionally too much addicted to the ideal. Hence, too, he derived the gestures and expressions most appropriate to each subject. Persuaded that a vivid imagination was not alone sufficient to depict those fine traits in which the sublimity of the art consists, he did not adopt any attitudes which were not found in nature. He took from nature the first ideas, copied from her every part of the figure, and adapted the drapery and folds from models. He afterwards embellished and perfected his work with a natural taste, and enlivened all with a style of colour peculiarly his own; clear, engaging, lucid, and preserving after the lapse of many years, as in the picture of various saints at S. Gregorio, all its original freshness. This was in him not so much an art as the natural ebullition of his genius. He sported with his pencil. Every path was open to him; painting in various ways, now with great force, now with a touch, and now finishing all by strokes. Sometimes he destroyed the whole work, and gave it the requisite force by a line.\* Although he was not a man of letters, he yet shews himself a poet in conception, both in a sublime and playful style. One example from a picture in the possession of his heirs will suffice. Wishing to express the dreams of an enamoured girl, he has represented her

\* See the "Elogio di Pompeo Batoni," page 66, where the illustrious author, who, to his other accomplishments, adds that of painting, expatiates at length, and in the style of a professor, on this wonderful talent of Batoni.

wrapped in soft slumbers, and surrounded by loves, two of whom present to her splendid robes and jewels, and a third approaches her with arrows in his hand, while she, captivated by the vision, smiles in her sleep. Many of these poetical designs, and many historical subjects, are in private collections, and in the courts of Europe, from which he had constant commissions.

Batoni possessed an extraordinary talent for portrait painting, and had the honour of being employed by three pontiffs in that branch of the art, Benedict XIV., Clement XIII., and Pius VI. ; to whom may be added the emperor Joseph II., and his august brother and successor, Leopold II., the grand duke of Muscovy, and the grand duchess, besides numerous private individuals. He for some time painted miniatures, and transferred that care and precision which is essential in that branch to his larger productions, without attenuating his style by hardness. We find an extraordinary proof of this in his altar-pieces, spread over Italy, and mentioned by us in many cities, particularly in Lucca. Of those that remain in Rome, Mengs gave the preference to *S. Celso*, which is over the great altar of that church. Another picture, the *Fall of Simon Magus*, is in the church of the *Certosa*. It was intended to have been copied in mosaic for the Vatican, and to have been substituted for a picture of the same subject by Vanni, the only one in that church on stone. But the mosaic, from some cause or other, was not executed. Perhaps the subject displeased, from not being evangelical, and the idea of removing the picture of Vanni not being resumed, the subject was changed, and a commission given to Mengs to paint the *Government of the Church* conferred on *S. Peter*. He made a sketch for it in *chiaroscuro* with great care, which is in the *Palazzo Chigi*, but did not live to finish it in colours. This sketch evinces a design and composition superior to the picture of Batoni, but the subject of the latter was more vigorously conceived. At all events, however, Batoni must henceforth be considered the restorer of the Roman school, in which he lived until his 79th year, and educated many pupils in his profession.

The example of the two last eminent artists was not lost on Antonio Cavallucci da Sermoneta, whose name when I



began to print this volume, I did not expect would here have found a place. But having recently died, some notice is due to his celebrity, as he is already ranked with the first artists of his day. He was highly esteemed both in Rome and elsewhere. The Primaziale of Pisa, which in the choice of its artists consulted no recommendation but that of character, employed him on a considerable work, representing S. Bona of that city taking the religious habit. It breathes a sacred piety, which he himself both felt and expressed in a striking manner. In this picture he wished to shew that the examples of Christian humility, such as burying in a cloister the gifts of nature and fortune, are susceptible of the gayest decoration. This he effected by introducing a train of noble men and women, who, according to custom, assisted in the solemnity. In this composition, in which he follows the principles of Batoni rather than those of Mengs, we may perceive both his study of nature and his judgment and facility in imitating her. Another large picture of the saints Placido and Mauro, he sent into Catania, and another of S. Francesco di Paola he executed for the church of Loreto, and which was copied in mosaic. In Rome are his S. Elias and the Purgatorio, two pictures placed at S. Martino a' Monti, and many works in the possession of the noble family of Gaetani, who were the first to encourage and support this artist. His last work was the Venus and Ascanius, in the Palazzo Cesarini, which has been described to me as a beautiful production by the Sig. Gio. Gherardo de' Rossi, who has declared his intention of publishing the Life of Cavallucci, which will no doubt be done in his usual masterly manner.

The Roman school has recently had to regret the loss of two accomplished masters; Domenico Corvi of Viterbo, and Giuseppe Cades of Rome, who although younger than Corvi, and for some years his scholar, died before him. In my notice of them I shall begin with the master, who has been honoured and eulogized more than once in the respectable "*Memorie delle belle Arti*," as well as his scholar, and also some other disciples; as there was not in Rome in the latter times any school more productive in talent. He was truly an accomplished artist, and there were few to compare with him in anatomy, perspective, and design; and from Mancini,

his instructor, he acquired something of the style of the Caracci. Hence, his academy drawings are highly prized, and I may say, more sought after than his pictures, which indeed want that fascination of grace and colour which attracts the admiration alike of the learned and the vulgar. He maintained an universal delicacy of colour, and was accustomed to defend the practice by asserting, with what justice I cannot say, that pictures painted in that manner were less liable to become black. His most esteemed works are his night-pieces, as the Birth of our Saviour, in the church of the Osservanti at Macerata, which is perhaps the summit of his efforts. Some amateurs went thither express towards the close of day; a lofty window opposite favoured the illusion of the perspective of the picture; and Corvi, who in other pictures is inferior to Gherardo delle Notti, viewed in this manner, here excels him, by an originality of perspective and general effect. He worked much both for his own countrymen and foreigners, besides the pictures which he kept ready by him, to supply the daily calls of purchasers, and many of which are still on sale in the house of his widow.

Cades recommends himself to our notice principally by a facility of imitation, dangerous to the art when it is not governed by correct principles. No simulator of the character of another handwriting could ever rival him in the dexterity with which at a moment's call he could imitate the physiognomy, the naked figure, the drapery, and the entire character of every celebrated designer. The most experienced persons would sometimes request from him a design after Michelangelo or Raffaello, or some other great master, which he instantly complied with, and when confronted with an indisputable specimen of the master, and these persons were requested to point out the original, as Bonarruoti for example, they often hesitated, and frequently fixed on the design of Cades. He was, notwithstanding, extremely honourable. He made on one occasion a large design in the style of Sanzio, to deceive the director of a foreign cabinet, who boasted an infallible knowledge of the touch of Raffaello; and employing a person to shew it to him, with some fictitious history attached to it, the director purchased it at 500 zecchins. Cades wishing to return the money, the other refused

to receive it, insisting on retaining the drawing, and disregarding all the protestations of the artist, and his request to be remunerated by a smaller sum ; and this drawing is at this moment probably considered as an original, in one of the finest cabinets of Europe. He was confident in his talents from his early years, and on a public occasion he made a drawing after the bent of his own genius, regardless of the directions of Corvi, who wished it to be done in another style, and he was in consequence dismissed from that school. This drawing obtained the first premium, and now exists in the academy of S. Luke, where it is much admired. In the art of colouring, too, he owed little to the instruction of masters, and much to his native talent of imitation. I have seen exhibited in the church of the Holy Apostles, a picture by him, which in the upper part represents the Madonna with the Holy Infant, and in the inferior part five saints, an allegorical picture, as I have heard suggested, relating to the election of Clement XIV. That pope was elected by the suffrages of the Cardinal Carlo Rezzonico and his friends, and contrary to the expectation of P. Innocenzio Buontempi, who ordered the picture, and who after this election was promoted by the pope to the eminent station of Maestro nel S. Ordine Serafico, and afterwards to that of the pope's confessor. Hence this piece represents in the centre S. Clement reading the sacred volume ; on his right is S. Carlo, who appears to admire his learning, and by his attitude seems to say, "This is a man justly entitled to the pontificate ;" and in the last place S. Innocent the pope, which representing the person of the P. Maestro, must here for the sake of propriety yield the place to the Cardinal S. Carlo. In the back-ground are S. Francis and S. Anthony, half-figures. Cades here took for his model the picture of Titian in the Quirinal, which he imitated as well in the composition as in the colour. And in this, indeed, he proceeded too far, giving it that obscure tone which the works of Titian have acquired only by the lapse of time. Cades here defended himself by saying that this piece was intended to be placed in the church of S. Francesco di Fabriano in a very strong light, where if the colours had not been kept low, they would have been displeasing to the spectator. There is an error in the perspec-



tive which cannot be overlooked. The allegorical figure of P. M. Innocenzio, who stands amazed at the sudden phenomenon, appears to be out of equilibrium, and would fall in real life. Other faults of colour, of costume, or of vulgarity of form, are noticed in others of his pictures by the author of the "*Memorie*," in tom. i. and iii. But as he advanced in life he improved his style from study, and attending to the criticisms of the public. In tom. iii. just referred to, we find the description of one of his works executed for the Villa Pinciana, the subject of which is taken from Boccaccio: Walter Conte di Anguerra recognised in London. Let us weigh the opinion which this eminent author gives of this most beautiful composition, or let us compare it with the picture of S. Joseph of Copertino, which he painted at twenty-one years of age, as an altar-piece in the church of the Apostles, and we shall perceive the rapid strides which are made by genius. Other princely families, besides the Borghesi, availed themselves of his talents to ornament their palaces and villas; as the Ruspoli and the Chigi, and he executed several works for the empress of Russia. He died before he had attained his fiftieth year, and not long after he had so much improved his style. In the opinion of some, his execution still required to be rendered more uniform, since he sometimes displayed as many different manners in a picture as there were figures. But in that he might plead the example of Caracci, as we shall notice on a proper opportunity.

We shall now pass to other branches of the art, and shall commence with landscapes. In this period flourished the scholars of the three famous landscape painters, described in their proper place, besides Grimaldi, mentioned in the Bolognese School, who resided a considerable time in Rome; and Paolo Anesi, of whom we made mention in speaking of Zuccherelli. With Anesi lived Andrea Lucatelli, a Roman, whose talents are highly celebrated in every inferior branch of the art. In the archbishop's gallery in Milan are a number of his pictures, historical, architectural, and landscapes. In these he often appears original in composition, and in the disposition of the masses; he is varied in his touch, delicate in his colouring, and elegant in his figures, which, as we shall

see, he was also accustomed to paint in the Flemish style, separate from his landscapes.

Francis Van Blomen was a less finished artist, and from the hot and vaporous air of his pictures, obtained the name of Orizzonte. The palaces of the pope and nobility in Rome abound with his landscapes in fresco and oil. In the character of his trees, and in the composition of his landscapes, he commonly imitated Poussin. In his general tone there predominates a greenish hue mixed with red. His pictures are not all equally finished, but they rise in value as those of older artists become injured by time, or rare from being purchased by foreigners. At the side of Van Blomen we often find the works of some of his best scholars, as Giacciuoli and Francis Ignazio, a Bavarian.

At the same time lived in Rome Francesco Wallint, called M. Studio, who painted small landscapes and sea views, ornamented with very beautiful figures; devoid however of that sentiment which is the gift of nature, and that delicacy which charms in the Italian school. He imitated Claude: Wallint the younger, his son, attached himself to the same manner with success, but did not equal his father.

At the beginning of this epoch, or thereabouts, there flourished two artists in Perugia, in the same line: Ercolano Ercolanetti, and Pietro Montanini, the scholar of Ciro Ferri and of Rosa. The last was ambitious of the higher walks of art, and attempted the decoration of a church, but failed in the attempt, as his talent was restricted to landscape; and even when he added figures to these, they were not very correct, and possessed more spirit than accuracy of design. He was nevertheless a pleasing painter, and his pictures were sought after by foreigners. In Perugia there is an abundance of his works, and some are to be seen in the sacristy of the Eremitani, which might be said to discover a Flemish style.

Alessio de Marchis, a Neapolitan, is not much known in Rome, although in the Ruspoli and Albani palaces, some pleasing pieces by him are pointed out. He is better known in Perugia and Urbino, and the adjacent cities. It is said that, in order to obtain a study for a picture from nature, he set fire to a barn. For this act he was condemned to the galleys for several years, and was liberated under the pontifi-

cate of Clement XI., whose palace in Urbino he decorated with architectural ornaments, distant views, and beautiful sea-pieces, more in the style of Rosa than any other artist. There is an extraordinarily fine picture by him of the Burning of Troy, in the collection of the Semproni family, and some landscapes in other houses in Urbino, in which he has displayed all his genius, and extended it also to figures. But in general there is little more to praise in him than his spirit, his happy touch, and natural colouring, particularly in fires, and the loaded and murky air, and the general tone of the piece, as the detached parts are negligent and imperfect. He left a son, also a landscape painter, but not of much celebrity.

At the beginning of the century Bernardino Fergioni displayed in Rome an extraordinary talent in sea views, and harbours, to which he added a variety of humorous figures. He was first a painter of animals, and afterwards tried this line with better success; but his fame was a few years afterwards eclipsed by two Frenchmen, Adrian Manglard, of a solid, natural, and correct taste; and his scholar, Joseph Vernet, who surpassed his master by his spirit and his charming colouring. The first seemed to paint with a degree of timidity and care, the latter in the full confidence of genius; the one seemed to aim at truth, the other at beauty. Manglard was many years in Rome, and his works are to be seen in the Villa Albani, and in many other palaces. Vernet is to be seen in the Rondanini mansion, and in a few other collections.

There were not many painters of battles during this epoch, except the scholars of Borgognone. Cristiano Reder, called also M. Leandro, who came to Rome about 1686, the year of the taking of Buda, devoted himself, in conformity with the feelings of the times, to painting battles between the Christians and the Turks; but his pictures, though well touched, were soon depreciated from the great number of them. The best, in the opinion of Pascoli, was that in the gallery de' Minimi; and he left many also in the palaces of the nobility. He was also expert in landscape and humorous subjects, and was assisted by Peter Van Blomen, called also Stendardo, the brother of Francis Orizzonte. Stendardo also painted battle-pieces, but he was more attached to Bambocciate, in the



Flemish style, wherein he delights to introduce animals, and particularly horses, in designing which he was very expert, and almost unrivalled. His distances are very clear, and afford a fine relief to his figures.

In Rome, and throughout the Ecclesiastical State, we find many pictures of this sort by that Lucatelli who has been mentioned among the landscape painters. The connoisseurs attribute to him two different manners; the first good, the second still better, and exhibiting great taste, both in colouring and invention. In some collections we find Monaldi near him, who, although of a similar taste, yielded to him in correctness of design, in colour, and in that natural grace which may be called the *Attic salt* of this mute poetry.

I have not ascertained who was the instructor of Antonio Amorosi, a native of Comunanza, and a fellow-countryman of Ghezzi, and his co-disciple also in the school of the Cav. Giuseppe (Vernet). I only know that he is in his way equally facetious, and sometimes satirical. Like Ghezzi he painted pictures in the churches, which are to be found in the "Guida di Roma;" he did not, however, succeed so well in them as in his *bambocciate*, which would appear really Flemish if the colours were more lucid. He is less known in the metropolis than in Piceno, where he is to be seen in many collections, and is mentioned in the "Guida d'Ascoli." He pleased also in foreign countries, and represented subjects from common life, as drinking-parties in taverns in town and country, on which occasion he discovered no common talent in architecture, landscape, and the painting of animals.

Arcangelo Resani, of Rome, the scholar of Boncuore, painted animals in a sufficiently good taste, accompanying them with large and small figures, in which he had an equal talent. In the Medici gallery is his portrait, with a specimen attached of the art in which he most excelled, the representation of still life. In the same way Nuzzi added flowers, and other artists landscapes, to their portraits.

Carlo Voglar, or Carlo da' Fiori, was a painter of fruit and flowers in a very natural style, and was also distinguished in painting dead game. He had a rival in this style in Francesco Varnetam, called Deprait, who was still more ingenious in adding glass and portraits, and composed his pieces in the manner of a good figurist. This artist, after

residing several years in Rome, was appointed painter to the imperial court, and died in Vienna, after having spread his works and his fame through all Germany. In the time of the two preceding artists, Christian Bernetz was celebrated, who on the death of the first, and the departure of the second artist, remained in Rome the chief painter in this style. All the three were known to Maratta, and employed by him in ornamenting his pictures; and he enriched theirs in return with children and other figures, which have rendered them invaluable. The last was also a friend of Garzi, in conjunction with whom he painted pictures, each taking the department in which they most excelled. Scipione Angelini, of Perugia, improperly called Angeli by Guarienti, was celebrated by Pascoli for similar talents. His flowers appear newly plucked and sparkling with dew-drops. In the "*Memorie Messinesi*," I find that Agostino Scilla, when he was exiled from Sicily, repaired to Rome, where he died. Whilst in Rome, he seemed to shun all competition with the historical painters, and occupied himself (with a certainty of not being much celebrated) in designing animals, and in other inferior branches of the art. In this line both he and Giacinto, his younger brother, had great merit. Saverio, the son of Agostino, who, on the death of them both, continued to reside and to paint in Rome, did not equal them in reputation.

During this period of the decline of the art, one branch of painting, perspective, made an extraordinary progress by the talents of P. Andrea Pozzo, a Jesuit, and a native of Trent. He became a painter and architect from his native genius, rather than from the instruction of any master. His habit of copying the best Venetian and Lombard pictures had given him a good style of colour, and a sufficiently correct design, which he improved in Rome, where he resided many years. He painted also in Genoa and Turin, and in these cities and in both the states, we find some beautiful works, the more so as they resemble Rubens in tone, to whose style of colour he aspired. There are not many of his oil paintings in Italy, and few of them are finished, as S. Venanzio in Ascoli, and S. Borgia at S. Remo. Even the picture of S. Ignatius at the Gesù, in Rome, is not equally rendered in every part.

Nevertheless, he appears on the whole, a fine painter, his design well conceived, his forms beautiful, his colours fascinating, and the touch of his pencil free and ready. Even his less-finished performances evince his genius; and of the last-mentioned picture, I heard from P. Giulio Cordara, an eminent writer in verse and prose, an anecdote which deserves preservation. A painter of celebrity being directed to substitute another in its place, declared that neither himself nor any other living artist could execute a superior work. His despatch was such, that in four hours he began and finished the portrait of a cardinal, who was departing the same day for Germany.

He occupies a conspicuous place among the ornamental painters, but his works in this way would be more perfect if there was not so great a redundancy of decoration, as vases, festoons, and figures of boys in the cornices, though this indeed was the taste of the age. The ceiling of the church of S. Ignatius is his greatest work, and which would serve to shew his powers, if he had left nothing else, as it exhibits a novelty of images, an amenity of colour, and a picturesque spirit, which attracted even the admiration of Maratta and Ciro Ferri; the last of whom, amazed that Andrea had in so few years, and in so masterly a manner, peopled, as he called it, this Piazza Navona, concluded that the horses of other artists went at a common pace, but those of Pozzo on the gallop. He is the most eminent of perspective painters, and even in the concaves has given a convex appearance to the pieces of architecture represented, as in the Tribune of Frascati, where he painted the Circumcision of Jesus Christ, and in a corridor of the Gesù at Rome. He succeeded too in a surprising manner in deceiving the eye with fictitious cupolas in many churches of his order; in Turin, Modena, Mondovi, Arezzo, Montepulciano, Rome, and Vienna, to which city he was invited by the emperor Leopold I. He also painted scenes for the theatres, and introduced colonnades and palaces with such inimitable art, that it renders more credible the wonderful accounts handed down to us by Vitruvius and Pliny of the skill of the ancients in this art. Although well grounded in the theory of optics, as his two volumes of perspective prove, it was his custom never to draw a line without first



having made a model, and thus ascertained the correct distribution of the light and shade. When he painted on canvas, he laid on a light coat of gum, and rejected the use of chalk, thinking that when the colours were applied, the latter prevented the softening of the lights and shadows, when requisite.

He had many scholars who imitated him in perspective ; some in fresco ; others in oil, taking their designs from real buildings, and at other times painting from their own inventions. One of these was Alberto Carlieri, a Roman, a painter also of small figures, of whom Orlandi makes mention. Antonio Colli, another of his scholars, painted the great altar at S. Pantaleo, and decorated it in perspective in so beautiful a manner, that it was by some taken for the work of his master. Of Agostino Collaceroni of Bologna, considered of the same school, we have before spoken.

There were also architectural painters in other branches. Pierfrancesco Garoli, of Turin, painted the interior of churches, and Garzi supplied the figures. Tiburzio Verzelli, of Recanati, is little known beyond Piceno, his birth-place. The noble family of Calamini, of Recanati, possess perhaps his best picture, the Elevation of S. Pietro in Vaticano, one of the most beautiful and largest works of this kind that ever I saw, which occupied this master several years in finishing. Gaspare Vanvitelli, of Utrecht, called *Dagli Occhiali*, may be called the painter of modern Rome ; his pictures, which are to be found in all parts of Europe, represent the magnificent edifices of that city, to which landscapes are added, when the subject admits of it. He also painted views of other cities, seaports, villas, and farm-houses, useful alike to painters and to architects. He painted some large pictures, though most of his works are of a small size. He was correct in his proportions, lively and clear in his tints, and there is nothing left to desire, except a little more spirit and variety in the landscape or in the sky, as the atmosphere is always of a pale azure, or carelessly broken by a passing cloud. He was the father of Luigi Vanvitelli, a painter, who owed his great name to architecture, as we shall see was the case also with the celebrated Serlio.

But no painter of perspective has found more admirers

than the Cav. Gio. Paolo Pannini, mentioned elsewhere ; not so much for the correctness of his perspective, in which he has many equals, as for his charming landscape and spirited figures. It cannot indeed be denied, that these latter are sometimes too high in proportion to the buildings, and that also, to shun the dryness of Viviani, he has a mannered style of mixing a reddish hue in his shadows. For the first defect there is no remedy ; but the second will be alleviated by time, which will gradually subdue the predominant colour.

Lastly, to this epoch the art of mosaic owes the great perfection which it attained, in imitating painting, not only by the means of small pieces of marble selected and cemented together, but by a composition which could produce every colour, emulate every tint, represent each degree of shade, and every part, equal to the pencil itself. Baglione attributes the improvement in this art to Muziani, whom he calls the inventor of working mosaics in oil ; and that which he executed for the Cappella Gregoriana, he praises as the most beautiful mosaic that has been formed since the time of the ancients. Paolo Rossetti of Cento was employed there under Muziani, and instructed Marcello Provenzale, his fellow-countryman. Both left many works beautifully painted in mosaic ; and the second, who lived till the time of Paul V., painted the portrait of that pope, and some cabinet pictures. An extensive work, as has often been the case, was the cause of improving this art. The humidity of the church of S. Peter was so detrimental to oil paintings, that from the time of Urban VIII. there existed an idea of substituting mosaics in their place. The first altar-piece was executed by a scholar of Provenzale, already mentioned, Giambatista Calandra, born in Vercelli. It represents S. Michael, and is of a small size, copied from a picture of the Cav. d'Arpino. He afterwards painted other subjects in the small cupolas, and near some windows of the church, from the cartoons of Romanelli, Lanfranco, Sacchi, and Pellegrini ; but thinking his talents not sufficiently rewarded, he began to work also for individuals, and painted portraits, or copied the best productions of the old masters. Among these, Pascoli particularly praises a Madonna copied from a picture of Raffaello, in possession of the queen of Sweden, and of this

and other similar works he judged that from their harmony of colour and high finishing, they were deserving of close and repeated inspection.

At this time great approaches were made towards the modern style of mosaic; but this art was afterwards carried to a much higher pitch by the two Cristofori, Fabio, and his son Pietro Paolo. These artists painted the S. Petronilla, copied from the great picture of Guercino, the S. Girolamo of Domenichino, and the Baptism of Christ by Maratta. For other works by him and his successors, I refer the reader to the "Descrizione" of the pictures of Rome above cited.

— Before I finish this portion of my work, I would willingly pay a tribute to the numerous living professors, who have been or who are now resident in Rome; but it would be difficult to notice them all, and to omit any might seem invidious. We may be allowed, however, to observe that the improvement which has taken place in the art of late years has had its origin in Rome. That city at no period wholly lost its good taste, and even in the decline of the art was not without connoisseurs and artists of the first merit. Possessing in itself the best sources of taste in so many specimens of Grecian sculpture, and so many works of Raffaello, it is there always easy to judge how near the artists approach to, and how far they recede from, their great prototypes of art. This criterion too is more certain in the present age, when it is the custom to pay less respect to prejudices and more to reason; so that there can be no abuse of this useful principle. The works too of Winckelmann and Mengs have contributed to improve the general taste; and if we cannot approve every thing we there find, they still possess matter highly valuable, and are excellent guides of genius and talent. This object has also been promoted by the discovery of the ancient pictures in Herculaneum, the Baths of Titus, and of the Villa Adriana, and the exquisite vases of Nola, and similar remains of antiquity. These have attracted every eye to the antique; Mengs and Winckelmann have admirably illustrated the history of ancient sculpture, and the art of painting may be more advantageously studied from the valuable engravings which have been published, than from any book. From these extraordinary advantages the fine arts have extended their



influence to circles where they were before unknown, and have received a new tone from emulation as well as interest. The custom of exhibiting the productions of art to a public who can justly appreciate them, and distinguish the good from the bad; the rewards assigned to the most meritorious, of whatever nation, accompanied by the productions of literary men, and public rejoicings in the Campidoglio; the splendour of the sacred edifices peculiar to the metropolis of the Christian world, which, while the art contributes to its decoration, extends its protection in return to the professors of that art; the lucrative commissions from abroad, and in the city itself, from the munificence and unbounded liberality of Pius VI. and that of many private individuals;\* the circumstance of foreign sovereigns frequently seeking in this emporium for masters, or directors for their academies; all these causes maintain both the artists and their schools in perpetual motion, and in a generous emulation, and by degrees we may hope to see the art restored to its true principles, the imitation of nature and the example of the great masters. There is not a branch, not only of painting, but even of the arts depending on it, as miniature, mosaic, enamel, and the weaving of tapestry, that is not followed there in a laudable manner. Whoever desires to be further informed of the present state of the Roman school, and of the foreign artists resident in Rome, should peruse the four volumes entitled, "*Memorie per le belle Arti*," published from the year 1785, and continued to the year 1788, a periodical work deserving a place in every library of the fine arts, and which was, I regret to add, prematurely discontinued.

\* The decoration of the Villa Pinciana, in which the prince Borghesi has given encouragement to so many eminent artists, is an undertaking that deserves to be immortalized in the history of art.

END OF VOL. I.







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